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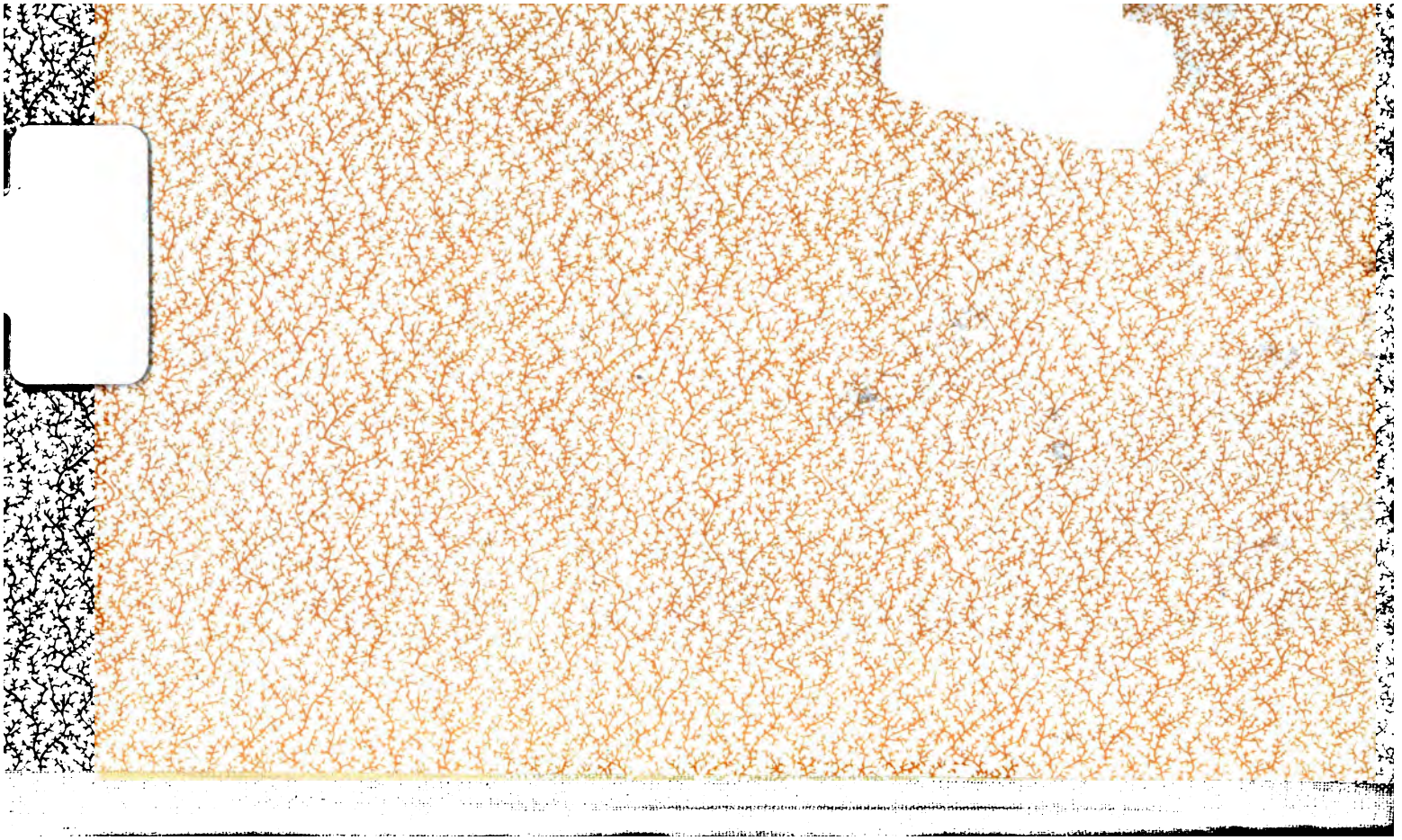
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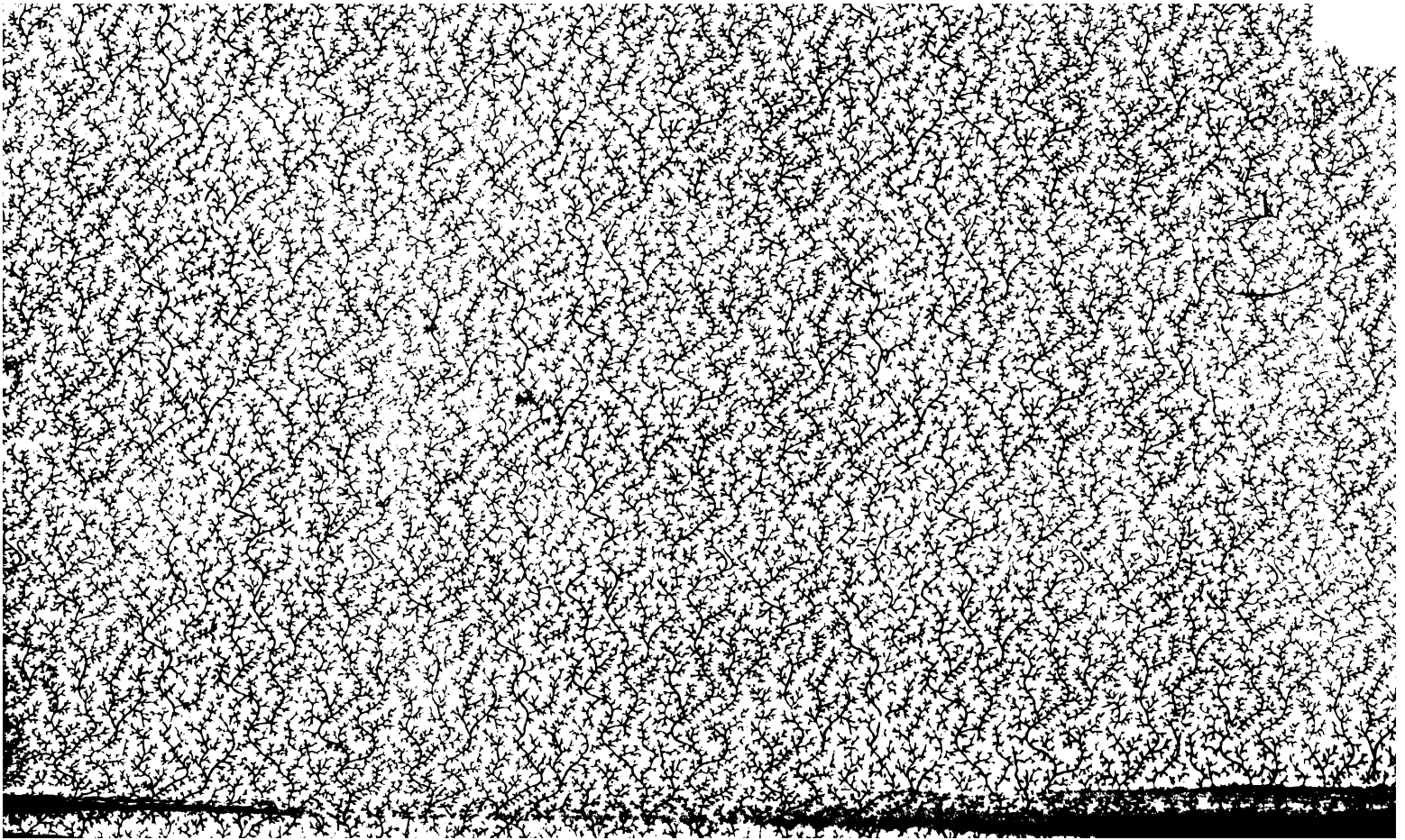
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A

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE FIRST INVASION BY THE ROMANS.

BY JOHN LINGARD, D.D.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

RICHARD II.

GOVERNMENT OF THE KINGDOM DURING THE MINORITY—INSURRECTION AND EXCESSES OF THE PEOPLE—WYCLIFFE—HIS DEATH AND DOCTRINES—INVASION OF SCOTLAND—PROSECUTION OF MINISTERS—ASCENDENCY OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER—EXECUTION OF THE KING'S FRIENDS—RICHARD RECOVERS HIS AUTHORITY—STATUTES OF PROVISIONS—THE KING GOES TO IRELAND—ATTAINDER OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER AND HIS ADHERENTS—JUDGMENT OF THE DUKES OF HEREFORD AND NORFOLK—ILLEGAL CONDUCT OF RICHARD—HE GOES TO IRELAND—HENRY OF LANCASTER REBELS—KING MADE PRISONER AND DEPOSED—HENRY CLAIMS THE CROWN.

Succession of Richard, 1. His coronation, 2. Council of regency, *ib.* Transactions in parliament, 3. Judgment of Alice Perrers, 5. Events of the war, *ib.* A new parliament, 6. Expedition to Bretagne, *ib.* New taxes, 7. Ferment among the people, 8. Insurrection, 10. At Brentwood, *ib.* Dartford, *ib.* And Gravesend, *ib.* Sermon of John Ball, *ib.* Proceedings of the insurgents, 11. They assemble at Blackheath, *ib.* Commit excesses in London, 12. Murder the Flemings, *ib.* The demands of some granted, 13. The others murder the ministers, *ib.* Wat Tyler is killed, *ib.* The insurgents quelled, 14. Punishment of the insurgents, *ib.* Proceedings in Parliament, 15. Schism in the papacy, 16. Crusade of the bishop of Norwich, 18. Proceedings against Wycliffe, *ib.* Synod in London, 19. His death, 21. His doctrines, *ib.* Of the church, 22. Of property founded in grace, *ib.* Of the seven sacraments, *ib.* Of matrimony, 23. Of the hierarchy, *ib.* Of other points, *ib.* His translation of the scriptures, 24. State of the government, *ib.* Suspicions against the duke of Lancaster, *ib.* French in Scotland, 25. Richard at York, 26. He enters Scotland, 27. Promotions, *ib.* Duke of Lancaster goes to Spain, 28. Threatened invasion from France, 29. The earl of Suffolk impeached, 31. The king consults the judges, 33. Returns to London, 34. He is opposed by Gloucester, *ib.* Flight of his favourites, 35. Arrest of his friends, 36. Impeachments, *ib.* Judgments, 37. The judges impeached, 38. And condemned, *ib.* More trials, *ib.* And executions, 39. Execution of Burley, *ib.* Dissolution of parliament, 40. The king recovers his authority, *ib.* His administration, 41. Statute against provisors, 43. Expedition to Ireland, 46. State of Ireland under Edward III., 47. Statute of Kilkenny, *ib.* Richard lands, 48. Petition of the Lollards, 49. The king's marriage, *ib.* His enmity to the duke of Gloucester, 50. Arrests, 51. Appeal of treason, 52. Confession of Gloucester, 53. Opening of parliament, *ib.* Impeachment of Gloucester's friends, 54. Gloucester's attainder, 55. Attainder of the primate, 56. Of the

earl of Warwick, *ib.* Pardons, 57. Dissimulation of the king, *ib.* Parliament at Shrewsbury, 59. Unconstitutional grants, 60. Exile of Hereford and Norfolk, 61. Richard's despotic conduct, 63. He goes to Ireland, 64. Lancaster lands in England, 65. His success, *ib.* Richard returns, 66. His army dispersed, 67. The king goes to Conway, *ib.* Is deceived by the earl of Northumberland, 68. Carried a prisoner to Flint, 69. His complaints, *ib.* And interview with Henry, 70. Is conducted to the Tower, *ib.* Resigns the crown, 71. Is also deposed, 72. Henry claims the succession, 73.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY IV., SURNAMED OF BOLINGBROKE.

CORONATION OF THE NEW KING—INSURRECTION—DEATH OF RICHARD—WAR AGAINST THE SCOTS—REBELLION OF THE PERCIES—INSURRECTION IN YORKSHIRE—REBELLION OF OWEN GLENDOWER—TRANSACTIONS WITH FRANCE—SETTLEMENT OF THE CROWN—DEATH OF THE KING—PRIVILEGES AND AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS—STATUTES AGAINST THE LOLLARDS.

Coronation of Henry, 75. Proceedings of the new parliament, *ib.* Judgment of the lords appellants, 76. Salutary laws, *ib.* Judgment of the late king, 77. Insurrection of the lords appellants, *ib.* Their failure and deaths, 78. Death of Richard, 81. War with the Scots, 83. Reports that Richard was still alive, 85. Executions, 86. Battle of Homildon Hill, 87. Treatment of the prisoners, 88. Rebellion of the Percies, 89. Defiance of the Percies, 91. King's answer, *ib.* Battle of Shrewsbury, 92. Submission of the earl of Northumberland, *ib.* He is pardoned, 93. Escape and capture of the earl of March, *ib.* Insurrection in Yorkshire, 95. Archbishop Scrope and the earl marshal, *ib.* Put to death, *ib.* Defeat and death of Northumberland, 97. Rebellion of Owen Glendower, 98. Is supported by troops from France, *ib.* Is gradually subdued, *ib.* Henry's transactions with France, 99. He is defied by St. Pol, *ib.* And challenged by the duke of Orleans, 100. Keeps possession of the heir of Scotland, 101. Murder of the duke of Orleans, 102. Settlement of the crown, 103. Conduct of the prince of Wales, 104. He is suspected of aspiring to the throne, 105. King's bad health, *ib.* And death, 106. Increasing importance of the house of commons, *ib.* Election of knights of the shire, 107. Freedom from arrest, *ib.* Freedom of debate, 108. Addresses delivered by the speaker, *ib.* Authority of the commons, 109. In making statutes, *ib.* In voting money, *ib.* In appropriating the supplies, 110. Dispute of privilege, 111. Crime of heresy, *ib.* Lollards preach against the revenue of the church, 112. Statute de hæretico comburendo, 113. Execution of Sawtre, 114. Additional statute, 115.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY V.

SUCCESSION OF HENRY V.—INSURRECTION OF THE LOLLARDS—INVASION OF FRANCE—BATTLE OF AZINCOURT—SECOND INVASION OF FRANCE—CONQUEST OF NORMANDY—MURDER OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY—HENRY IS MADE REGENT OF FRANCE—REDUCES MEAUX—AND DIES—HIS FUNERAL—AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH.

Succession of Henry V., 116. Insurrection of the Lollards, 117. Apprehension of Oldcastle, 118. Dispersion of the insurgents, *ib.* Their number and designs, *ib.* Henry claims the crown of France, 120. Makes preparations for war, 121. Dismisses the French envoys, *ib.* Conspiracy against him, 122. He lands in Normandy, 123. Reduces Harfleur, 124. Passage of the Somme, 125. The English at Maisoncelles, 126. Preparations for battle, 127. Battle of Azincourt, 128. Defeat of the first division of the French, 129. Of the second, *ib.* And of the third, 130. Loss of the enemy, *ib.* Henry returns to England, 131. Arrival of the emperor Sigismund, 132. Naval victory, 133. Conference at Calais, *ib.* Parties in France, *ib.* The king lands in Normandy, 135. Execution of sir John Oldcastle, 136. Conquests of Henry, 137. Massacre in Paris, *ib.* Negotiations, *ib.* Siege of Rouen, 138. It surrenders, 140. Conferences at Meulant, *ib.* Henry is cheated, 141. Murder of the duke of Burgundy, *ib.* Henry is made regent of France, 143. And married to Catherine, *ib.* The treaty is confirmed, 144. Defeat at Beaujé, 145. Henry returns to France, 146. Siege and reduction of Meaux, *ib.* He falls ill, and dies, 147. His character and burial, 148. Proceedings of parliament, 149. Schism in the church, 150. Its termination, 151. Objections to the statutes of provisors, *ib.*

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY VI.

GOVERNMENT DURING THE MINORITY—DUKE OF BEDFORD REGENT OF FRANCE—JACQUELINE OF BAVARIA—SIEGE OF ORLEANS—JOAN OF ARC—CHARLES IS CROWNED AT RHEIMS—HENRY AT PARIS—DEFECTION OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY—ARMISTICE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE—DISPUTES IN THE ENGLISH CABINET—THE KING'S MARRIAGE—DEATHS OF GLOUCESTER AND BEAUFORT—LOSS OF THE FRENCH PROVINCES—IMPEACHMENT AND MURDER OF SUFFOLK—CADE'S INSURRECTION—DUKE OF YORK PROTECTOR—HENRY RECOVERS HIS AUTHORITY—DISASTERS OF THE YORKISTS—THEIR SUBSEQUENT SUCCESS—THE DUKE IS DECLARED HEIR TO THE THRONE—IS KILLED AT WAKEFIELD—HIS SON EDWARD ENTERS LONDON—AND IS PROCLAIMED KING.

Settlement of the government, 154. Death of Charles of France, *ib.* Conduct of duke of Bedford, 155. Battle of Crevant, *ib.* Charles receives succour, 156. Liberation and marriage of the king of Scotland, *ib.* Battle of Verneuil, 157. Story of Jacqueline of Bavaria, 158. She is married to the duke of Gloucester, 159. Opposition in the council, 160. Quarrel between Gloucester and Beaufort, 161. They are reconciled, 163. Submission of Bretagne, 164. Siege of Orleans, 165. The battle of Rouvrai, 166. Story of Joan of Arc, 167. Her introduction to Charles, 169. And to the army, *ib.* She enters Orleans, 170. Destroys several forts, 171. The seige is raised, *ib.* Losses of the English, *ib.* Charles is crowned at Rheims, 172. The armies meet at Senlis, 173. And separate without a battle, *ib.* Joan

is made prisoner, 174. Her trial, 175. Judgment, *ib.* And execution, 176. Henry is crowned in England, *ib.* And at Paris, *ib.* Quarrel between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, 177. Congress of Arras, 178. Peace between France and Burgundy, *ib.* Subsequent events of the war, *ib.* Death of the duke of Bedford, 179. Loss of Paris, *ib.* Hostilities with the duke of Burgundy, *ib.* A famine, 180. Siege of Harfleur, *ib.* Negotiations, 181. An armistice, 182. Transactions with Scotland, 183. Defeat of sir Robert Ogle, 184. Marriages of queen Catherine and duchess of Bedford, 185. Education of Henry, 187. Disputes between Gloucester and the cardinal, *ib.* Beaufort created apostolic legate, 188. Beaufort raises troops for the crusade, 189. He becomes popular, 191. Charges against him, *ib.* Liberation of the duke of Orleans, 192. Prosecution of the duchess of Gloucester, 193. The king's marriage, 195. Arrest and death of Gloucester, 196. Conspiracy against the king, 197. Death of Beaufort, 198. Richard duke of York, *ib.* Cession of Anjou and Maine, 199. The loss of Rouen, 200. Of all Normandy, 201. And of Guienne, *ib.* The public discontent, *ib.* Charges against Suffolk, 203. He is sent to the Tower, *ib.* Is impeached by the king, *ib.* His defence, 204. He is banished, 205. Leaves the kingdom, *ib.* And is murdered at sea, 206. Insurrection, *ib.* Complaints and demands of the insurgents, 207. Battle at Sevenoaks, *ib.* Fate of Cade and his followers, 208. Return of the duke of York, 209. Disputes in parliament, *ib.* York raises forces, and submits, 211. An unsuccessful attempt to recover Guienne, *ib.* Birth of a prince, 212. Henry's incapacity, *ib.* York is made protector, 214. The king recovers, *ib.* Battle of St. Alban's, 215. The king is in the hands of the Yorkists, *ib.* York protector a second time, 216. Henry recovers again, 217. Reconciliation of the two parties, 218. They quarrel again, *ib.* Battle of Bloreheath, 219. The Yorkists are dispersed, 220. Yorkists attainted, *ib.* They raise an army, 221. And make the king prisoner, 222. The duke avows his claim to the crown, *ib.* It is brought forward by his counsel, 223. Objections to the duke's claim, *ib.* A compromise, 224. Battle of Wakefield, 225. The duke is slain, *ib.* Battle of Mortimer's cross, 226. Second battle at St. Alban's, *ib.* The king is free again, *ib.* Edward the new duke of York in London, *ib.* Powers of the house of lords, 227. Rights of the commons, 228.

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD IV.

EDWARD IS CROWNED — MISFORTUNES OF THE LANCASTRIANS — HENRY VI. IS MADE PRISONER — EDWARD'S MARRIAGE — INSURRECTION — THE KING IMPRISONED BY THE NEVILLES — HIS RELEASE — ANOTHER INSURRECTION — CLARENCE AND WARWICK LEAVE THE REALM — RETURN — EXPEL EDWARD — AND RESTORE HENRY — EDWARD RETURNS — HIS VICTORY AT BARNET — CAPTURE AND DEATH OF HENRY — BATTLE OF TEWKSBURY — WAR WITH FRANCE — PEACE — ATTAINDER OF CLARENCE — DEATH OF THE KING.

Battle of Towton, 231. Edward is crowned, *ib.* Bill of attainder, 232. The king's speech, *ib.* Exertions of queen Margaret, 233. She is shipwrecked, *ib.* Her adventure in a forest, 234. Battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, 235. Henry is made prisoner, 236. Edward's treaties with foreign powers, 237. His clandestine marriage, *ib.* The queen is acknowledged and crowned, 238. All her relations provided for, 239. Discontent of the Nevilles, 240. Reconciliation, 241. Clarence married to the

daughter of Warwick, 242. Insurrection in Yorkshire, 243. Edward is in distress, *ib.* Battle at Edgecote, 244. Edward is made prisoner and confined, *ib.* He is released, 245. His eldest daughter promised to George Neville, 246. Another rupture and reconciliation, *ib.* Insurrection of sir Robert Welles, 247. Battle of Erpingham, *ib.* Flight of Clarence and Warwick, 248. They are excluded from Calais, 249. Their reception by Louis XI., *ib.* Clarence is dissatisfied, *ib.* The exiles return and land, 250. Edward is driven out of the kingdom, 251. Henry is restored, *ib.* Settlement of the succession, 252. Conduct of foreign powers, *ib.* Edward lands in England, 253. And is admitted into London, 254. Battle of Barnet, *ib.* Landing of queen Margaret, 255. Battle of Tewksbury, 256. Execution of the duke of Somerset, *ib.* Murder of Henry VI., 257. Queen Margaret, 258. The duke of Exeter, *ib.* The earl of Oxford, *ib.* Fate of the Lancastrians, *ib.* The archbishop of York, 259. The earls of Pembroke and Richmond, *ib.* Morton and Fortescue, 260. Quarrel between Clarence and Gloucester, 261. Alliance against France, 263. Edward lands in France, *ib.* Policy of Louis, *ib.* Peace and alliance with France, 264. The king and his favourites accept annuities from him, 265. Edward's method of raising money, *ib.* Discontent and imprisonment of Clarence, 267. He is condemned and put to death, 268. War with Scotland, *ib.* Siege of Berwick, 269. Edward is duped by Louis, 270. His death, 271.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD V.

CONDUCT OF THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER—ARRESTS—THE DUKE IS MADE PROTECTOR—MURDER OF LORD HASTINGS AND THE EARL RIVERS—PENANCE OF JANE SHORE—THE DUKE ASPIRES TO THE CROWN—SERMON IN HIS FAVOUR—SPEECH OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM—OFFER OF THE CROWN TO GLOUCESTER—WHO ACCEPTS IT.

State of parties at the death of Edward, 272. Orders issued for the coronation of his son, 273. Conduct of Richard duke of Gloucester, 274. He receives the king's relations, *ib.* And arrests them, 275. The young king enters London, *ib.* The duke is made protector, 276. Murder of lord Hastings, 277. And of the prisoners at Pontefract, *ib.* The queen surrenders her second son, 278. Penance of Jane Shore, *ib.* Sermon in favour of the protector's right to the crown, 279. Speech of the duke of Buckingham, 280. Petition presented to the protector, 281. He accepts the crown, 282. And takes possession, *ib.*

CHAPTER VII.

RICHARD III.

CORONATION OF RICHARD—DEATH OF HIS TWO NEPHEWS—CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM DEFEATED—IS RECONCILED WITH ELIZABETH—WISHES TO MARRY HIS NIECE—RAISES AN ARMY AGAINST THE EARL OF RICHMOND—IS KILLED IN THE BATTLE AT BOSWORTH.

Coronation of Richard, 283. His progress through the kingdom, 284. And coronation at York, *ib.* Confederacy against him, 285. Death of his nephews, *ib.* Conspiracy in favour of the earl of Richmond, 286. Insurrection, 287. Richard is successful, 288. He assembles a parliament, *ib.*

Attempts to defeat the plans of Henry, 289. Prevails on Elizabeth to quit the sanctuary, 290. Death of the king's son, *ib.* Henry flees from Bretagne into France, *ib.* Negotiations with Scotland, *ib.* The king wishes to marry the princess Elizabeth, 291. But is dissuaded, *ib.* His difficulties and preparations, 292. His distrust of lord Stanley, *ib.* His proclamation, 293. Henry lands in Wales, 294. Battle of Bosworth, 295. Richard is slain, *ib.* His character, *ib.*

CHAPTER VIII.

HENRY VII.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT—THE KING'S MARRIAGE—INSURRECTION IN FAVOUR OF A PRETENDED EARL OF WARWICK—CORONATION OF THE QUEEN—WAR IN BRETAGNE—IMPOSTURE OF PERKIN WARBECK—HE IS EXECUTED—ALSO THE EARL OF WARWICK—TREATIES WITH FRANCE—WITH SCOTLAND—WITH SPAIN—MARRIAGE AND DEATH OF PRINCE ARTHUR—HENRY'S RAPACITY—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH—HIS CHARACTER.

Defects of Henry's title, 297. He sends Elizabeth to London, *ib.* The king makes his entry into the capital, *ib.* The sweating sickness, 298. Proceedings in parliament, *ib.* Settlement of the crown, 299. The king marries Elizabeth, 301. Insurrection of lord Lovell, 302. The king's progress through the realm, 303. Treaty with Scotland, *ib.* Birth of a prince, 304. A pretended earl of Warwick, *ib.* He is received in Ireland, 305. The king's conduct on the occasion, *ib.* The pretender is joined by the earl of Lincoln, 306. He lands in Furness—Battle at Stoke, 307. Coronation of the queen, 308. Jurisdiction of the star chamber, 309. Prolongation of peace with Scotland, 310. Anne of Bretagne, 311. Henry's affected delays, 312. Henry pretends to assist her, 313. Battle of Dixmude, *ib.* Insurrection in Northumberland, 314. Anne of Bretagne married by proxy, 315. She is compelled to marry the king of France, *ib.* Henry prepares for war, 316. He lands in France, 317. And concludes a peace with Charles, *ib.* Story of Perkin Warbeck, 318. He is acknowledged in France, *ib.* And by the duchess of Burgundy, 319. Henry seeks to obtain possession of Warbeck, *ib.* His friends are betrayed, *ib.* His partisans executed, 320. Submission of the Irish, 321. Warbeck attempts to land, 322. Proceedings in parliament, *ib.* Warbeck is received in Scotland, 323. He invades England, 324. Insurrection in Cornwall, 325. Peace with Scotland, *ib.* Warbeck in Cornwall, 326. He flies to a sanctuary, *ib.* Submits to the king, 327. Escapes, *ib.* Confesses the imposture, 328. A pretended earl of Warwick, *ib.* Execution of Warbeck, 329. And of the real earl of Warwick, *ib.* Treaties with France, 330. Treaties with Scotland, 331. Marriage of James with the king's daughter, 332. Marriage of prince Arthur, *ib.* His death, 333. Contract of marriage between Henry and Catherine, 334. The king and queen of Castile in England. 335. Henry gets possession of the earl of Suffolk, 336. New projects of marriage, 337. The king's schemes to get money, 338. His sickness and death, 339.

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY VIII.

ACCESSION AND MARRIAGE OF HENRY VIII.—PUNISHMENT OF EMPSON AND DUDLEY—STATE OF EUROPE—WAR WITH FRANCE—INGLORIOUS CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN—INVASION OF FRANCE—VICTORY AT GUINEGATE—DEFEAT OF THE SCOTS AT FLODDEN—PEACE—RISE, POWER, AND CHARACTER OF WOLSEY.

Accession of Henry VIII., 342. His marriage and coronation, 343. Arrest and execution of Empson and Dudley, *ib.* The king's amusements, 344. Political state of Italy, 345. League of Cambray, 346. Rupture between the pope and France, 347. Maximilian, Ferdinand, and Henry aid the pope, 348. Expedition against Guienne, 349. Action by sea, *ib.* The French driven out of Italy, 350. Louis solicits peace, *ib.* Death of the lord admiral, 351. Invasion of France, *ib.* Siege of Terouenne, 352. Battle of Spurs, 353. Cause of the war with Scotland, *ib.* James favours the French, 354. Invades England, 355. Is opposed by the earl of Surrey, 356. Battle of Flodden, 357. James is slain, 358. Surrender of Tournay, 359. A general pacification, 360. Louis marries Mary, 361. And dies, 362. Marriage of Mary and Suffolk, *ib.* Rise of Wolsey, 364. Affairs of Scotland, 365. Francis re-conquers Milan, 366. Conduct of Henry, *ib.* Perpetual alliance with France, 368. Wolsey's power, *ib.* His wealth, 369. His character, 370. His foreign politics, 371.—NOTES, 372.

LINGARD'S

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

RICHARD II.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	*Kings of Scotland.*	*Kings of France.*	*Kings of Spain.*
Charles IV..... 1378.	Robert II..... 1390.	Charles V..... 1380.	Henry II..... 1379.
Winceslaus.	Robert III.	Charles VI.	John I..... 1390.
			Henry III.

Popes.

Gregory XI. 1378. Urban VI. 1389. Boniface IX.

Government of the kingdom during the minority—Insurrection and excesses of the people—Wycliffe—his death and doctrines—Invasion of Scotland—Prosecution of ministers—Ascendency of the duke of Gloucester—Execution of the king's friends—Richard recovers his authority—Statutes of provisors—the king goes to Ireland—Attainder of the duke of Gloucester and his adherents—Judgment of the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk—Illegal conduct of Richard—He goes to Ireland—Henry of Lancaster rebels—King made prisoner and deposed—Henry claims the crown.

WHILE Edward yet lay on his death-bed, a deputation of the citizens of London waited on Richard of Bordeaux, the son and heir of the black prince. They offered their lives and fortunes in support of his right to the crown, advised him to leave Shene, and to make the Tower his residence, and solicited his mediation to reconcile them with his uncle, the duke of Lancaster. The young prince (he was in his eleventh year) was instructed to receive them graciously, and to signify his assent to their petitions. The same day his grandfather died; and the next afternoon Richard made his entry into the capital. Triumphal arches had been erected: pageants were exhibited; and conduits running with wine displayed the wealth of the citizens, and exhilarated the loyalty of the populace (1). A. D. 1377. June 21. June 22.

(1) I will mention one of these pageants that the reader may form some idea of the taste of our ancestors. In the market of Cheapside was erected a building in the form of a castle, out of which ran two streams of wine. On its four turrets were placed four girls, dressed in white, and of the same age with the king. As he approached, they blew towards him small shreds of gold-leaf;

Three weeks were employed in performing the obsequies of the late, and preparing for the coronation of the new, king. On the
July 16. appointed day Richard rose at an early hour, and attended at the matins and mass in his private chapel at Westminster. The procession assembled in the great hall, the passage from which to the abbey church had been covered with scarlet cloth. The clergy, abbots, and prelates, led the way: they were followed by the great officers of the crown; and last of all came the young prince under a canopy of blue silk, borne on spears of silver by the barons of the cinque ports. While the Litany was chanted by the choir Richard lay prostrate before the altar, whence he was conducted to his throne on a platform raised in the middle of the nave. As soon as he had taken the usual oath, the archbishop, accompanied by the marshal, successively explained its obligations to the people from the four sides of the platform, and inquired whether they were willing to have the young prince for their king. Their assent was given in loud acclamations; and Richard was anointed, crowned, and invested with the different insignia of the royal dignity. A solemn mass followed: at the offertory he descended to present on the altar bread and wine and a mark of gold; and returning to his throne, received the homage of his uncles, and the earls and barons. As soon as he had communicated, the young king, exhausted with fatigue, was conveyed in a litter to his own apartment; but after a short repose was again summoned to the great hall, where he created four earls and nine knights, and partook of a splendid but tumultuous banquet. The day was concluded with balls, minstrelsies, and the usual festivities of the age (1).

The next morning the prelates and barons held a great council to
July 17. arrange the form of the new government during the minority of the king, and chose "in aid of the chancellor and treasurer" twelve councillors, two bishops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets, and four knights. The ascendency which the duke of Lancaster possessed at the close of the last reign, his wealth and power, and his known ambition, had created a prevalent opinion that he would snatch the first opportunity to place the crown on his own head. To the surprise of his enemies he cheerfully acquiesced in the appointment of the council, and retired with his suite to his castle of Kenilworth. But though he was thus apparently excluded from the administration, in common with his brothers, the new earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, he had been careful to procure places

then showered upon him florins made of paper, and coming down, helped him and his attendants to wine out of cups of gold. To conclude the exhibition, an angel descended from the summit of the castle, and offered to the king a golden crown. Every street exhibited some pageant or device; but the merchants of Cheapside obtained the praise of superior ingenuity. Wals. 194, 195.

(1) Walsingham has preserved the whole order of the coronation (195—198). The duke of Lancaster commanded it to be enrolled. Rym. vii. 158. Sir John Dymock attended as champion with his two esquires: the lord steward, constable, and marshal, rode up and down the hall on their chargers to maintain order. Wals. 127. The claims to the different offices on this occasion may be seen in Lel. Coll. i. 253.

in the council for several of his creatures, whose appointment kept alive the jealousy of his opponents, and gave rise to many specious, but perhaps unfounded, reports (1).

It was the misfortune of the new king to find himself, at the very commencement of his reign, involved in an expensive war. The truce between England and France had expired before the death of Edward; and Charles had taken the opportunity to renew hostilities, and add to his former conquests. His fleets insulted the English coasts; the Isle of Wight was plundered; the town of Hastings was burnt; and though the enemy had been repulsed from Southampton by the earl of Arundel, the maritime towns were continually exposed to their visits, and the merchants were impoverished by the interruption of commerce. In these expeditions the French obtained the co-operation of the Spaniards, whose hostility had been embittered by the impolitic pretensions of the duke of Lancaster in right of his wife to the crowns of Castile and Leon. With an exhausted treasury it was impossible for the new government to oppose the enemy on the sea, or to check his progress by land: the king summoned parliament after parliament to demand the aid of his people; and these assemblies, imitating those of the last reign, accompanied every grant with petitions, which procured the confirmation of the statutes already enacted, and led to the acquisition of new and valuable privileges, still enjoyed by the house of commons at the present day. Aug. 21.

Richard's first parliament showed how low the influence of the duke of Lancaster had declined. The majority in the commons consisted of the members who had been arrayed against him in 1376; and the new speaker was sir Peter de la Mere, the very man whom he had imprisoned on account of his activity on that occasion. The archbishop of Canterbury opened the session with a speech, in which he recommended Richard to the affection of his people, because he was not an elected king, but the true heir and representative of their former monarchs; returned them thanks for the attention which they had always paid to his interests, since the death of his father; and requested their advice how the enemies of the realm might be effectually opposed with the least burden to the nation, and the greatest honour to the new sovereign. The commons replied that they could not venture to answer of themselves so important a question, and solicited the aid of twelve peers, with "my "lord of Spain" (the duke of Lancaster) at their head. The moment Richard had signified his assent, the duke arose, bent his knee to the king, and alluding to the reports which had been circulated, said that the commons had no claim on him for advice. They had charged him with that which amounted to treason. Though he Oct. 13.

(1) Rym. vii. 162. Wals. 198. Rot. Parl. iii. 386.

might be unworthy, he was still the son of a king, and one of the first lords in the realm; nor would he sit down under the imputation, or apply to any business, till his character had been cleared. The blood which flowed in his veins was the blood of men who had been renowned for their faith and loyalty. There had never been a traitor among his ancestors of either line, nor would he be the first to sully the fair fame of two noble families. Marvellous indeed it would be, if, bound as he was by nature to be loyal, and with more to lose by treason than any other man in the kingdom, he should still be a traitor. Let then his accusers come forth. He was ready to meet them, as if he were the poorest knight, either in single combat, or in any other way that the king and his peers might award (1).

This speech created a considerable ferment. The prelates and lords arose together, surrounded the duke, and entreated him to be pacified, "for no mortal living would give credit to such imputa-"tion." The commons then came and protested their belief of his innocence, and in proof of their sincerity, referred to the choice which they had previously made of Lancaster himself to be their principal councellor. At last he suffered himself to be persuaded, consented to forget all that was passed, and declared that he would be satisfied with the enactment of a severe law for the punishment of the inventors and propagators of similar falsehoods (2).

After this pacification the commons, having presented several petitions, were ordered to withdraw, and to return on an appointed day to receive the answers of the king and the lords. In one point, and that of great importance, they proved successful. Two citizens, John Phillpot and William Walworth, merchants of London, were appointed treasurers to receive the monies arising from the new aid, of two-tenths on the towns, and two-fifteenths on the counties, and to employ them solely in defraying the expenses of the war. In another point their wishes were but partially gratified. They had petitioned that eight new councillors, the great officers of state, the chief justices, and all the individuals admitted near the king's person, should be named by the lords, and certified to the commons in parliament. The lords appointed a new council of nine members to continue in office one year, to whom were added eight others according to the request of the commons; and reserving to themselves the nomination of the chancellor, chamberlain, and steward of the household during the minority, left to the king himself the selection of his other companions and servants. To a third request that "a par-"liament might be holden once every year at a convenient place, "to redress delays in actions at law, and to decide finally those "cases in which the judges differed in opinion," it was replied,

(1) This speech is entered on the rolls, probably at the demand of the duke. Rot. Parl. iii.

(2) Ibid.

that the existing statutes should be put in execution, and the place of meeting be determined by the king (1).

Before the close of the session Alice Perrers was abandoned by her former patron to the resentment of the commons. She was arraigned before the peers on the act passed the last year, to prohibit females from soliciting causes in the king's courts for hire and reward; and was accused of having procured from the deceased monarch the revocation of sir Nicholas Dagworth's appointment to an office in Ireland, and a full pardon for Richard Lyons, who had been convicted of several misdemeanors at the prosecution of the commons in parliament. The prelates and lords resolved that she should be tried by a jury, before a committee of the house, consisting of the duke of Lancaster and four earls. She was found guilty, and condemned to banishment, and the forfeiture of all her lands, tenements, goods, and chattels (2). Nov. 22.

The hopes of the nation had been raised by the promises, they were afterwards depressed by the inactivity, of the duke of Lancaster. That prince, who had received the whole of the last subsidy, conducted an army to Bretagne, besieged the town of St. Malo, lay during several weeks before the walls, and then returned to England without fighting the enemy, or achieving a single conquest. The Scots at the same time violated the truce, burnt Roxburgh, and surprised Berwick, which was soon recovered by the earl of Northumberland. Several petty engagements were fought at sea: but the commanders who chiefly distinguished themselves on either side proved to be private adventurers; Mercer, a Scot, who with a few ships scoured the German ocean, and carried off a fleet of merchantmen from the port of Scarborough; and Phillpot, a citizen of London, who, equipping a small squadron at his own charge, fell in with Mercer, and, after a sharp engagement, took him prisoner, and captured sixteen Spanish vessels. Phillpot was received with acclamations by his fellow citizens; but was severely reprimanded by the council, for having presumed to levy war without the royal permission (3). A. D. 1378. Aug.

The next parliament met at Gloucester, at a time when the minds of the people were soured by taxation and disappointment. On the introduction of the commons into the royal presence, their speaker,

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 6, 7. 16. During these proceedings the lords appear to have acted on the principle, that by the minority of the king, the right of providing for the government had devolved upon themselves.

(2) Ibid. 12—14. In this trial there occurred much which is very repugnant to our present notions and practice 1. Not only were the depositions of the witnesses very unsatisfactory, but six of the jury were examined against the accused. It should, however, be observed, that this was consistent with the ancient practice, which selected the jury from the persons supposed to be, from their own knowledge, the best acquainted with the guilt or innocence of the prisoner. In the present case it consisted of sixteen knights and esquires of the late king's household, who from their situation had been in the habit of witnessing the conduct of Perrers. 2. When judgment was about to be pronounced, it was observed that the punishment in the late act extended only to the forfeiture of goods and chattels, not of lands and tenements. To get over the difficulty, the lords who had concurred in passing that act declared that it had always been their intention to include lands and tenements. Ibid.

(3) Wals. 211.

Oct. 20. sir James Pickering, having craved the king's indulgence, if he should say any thing displeasing to him or the lords, detailed their objections to the grant of a new subsidy, which were answered by sir Richard le Scrope, the steward of the household. Emboldened by their success in the last year, they now requested permission to inspect the accounts of the treasurers, which was granted as a matter of favour but not of right, with a protestation that it should not hereafter be drawn into precedent. They next petitioned for a copy of the enrolment of the tenths and fifteenths, that they might learn in what manner they had been raised; and this was also granted, with an observation that it proceeded from the king's good pleasure, and not in consequence of their request. Lastly, they demanded that six peers and prelates should be sent to their chamber to give them advice: but the lords refused, declaring that they would revert to the ancient custom of appointing a committee of their members to consult in private with a committee similarly appointed by the other house. Though the commons were repeatedly urged to the despatch of business, and told that by their delay they added to the burden of those who had to pay their expenses, they proceeded leisurely and with much deliberation. On inquiry, however, they were satisfied that the subsidy had been impartially assessed, and lawfully expended: their objections were silenced; and a new aid by an additional impost on wool, wool-fells, and skins, was cheerfully granted (1).

During the war in Bretagne the French had successively obtained possession of every fortress, with the exception of Brest, which the duke, John de Montfort, had surrendered to Richard in exchange for a competent estate in England. Charles, flattering himself that A. D. 1378. Dec. 9. he was secure of his conquest, by a definitive judgment annexed the duchy to the French crown; a precipitate and injudicious measure, which instantly awakened all the national prejudices of the Bretons. They combined to assert their independence, recalled their duke, expelled the French, and earnestly solicited assistance from England. A. D. 1379. Dec. The first expedition under sir John Arundel was dispersed by a storm, in which the general and the greater part of the men at arms perished. A second army was raised, and placed under the command of the earl of Buckingham, the king's uncle. He crossed from A. D. 1380. July 21. Dover to Calais, directed his march through the heart of France, and was permitted to advance without opposition according to the usual policy of the enemy. But by the time he had reached the borders of Bretagne, another, and not less singular, revolution had happened. Charles died: the Bretons transferred their jealousy from the Sept. 16. French to their allies; and Montfort, after balancing long between the two parties, yielded to the wishes of his subjects, and made his

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 34. 38.

peace with the regency which governed France during the minority of Charles VI. The earl spent the winter in Bretagne; and at the return of spring was happy to escape with his army from the perfidy and hostility of the natives (1). A. D. 1381. Apr. 11.

The ministers had obtained ample grants of money in the two first years of this reign: in the third the expense of the war in Bretagne compelled them to solicit an additional aid, and to confirm by these frequent appeals to the generosity of the nation that control, which the house of commons had lately assumed over the public monies. It was no longer necessary to petition for the accounts of the treasury; they were offered spontaneously: and in return was granted a capitation tax graduated according to each person's rank and estate (2). It had been calculated to produce above fifty thousand pounds, but fell short of half that sum; and to supply the deficiency a new demand was made upon parliament. The commons vented their discontent in complaints. They required that the council should be dismissed, that the king should govern with the aid of his usual officers, the chancellor, treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, chamberlain, and steward of the household, and that these ministers should be chosen in parliament. All their petitions were granted: even a committee of finance, consisting of lords and commoners, was appointed, with powers to inquire into the expenses of the royal household, and of the offices of government; and into this committee were introduced, by a condescension hitherto unknown, three representatives of the cities, two of them aldermen of London, and one an alderman of York. Mollified by so many concessions, they voted A. D. 1379. Apr. 25. 1380. Jan. 16.

(1) Froiss. xxvii. xxxiii.—xlviii. Murim. Cont. 148, 149.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 56, 57, 58. As the scale is curious, I shall subjoin an abridgment of it.

1. The dukes of Lancaster and Bretagne were rated at	L.	61	13	4
2. The justices of the king's bench and common pleas, and the chief baron of the exchequer		5	0	0
3. An earl, an earl's widow, and the mayor of London		4	0	0
4. A baron, banneret, knight equal in estate to a banneret, their widows, the aldermen of London, mayors of great towns, serjeants at law and great apprentices of the law.		2	0	0
5. A knight, esquire who ought to be a knight, their widows, apprentices who followed the law, jurats of great towns, and great merchants		1	0	0
6. Sufficient merchants.		0	13	4
7. Esquires, their widows, the widows of sufficient merchants, attorneys at law		0	6	8
8. Others of less estate in proportion.		0	3	4
or.		0	2	0
or.		0	1	0
9. Each married labourer for himself and wife.		0	0	4
10 Single men and women not mendicants		0	0	4

Rot. Parl. iii. 57, 58.

The clergy, who possessed the right of taxing themselves, adopted a similar rate.

Archbishops paid	L.	6	13	4
Bishops and other spiritual peers		4	0	0
All having benefices above the yearly value of 200*l.*		2	0	0
from 100*l.* to 200*l.*		1	10	0
from 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to 100*l.*		1	0	0
from 40*l.* to 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*		0	13	4
from 20*l.* to 40*l.*		0	10	0
from 10*l.* to 20*l.*		0	5	0
All other clergymen.		0	2	0

Monks and nuns paid per head, according to the value of the houses to which they belonged, 40*d.*, or 20*d*, or 12*d.*, or 4*d.* Wilk. Con. iii. 141, 142.

a tenth and a half within the cities and boroughs, a fifteenth and a half without (1). Yet these grants did not prove sufficient to cover
Nov. 5. the current expenses of the year; and when the chancellor, a few months later, informed them that one hundred and sixty thousand pounds were requisite to liquidate the debt of the nation, they pronounced the demand "outrageous and insupportable," and prayed the king and the lords to fix on a lower sum, and point out the least oppressive mode by which it could be raised. Three plans were offered to their choice: a capitation tax, or a duty on the sale of merchandise throughout the realm, or the imposition of a tenth or fifteenth after the ancient manner. A long debate ensued. The commons proposed to raise one hundred thousand pounds by the capitation tax, of which two-thirds should be paid by the laity, one-third by the clergy: but the clergy replied, that they would admit of no invasion of their rights; they had always enjoyed the liberty of taxing themselves, and would carefully preserve it. Let others perform their own duty and they would perform theirs. At last it was resolved to impose a tax of three groats per head on every male and female of fifteen years of age: but for the relief of the poor it was
Dec. 6. provided, that in the cities and towns the aggregate amount should be divided among the inhabitants according to their abilities, so that no individual should pay less than one groat, or more than sixty groats for himself and his wife (2). The parliament was immediately dismissed: but the collection of the tax gave occasion to an insurrection, which threatened the life of the king, and the very existence of the government.

At this period a secret ferment seems to have pervaded the mass of the people in many nations of Europe. Men were no longer willing to submit to the impositions of their rulers, or to wear the chains which had been thrown round the necks of their fathers by a warlike and haughty aristocracy. We may trace this awakening spirit of independence to a variety of causes, operating in the same direction; to the progressive improvement of society, the gradual diffusion of knowledge, the increasing pressure of taxation, and above all to the numerous and lasting wars by which Europe had lately been convulsed. Necessity had often compelled both the sovereigns and nobles to court the good will of the people: the burghers in the towns, and inferior tenants in the country had learned, from the repeated demands made upon them, to form notions of their own importance; and the archers and foot soldiers, who had served for years in the wars, were, at their return home, unwilling to sit down in the humble station of bondmen to their for-

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 73, 74, 75.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 88—90. The clergy in convocation granted a similar tax of 6*s*. 8*d*. from all prelates, priests both regular and secular, and nuns, and of one shilling from all deacons and inferior clerks. Conc. iii. 150. I observe that the commons assert on this occasion that the wealth of the clergy amounted to one half of that of the laity. Rot. Parl. iii. 90.

mer lords. In Flanders the commons had risen against their count Louis, and had driven him out of his dominions; in France the populace had taken possession of Paris and Rouen, and massacred the collectors of the revenue. In England a spirit of discontent agitated the whole body of the villeins, who remained in almost the same situation in which we left them at the Norman conquest. They were still attached to the soil, talliable at the will of the lord, and bound to pay the fines for the marriage of their females, to perform customary labour, and to render the other servile prestations incident to their condition. It is true that in the course of time many had obobtained the rights of freemen. Occasionally the king or the lord would liberate at once all the bondmen on some particular domain, in return for a fixed rent to be yearly assessed on the inhabitants (1). But the progress of emancipation was slow: the improved condition or their former fellows served only to embitter the discontent of those who still wore the fetters of servitude; and in many places the villeins formed associations for their mutual support, and availed themselves of every expedient in their power to free themselves from the control of their lords. In the first year of Richard's reign a complaint was laid before parliament, that in many districts they had purchased exemplifications out of the domesday book in the king's court, and under a false interpretation of that record had pretended to be discharged of all manner of servitude both as to their bodies and their tenures, and would not suffer the officers of their lords either to levy distress, or to do justice upon them. It was in vain that such exemplifications were declared of no force, and that commissions were ordered for the punishment of the rebellious. The villeins by their union and perseverance contrived to intimidate their lords, and set at defiance the severity of the law (2). To this resistance they were encouraged by the diffusion of the doctrines so recently taught by Wycliffe, that the right of property was founded in grace, and that no man, who was by sin a traitor to God could be entitled to the services of others: at the same time itinerant preachers sedulously inculcated the natural equality of mankind, and the tyranny of artificial distinctions; and the poorer classes, still smarting under the exactions of the late reign, were by the impositions of the new tax wound up to a pitch of madness. Thus the materials had been prepared: it required but a spark to set the whole country in a blaze.

It was soon discovered that the receipts at the treasury would fall short of the expected amount; and commissions were issued to different persons to inquire into the conduct of the collectors, and to compel payment from those who had been favoured or overlooked. One of these commissioners, Thomas de Bampton, sate at Brentwood in Essex: but the men of Fobbings refused to answer before him; A. D. 1381. May 30.

(1) See for instance New Rym. i. 204. (2) Rot. Parl. iii. 21. 45. Stat. of Realm, ii. 2.

and when the chief justice of the common pleas attempted to punish their contumacy, they compelled him to flee, murdered the jurors and clerks of the commission, and carrying their heads upon poles, claimed the support of the nearest townships. In a few days all the commons of Essex were in a state of insurrection, under the command of a profligate priest, who had assumed the name of Jack Straw.

The men of Kent were not long behind their neighbours in Essex. At Dartford one of the collectors had demanded the tax for a young girl, the daughter of a tyler. Her mother maintained that she was under the age required by the statute; and the officer was proceeding to ascertain the fact by an indecent exposure of her person, when her father, who had just returned from work, with a stroke of his hammer beat out the offender's brains. His courage was applauded by his neighbours. They swore that they would protect him from punishment, and by threats and promises secured the co-operation of all the villages in the western division of Kent.

June. A third party of insurgents was formed by the men of Gravesend, irritated at the conduct of sir Simon Burley. He had claimed one of the burghers as his bondman, refused to grant him his freedom at a less price than three hundred pounds, and sent him a prisoner to the castle of Rochester. With the aid of a body of insurgents from Essex the castle was taken, and the captive liberated. At Maidstone they appointed Wat the tyler of that town leader of the commons of Kent, and took with them an itinerant preacher of the name of John Ball, who for his seditious and heterodox harangues had been confined by order of the archbishop (1). The mayor and aldermen of Canterbury were compelled to swear fidelity to the good cause; se-
June 10. veral of the citizens were slain; and five hundred joined them in their intended march towards London. When they reached Blackheath their numbers are said to have amounted to one hundred thousand men. To this lawless and tumultuous multitude Ball was appointed preacher, and assumed for the text of his first sermon the following lines:

> When Adam delved and Evé span,
> Who was then the gentleman?

He told them that by nature all men were born equal; that the distinction of bondage and freedom was the invention of their op-

(1) For these different particulars see Knyghton, 2633. Walsingham, 247, and Stowe, 283, 284. Some writers have described Ball as one of Wycliffe's disciples. That he was an itinerant preacher, and that he declaimed with equal vehemence against the clergy, is certain. But he was rather the precursor, as he is styled by Knyghton, (2644. 2655,) than the follower of Wycliffe; for he took up the profession of an itinerant preacher long before, even during the lifetime of archbishop Islep, who died in 1366. By that prelate, and his successors Langham and Sudbury, and by several bishops, he had been repeatedly excommunicated for preaching "errors, and schisms, and scandals against the "pope, the archbishops, bishops, and clergy." See Wilkins, Conc, iii. 64. 152. When, however, Wycliffe began to dogmatize, he adopted some of the doctrines of the new teacher, and ingrafted them on his own. Wals. 275.

pressors, and contrary to the views of their Creator; that God now offered them the means of recovering their liberty, and that, if they continued slaves, the blame must rest with themselves; that it was necessary to dispose of the archbishop, the earls and barons, the judges, lawyers, and questmongers; and that when the distinction of ranks was abolished, all would be free, because all would be of the same nobility, and of equal authority. His discourse was received with shouts of applause by his infatuated hearers, who promised to make him, in defiance of his own doctrines, archbishop of Canterbury, and chancellor of the realm (1).

By letters and messengers the knowledge of these proceedings was carefully propagated through the neighbouring counties. Everywhere the people had been prepared; and in a few days the flame spread from the southern coast of Kent to the right bank of the Humber (2). In all places the insurgents regularly pursued the same course. They pillaged the manors of their lords, demolished the houses, and burnt the court rolls; cut off the heads of every justice, and lawyer, and juror, who fell into their hands; and swore all others to be true to king Richard and the commons; to admit of no king of the name of John (3); and to oppose all taxes but fifteenths, the ancient tallage paid by their fathers. The members of the council saw with astonishment the sudden rise, and rapid spread of the insurrection; and bewildered by their fears and ignorance, knew not whom to trust, or what measures to pursue.

The first who encountered the rabble on Blackheath was the princess of Wales, the king's mother, on her return from a pilgrimage to Canterbury. She liberated herself from danger by her own address; and a few kisses from "the fair maid of Kent" purchased the protection of the leaders, and secured the respect of their followers. She was permitted to join her son, who with his cousin Henry earl of Derby, Simon archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, sir Robert Hales master of the knights of St. John and treasurer, and about one hundred serjeants and knights had left the castle of Windsor, and repaired for greater security to the tower of London. The next morning the king in his barge descended the river to receive the petitions of the insurgents. To the number of ten thousand, with two banners of St. George, and sixty pennons, they waited his arrival at Rotherhithe; but their horrid yells and

June 11.

June 12.

(1) Wals. 275. According to Straw's confession after his condemnation, the leaders at Blackheath secretly determined to get possession of the person of the young king, that they might appear to act under his authority; to destroy all the privileged orders in the church and state, preserving only the mendicant friars to perform the offices of religion; then to make away with the king himself, and to appoint kings of the commons in every county. See it in Walsingham, 265.

(2) Several of these letters have been preserved. Some of them are in rhyme, containing enigmatical or cant expressions, and are signed by Jakke Milner, Jak Carter, Jak Treweman, probably feigned names, and by Jon Balle. See them in Knyghton, 2637. and Stowe, 294.

(3) Rot. Parl, iii. 99. Nullum regem qui vocaretur Joannes, alluding to the duke of Lancaster, who was believed to exercise the royal authority under the name of his nephew, and therefore regarded as the author of the tax. Wals. 248.

uncouth appearance so intimidated his attendants, that instead of permitting him to land, they took advantage of the tide, and returned with precipitation (1). Tyler and Straw, irritated by this disappointment, led their men into Southwark, where they demolished the houses belonging to the marshalsea and the king's bench, while another party forced their way into the palace of the archbishop at Lambeth, and burnt the furniture with the records belonging to the chancery.

June 13. The next morning they were allowed to pass in small companies, according to their different townships, over the bridge into the city. The populace joined them; and as soon as they had regaled themselves at the cost of the richer inhabitants, the work of devastation commenced. They demolished Newgate, and liberated the prisoners; plundered and destroyed the magnificent palace of the Savoy, belonging to the duke of Lancaster; burnt the Temple with the books and records; and despatched a party to set fire to the house of the knights hospitallers at Clerkenwell, which had been lately built by Sir Robert Hales. To prove, however, that they had no views of private emolument, a proclamation was issued, forbidding any one to secrete part of the plunder; and so severely was the prohibition enforced, that the plate was hammered and cut into small pieces, the precious stones were beaten to powder, and one of the rioters, who had concealed a silver cup in his bosom, was immediately thrown with his prize into the river (2). To every man whom they met they put the question, "With whom holdest thou?" and unless he gave the proper answer, "With king Richard and the "commons," he was instantly beheaded. But the principal objects of their cruelty were the natives of Flanders. They dragged thirteen Flemings out of one church, seventeen out of another, and thirty-two out of the Vintry, and struck off their heads with shouts of triumph and exultation. In the evening, wearied with the labour of the day, they dispersed through the streets, and indulged in every kind of debauchery (3).

During this night of suspense and terror, the princess of Wales held a council with the ministers in the Tower. The king's uncles were absent; the garrison, though perhaps able to defend the place, was too weak to put down the insurgents; and a resolution was taken to try the influence of promises and concession. In the morn-

June 14. ing the Tower-hill was seen covered with an immense multitude, who prohibited the introduction of provisions, and with loud cries demanded the heads of the chancellor and treasurer. In return, a herald ordered them, by proclamation, to retire to Mile-end, where

(1) "When they perceived his barge," says Froissart, "they set up such shouts and cries, as "if all the devils in hell had been in their com-"pany." Froiss. lix.

(2) Wals. 249. Knyght. 2635. The Savoy had been rebuilt by Henry duke of Lancaster. It was the most magnificent palace in England. Ibid.

(3) Wals. 252. Stowe, 285. 288.

the king would assent to all their demands. Immediately the gates were thrown open: Richard with a few unarmed attendants rode forward; the best intentioned of the crowd followed him; and at Mile-end he saw himself surrounded with sixty thousand petitioners. Their demands were reduced to four; the abolition of slavery; the reduction of the rent of land to four pence the acre; the free liberty of buying and selling in all fairs and markets; and a general pardon for past offences. A charter to that effect was engrossed for each parish and township: during the night thirty clerks were employed in transcribing a sufficient number of copies; they were sealed and delivered in the morning; and the whole body, consisting chiefly of the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, retired bearing the king's banner, as a token that they were under his protection (1).

But Tyler and Straw had formed other and more ambitious designs. The moment the king was gone, they rushed at the head of four hundred men into the Tower. The archbishop, who had just celebrated mass, sir Robert Hales, William Apuldore, the king's confessor, Legge the farmer of the tax (2), and three of his associates, were seized, and led to immediate execution (3). As no opposition was offered, they searched every part of the Tower, burst into the private apartment of the princess, and probed her bed with their swords. She fainted; and was carried by her ladies to the river, which she crossed in a covered barge. The royal wardrobe, a house in Carter-lane, was selected for her residence (4).

The king joined his mother at the wardrobe; and the next morning as he rode through Smithfield, with sixty horsemen, encountered Tyler at the head of twenty thousand insurgents. Three different charters had been sent to that demagogue, who contemptuously refused them all. As soon as he saw Richard, he made a sign to his followers to halt, and boldly rode up to the king. A conversation immediately began: Tyler, as he talked, affected to play with his dagger; at last he laid his hand on the bridle of his sovereign; but at the instant Walworth the lord mayor, jealous of his design, plunged a short sword into his throat. He spurred his horse, rode about a dozen yards, fell to the ground, and was despatched by Robert Standish one of the king's esquires. The insurgents who witnessed the transaction drew their bows to revenge the fall of their leader, and Richard would inevitably have lost his life, had he not been saved by his own intrepidity. Galloping up to the archers, he exclaimed; "What are ye doing, my lieges? "Tyler was a traitor. Come with me, and I will be your leader." June 15.

(1) Rym. vii. 317.
(2) See Knyght. 2633. 2635.
(3) In Walsingham may be seen a long account of the death of the archbishop, p. 250. His head was carried in triumph through the streets on the point of a lance, and fixed on London bridge. That it might be the better known, the hat or bonnet worn by him was nailed to the skull. Wilk. Conc. iii. 153.
(4) Froiss. lix.

Wavering and disconcerted, they followed him into the fields at Islington; whither a force of one thousand men at arms, which had been collected by the lord mayor and sir Robert Knowles, hastened to protect the young king; and the insurgents falling on their knees begged for mercy. Many of the royalists demanded permission to punish them for their past excesses: but Richard firmly refused, ordered the suppliants to return to their homes, and by proclamation forbade under pain of death any stranger to pass the night in the city (1).

On the southern coast the excesses of the insurgents reached as far as Winchester; on the eastern, to Beverley and Scarborough (2): and, if we reflect that in every place they rose about the same time, and uniformly pursued the same system, we may discover reason to suspect that they acted under the direction of some acknowledged though invisible leader. The nobility and gentry, intimidated by the hostility of their tenants, and distressed by contradictory reports, sought security within the fortifications of their castles (3). The only man who behaved with promptitude and resolution, was Henry Spenser the young and warlike bishop of Norwich. In the counties of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, tranquillity was restored and preserved by this singular prelate, who successively exercised the offices of general, judge, and priest. In complete armour he always led his followers to the attack; after the battle he sat in judgment on his prisoners; and before execution he administered to them the aids of religion (4). But as soon as the death of Tyler, and the dispersion of the men of Kent and Essex were known, thousands became eager to display their loyalty; and knights and esquires from every quarter poured into London to offer their services
June 30. to the king. At the head of forty thousand horse, he published proclamations, revoking the charters of manumission which he had
July 2. granted, commanding the villeins to perform their usual services, and prohibiting illegal assemblies and associations (5). In several parts the commons threatened to renew the horrors of the late tumult in defence of their liberties: but the approach of the royal army dismayed the disaffected in Kent; the loss of five hundred men induced the insurgents of Essex to sue for pardon; and numerous executions in different counties effectually crushed the spirit of resistance. Among the sufferers were Lister and Westbroom,

(1) The history of this insurrection has been transmitted to us, with many variations in the minor circumstances, by Walsingham, 247—278, Knyghton, 2633—2644, and Froissart, lvii—lxii.

(2) Rot. Parl. 5 Rich. II. 32. 95.

(3) The duke of Lancaster was at this time negotiating with the Scots on the borders. Besides the destruction of his property at the Savoy, reports were brought to him that the same excesses had been committed in his castles of Leicester and Tutbury; and that two bodies, of ten thousand men each, were lying in wait to intercept him on his return. Other reports stated that his enemies acted under the commands of the king, who had always feared, and now sought to prevent, his ambition. All these reports were false (quæ de facto falsa erant. Knyght. 2644): but they induced his officers at Pomfret to refuse him admission to his duchess, and the earl of Northumberland to exclude him from the castle of Bamborough. He retired to Edinburgh, till he was honourably recalled by his nephew. Knyght. 2640—2642.

(4) Wals. 263, 264.

(5) Rym. vii. 316.

who had assumed the title and authority of kings in Norfolk and Suffolk, and Straw and Ball, the itinerant preachers, who have been already mentioned, and whose sermons were supposed to have kindled and nourished the insurrection (1).

When the parliament met, the two houses were informed by the chancellor, that the king had revoked the charters of emancipation, which he had been compelled to grant to the villeins: but at the same time wished to submit to their consideration, whether it might not be wise to abolish the state of bondage altogether. The minds of the great proprietors were not, however, prepared for the adoption of so liberal a measure; and both lords and commons unanimously replied, that no man could deprive them of the services of their villeins without their consent; that they had never given that consent, and never would be induced to give it, either through persuasion or violence. The king yielded to their obstinacy; and the charters were repealed by authority of parliament (2). The commons next deliberated, and presented their petitions. They attributed the insurrection to the grievances suffered by the people from, 1°. The purveyors, who were said to have exceeded all their predecessors in insolence and extortion; 2°. From the rapacity of the royal officers in the chancery, and exchequer, and the courts of king's bench and common pleas; 3°. From the banditti, called maintainers, who, in different counties, supported themselves by plunder, and arming in defence of each other, set at defiance all the provisions of the law (3); and, 4°. From the repeated aids and taxes, which had impoverished the people, and proved of no service to the nation. To silence these complaints, a commission of inquiry was appointed: the courts of law and the king's household were subjected to regulations of reform; and severe orders were published for the immediate suppression of illegal associations (4). But the demand of a supply produced a very in- Nov. 9.

(1) Knyght. 2643. Wals. 265. 268. When Tresilian, one of the judges, tried the insurgents at St. Alban's, he impanneled three juries of twelve men each. The first was ordered to present all whom they knew to be the chiefs of the tumult, the second gave their opinion on the presentation of the first, and the third pronounced the verdict of guilty or not guilty. It does not appear that witnesses were examined. The juries spoke from their personal knowledge. Thus each convict was condemned on the oaths of thirty-six men. Wals. 276. At first, on account of the multitude of executions, the condemned were beheaded: afterwards they were hanged and left on the gibbet as objects of terror: but as their bodies were removed by their friends, the king ordered them to be hanged in chains; the first instance in which I have met with express mention of the practice. Wals. 278. According to Holinshed the executions amounted to 1500.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 99, 100.

(3) The existence of the maintainers is a glaring proof of the inefficient administration of justice at this period. They united in large bodies, plundered extensive districts, put to death those who opposed them, compelled the others to pay ransoms for their liberty, and attended the courts, where pleas were held, in such numbers as to intimidate witnesses, juries, and judges. But of all the maintainers those of Cheshire and Lancashire were the most feared. They often made inroads into the neighbouring counties to the distance of 100 miles. One of their great objects was to carry off the daughters of men of property. Each captive was of course made the pretended wife of one of the party; and a message was sent to her parents, advising them of her marriage, and requiring them to send her fortune to the husband under the peril of their lives. When this was obtained, the unfortunate female was generally restored to her family, but with an admonition, that if any person ill-treated her on account of what had passed, the offender should forfeit his life. As the king's writs did not run in the county palatine, these miscreants were protected from prosecutions brought against them for crimes committed in other parts. See the rolls, iii. 42. 62. 81. Stat. of Realm, ii. 9. 27.

(4) Ibid. 100—102.

teresting altercation. The commons refused, on the ground that the imposition of a new tax would goad the people to a second insurrection. They found it, however, necessary to request of the king a general pardon for all illegal acts committed in the suppression of the insurgents, and received for answer, that it was customary for the commons to make their grants before the king bestowed his favours. When the subsidy was again pressed on their attention, they replied, that they should take time to consider of it, but were told that the king would also take time to consider of their petition.

Dec. 13. At last they yielded: the tax upon wool, wool-fells, and leather was continued for five years (1); and in return a general pardon was granted for all loyal subjects, who had acted illegally in opposing the rebels, and for the great body of the insurgents, who had been misled by the declamations of the demagogues (2). This favour,

A. D. 1382. Jan. 22. however, was said to have been granted on occasion of the king's approaching marriage, and at the intercession of his intended queen, Anne of Bohemia. She was the daughter of the emperor Charles IV., and sister of Winceslaus, king of the Romans; a princess of great accomplishments, and of still greater virtue, who during the twelve years of their union possessed the affections of her husband, and after her death was long remembered by the people under the appellation of the "good queen Anne."

A. D. 1377. Jan. 13. While the principal nations of Europe were thus agitated by popular tumults the christian world had been thrown into confusion by the opposite pretensions of two competitors for the papacy. Gregory XI., about seventy years after his predecessors had fixed their residence in France, returned, against the unanimous advice of

A. D. 1378. Mar. 27. the cardinals, to Rome. At his death three-fourths of the sacred college consisted of Frenchmen; and the Romans, jealous of their pre-

(1) That the tax upon wool might not by repetition be at length claimed as a right, they inserted the following clause in the grant. Combien qe riens n'y ad le Roi es dites subsides sinoun par lour grant. 104.

(2) Ibid. 103. At first several towns were excepted: but on the representation of the commons it was extended to all but Bury St. Edmunds, p. 118. Many individuals were also excepted by name from the cities of London, Winchester, and Canterbury, and the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Essex, Hertford, Middlesex, Sussex, and Somerset. They amounted to 286. Ibid. 111. The other proceedings of this parliament are highly interesting, as they point out to posterity the original cause of loans to the public on *parliamentary security*. A grant, continuing the duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for four years, had been made to the king, that he might undertake an expedition into France. To raise money on the credit of this grant, he called a council of merchants, those of London by themselves, and two or three from every town in England. They replied that it would be necessary to have the security of parliament. In consequence a new parliament was called (2nd Aug. 1382). The knights of the shires proposed to the lords to leave the business to the merchants, "for they understood such affairs better than "any other estate in the realm." A committee of fourteen merchants from the lower house was appointed, who, after repeated consultations, reported, that on former occasions merchants, who had lent money to the crown, had been ruined by malicious prosecutions, under pretence that they had defrauded their sovereign; that the experience of the past was a sufficient warning to them to refuse loans of money to the crown on any consideration; but that, if the lords and commons would advance to the king the sum required (40,000*l.*) the merchants would lend an equal sum to them on their respective securities. This was not accepted, and the parliament was dissolved. Rot. Parl. iii. 123. Afterwards, however, when it was found that the crown, by the vexatious proceedings mentioned by the committee, had defeated its own purpose, and that no money could be borrowed by the king on his own credit, ministers were obliged to solicit the aid of parliament; and the reader will, in the next reign, witness the whole legislature join in giving sufficient security to those who were willing to advance money for the public service.

ponderance, surrounded the conclave, and with the most alarming menaces demanded an Italian pope. To appease them the archbishop of Bari was chosen, and assumed the name of Urban VI. Apr. 19. For some months he exercised the pontifical authority without opposition; but his severity alienated his friends, and irritated his enemies; the French cardinals seceded to Anagni; and under pretence that the former election had been made through the influence of terror, another pontiff was chosen, the cardinal of Geneva, who called himself Clement VII. Clement was immediately acknowledged by France, and the allies of France, the kings of Scotland, Spain, Sicily, and Cyprus: England and the rest of Europe continued in their obedience to Urban. From Rome and Avignon, their respective residences, the two pontiffs launched their anathemas, and preached up crusades against one another. For the latter purpose Urban had invested the warlike bishop of Norwich with extraordinary powers; and the king's council encouraged the plan with the intention of directing the expedition against France: for the war with that monarch was still continued, though of late years it had been confined on both sides to a few predatory incursions by land, and the capture of merchant vessels at sea. With A. D. 1382. the consent of parliament a contract was signed between the king Dec. 6. and the bishop: the former engaged to contribute the produce of a fifteenth lately granted by the laity towards the expense of the enterprise; and the latter to serve against France for the space of a year with two thousand five hundred men at arms, and an equal number of archers (1). It was determined that the first object of the army should be to aid the citizens of Ghent, who after the great battle of Rosebecque, and the reduction of Flanders, still bade defiance to the power of their count and of his patron, the king of France. The prelate took Gravelines by assault; defeated an army A. D. of twelve thousand men; entered Dunkirk with the fugitives; and 1383. May. became master of the coast as far as Sluys. Had he been assisted, as he had reason to expect, this promising commencement might have terminated successfully. A numerous body of men at arms was indeed assembled at Dover: but the duke of Lancaster, whose offers had been rejected by parliament, and who envied the progress of his rival, is said to have detained them on the coast; and the bishop was joined by none but needy and desperate adventurers, who perplexed his counsels, and controlled him in the command. To satisfy their wish of plunder, and comply with the request of the citizens of Ghent, he undertook the siege of of Ypres. The place was long and valiantly defended: the king of France approached with twenty thousand men at arms; the men of Ghent retired; and the English, in a state of mutiny, fled before the arrival of the

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 145. 147.

enemy. A part took possession of Bourbourg: and having repelled the first assault of the pursuers, obtained permission to retire with their booty to Calais. The bishop threw himself into Gravelines; and, after a short defence, demolished the fortifications, and re-
Oct. 26. turned to England (1). But here his bad success exposed him to the persecution of his enemies. He was accused in parliament of having received a bribe of eighteen thousand franks of gold from the enemy, and of having broken his contract with the king by returning before the twelve months of his service were expired. From the first of these charges he cleared himself to the satisfaction of his judges; but when he attempted to justify his return by the necessity of the
A. D. 1384. case, his defence was not admitted. He had brought, it was replied, that necessity on himself by his own neglect or imprudence; and was therefore condemned to lose his temporalities, till such time as
Mar. 6. he had paid the full damages to the king. Besides the bishop, four of the principal knights, who had joined in the expedition, were arraigned on a charge of having sold the stores and provisions to the enemy for twenty thousand franks, and were condemned to pay that sum into the exchequer, and to remain in prison till they should make their peace with their sovereign (2).

Before we proceed to the subsequent transactions of this reign, it will be proper to resume the history of Wycliffe. The insurrection of the commons had created a strong prejudice against the new doctrines of that reformer. It may be, that the itinerant preachers had improved on the lessons of their master: but, if we can believe the assertions of the contemporary writers, we must admit, that their sermons were calculated to awaken in the people a spirit of discontent and insubordination, and to bring into contempt the established authorities, both in church and state. A few weeks before the death of the late king, eighteen propositions, selected from the works and lectures of Wycliffe, and relating to the temporal possessions of the church, and the use of ecclesiastical cen-
A. D. 1377. sures, had been laid before Gregory XI.: and about the end of the
May 22. year, in consequence of the papal letters, the rector of Lutterworth was summoned to explain his opinions in the presence of the pri-
Dec. 28. mate, and of the bishop of London (3). To prepare for the day of trial, he first published a defence of part of his doctrine, in language the most bold and inflammatory. Soon afterwards he composed a second apology, in which, though he assumed a more moderate tone, he avowed his willingness to shed his blood in the defence of his assertions. There is, however, reason to believe, that the new apostle was in no haste to grasp the crown of martyrdom.

(1) Wals. 298—305. Knyght. 2671, 2672. Rymer, vii. 372. 382. 385. 391. 395. 399. Froiss. li. lxv. Froissart may be accurate in his account of the sieges and battles, but it is evident from the rolls and documents in Rymer, that he was misinformed as to the real object of the expedition.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 133—158. Rym. vii. 424—427.

(3) Wals. 201—204. Lewis, 254—265. Wilk. Con. iii. 116, 117. 123.

At his trial he exhibited to the prelates the same paper, but with numerous corrections and improvements. It begins with a profession of his readiness to submit to the correction of the church, and a revocation of whatever he may have taught contrary to the doctrine of Christ. He then proceeds to notice the several propositions, which he explains, qualifies, and defends: but occasionally, to impart to them something like a rational meaning, is compelled to make use of quibbles and evasions, which seem unworthy of a sensible or of an honest man (1). This paper, however, such as it might be, was admitted by the bishops as orthodox; and its author was dismissed with an order to abstain from the use of language so calculated to perplex and mislead the ignorant. By some, it is said, that the two bishops were intimidated by a message from the princess of Wales: by Wycliffe himself his escape was considered and celebrated as a triumph (2).

From this period, till the insurrection of the commons, the rector of Lutterworth employed himself in directing the operations of the poor priests, and gradually turned his attacks from the possessions to the doctrines of the church. As soon as tranquillity was restored, the bishop of London succeeded the primate, who had been murdered; and one of his first measures was to call a synod of divines, in which four-and-twenty opinions, zealously inculcated by the new preachers, were censured; ten as heretical, fourteen as erroneous, and of dangerous tendency (3). It chanced that, while the synod was sitting, an earthquake shook the metropolis: a circumstance, which the policy, or the fanaticism, of Wycliffe converted into a proof of his doctrine.—"The erth tremblide," he writes, "for they put an heresie upon Crist and the seyntes in hevyne. "Fay (faith) land, mannus voice answeryde for God, als it did "in tyme of his passione, whan he was dampnyde to bodely "deth (4)." From this condemnation he appealed to the protection A. D. 1382. May 17.

(1) Thus, for example, he had taught that "charters of perpetual inheritance were impossible, that God himself could not give to man "civil possessions for ever." He now declared that by the words "for ever," he meant after the day of judgment. His opinions were therefore consonant to the first principles of religion, and did not affect civil possessions at present. Again, he had taught that "if there was a God, temporal "lords might lawfully and meritoriously take "away worldly goods from a delinquent church." He protested that by this doctrine it was not his meaning that temporal lords might take away such goods of their own authority; but that if there were a God, he was almighty: if he was almighty, he had the power to command temporal lords to take away the goods of the church; and if he should command them, then they might do it lawfully and meritoriously. There are many other explanations of a similar nature. Wals. 206, 207.

(2) I have no doubt that I have placed the three writings put forth by Wycliffe about this time in the order in which they originally appeared. The first—by some writers described as the last—"the answer to a motley doctor"—bears evidence on the very face of it, that it was composed just after the arrival of the bulls, and the appointment of the delegates. The other two are apologies in defence of his opinions which had been censured by the pope, accompanied with certain glosses and qualifications which are calculated to remove or disguise what was most offensive in them. One of them is called "ali-"qualis responsio ad bullam," and written in a tone of boldness and defiance: the other is more moderate in its language, and more exculpatory in its explanation. To whom the first was addressed or presented, is unknown: from its title and tone I should think that it was written to be circulated in the university: the other was presented to the delegates, and appears to have been accepted by them as satisfactory. The last may be seen in Walsingham (206); all three in Lewis (318, 319). For a different arrangement, consult Mr. Vaughan's Wycliffe, i. 387.

(3) Wilk. Conc. iii. 157.

(4) Knyght. 2650.

June 20. of the duke of Lancaster, by his disciples Hereford and Rapyngdon: but that prince rejected the application; the messengers themselves were compelled, after some tergiversation, to recant (1); and a
July 13. royal mandate was sent to Oxford, suspending Wycliffe from the office of teaching, and ordering all his works to be seized and forwarded to the archbishop in their existing state, without erasure or alteration (2). Unwilling, however, to bend to the storm, he sought to shelter himself under the protection of the parliament; and presented a petition "for the maintenance of the christian "faith," by which he artfully endeavoured to array in favour of his tenets the passions and prejudices of the nation. He prayed, that the error of those, who had condemned the doctrine of the itinerant preachers, might be amended and published: that Christ's own doctrine respecting the eucharist might be openly taught in the churches: that the members of the religious orders might have full liberty to secularize themselves: that tithes might be applied to those purposes only, for which they were ordained by God's law, and the pope's law; and that no more taxes should be laid upon the people; but that the wants of the nation should be supplied from the incomes of delinquent clergymen, and the superfluous revenues of the church, which were in reality the patrimony of the poor (3).

In this petition he was partially successful. Immediately after the synod, the bishops had procured an act of parliament, which stated that, whereas several persons under the mask of extraordinary sanctity and in a particular sort of garb, went from place to place, preached without authority in churches, church-yards, fairs and markets, inculcated false doctrines, excited dissensions between the different estates, prevailed on the people to support them by open force, and refused to obey the citations of their ordinaries; the sheriffs should be bound, on the certification of the prelates, in the chancery, to arrest such offenders and their abettors, and to confine them till they were willing to plead in the ecclesiastical courts. On the representation of the commons, that this act had been passed without their consent, and that they did not mean to subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the prelates in any other manner than their ancestors had been, it was repealed with the approbation of the king and the lords (4). But Wycliffe's success ended here. His appeal on doctrinal matters, from a spiritual to a lay tribunal, scandalized some of his most powerful partisans; and the duke of Lancaster, hastening to Oxford, advised him to submit to the judgment of his ordinary. He reluctantly assented, read a confession of faith in presence of the primate and the bishops of Lincoln,

(1) The whole process, with the evasions, the excommunication and recantation of Hereford and Rapyngdon, may be seen in Wilkins, Conc. iii. 160—166, 167, and Knyght. 2655.

(2) Rym. vii. 363.

(3) Wals. 283. MS. C. C. C. apud Lewis, p. 83.

(4) Rot. Parl. iii. 124. 141. Gascoigne apud Lewis, 286. Lel. Coll. iii. 409.

Norwich, Worcester, London, Salisbury, and Hereford, and retiring to the rectory of Lutterworth, was suffered to remain there without farther molestation. Two years afterwards, as he was assisting at the mass of his curate on the feast of the innocents, at the moment of the elevation of the host, a stroke of apoplexy deprived him of the use of his tongue, and of most of his limbs. He lingered two days, and expired at the close of the year 1384 (1).

Before I proceed, I may be allowed to add a few particulars respecting the character and sentiments of this extraordinary man. Exemplary in his morals, he declaimed against vice with the freedom and severity of an apostle: but, whether it were policy or prejudice, he directed his bitterest invectives almost exclusively against the clergy. His itinerant priests formed indeed an honourable exception: they were true evangelical preachers: but the rest, the pope, bishops, dignitaries, and the whole body of "clerks possessioners," were no better than liars and fiends, hypocrites and traitors, heretics and antichrists. That many among them, as must always happen in old and wealthy establishments, may have deserved some of these appellations, is probably true; but the zeal of the new apostle could make no discrimination; and he determined to lay the axe to what he deemed the root of the evil, their worldy possessions. He contended that they were bound to lead a life of poverty in imitation of their master (2): that their temporalities were given to them to be employed to the honour of God; and, therefore, might be lawfully taken away, as soon as they were diverted to any other purpose (3): that to pay tithes and dues to an incumbent, who spent his income in vanity and luxury, was to co-operate in his sins: and that secular lords were not only permitted, but bound, under pain of damnation, to deprive of its possessions a church habitually delinquent (4). It will not excite surprise, if invectives so coarse, and doctrines so prejudicial to their interests, alarmed and irritated the clergy. They appealed for protection to the king and the pontiff: but though their reputation and fortunes were at stake, they sought not to revenge themselves on their adversary, but were content with an order for his removal from the university to reside on his own living. If the reader allot to *him* the praise of courage, he cannot refuse to *them* the praise of moderation.

(1) Wood, Ant. Oxon. 189.

(2) Apud Lewis, p. 293. He maintained that the man, who taught it to be lawful to endow churchmen, was the greatest of heretics and antichrists. Trialog. iv. 15. His seven arguments in favour of this doctrine were answered by Woodford, Fasicul. rer. expetend. i. 221—230.

(3) Wycliffe's explanation apud Lewis, 325. xvii.

(4) Dicimus non solum quod illis licet hoc facere, sed quod debent sub pœna damnationis gehennæ, cum debent de sua stultitia pœnitere. et satisfacere pro peccato, quo Christi ecclesiam maculaverunt. Trial. iv. 18. Yet he afterwards attempted to explain it away. "If this be errour, "as they seyn falsy, then the king and secular "Lords may take no farthing ne farthing worth "fro a worldly clerk, tho he owe him and his "liege men never so much good, and may well "paye it and wole not." Great sentence of curse expounded, apud Lewis, p. 90.

On many points of doctrine it is not easy to ascertain the real sentiments of this reformer. In common with other religious innovators, he claimed the twofold privilege of changing his opinions at will, and of being infallible in every change: and when he found it expedient to dissemble, could so qualify his doctrines with conditions, or explain them away by distinctions, as to give an appearance of innocence to tenets of the most mischievous tendency. For the church as it originally existed, and as it continued to exist for a thousand years, he professed the most unfeigned veneration. It was then pure in doctrine, perfect in discipline, and free from the contagion of avarice. But at the expiration of the tenth century, the prediction in the apocalypse was literally fulfilled. The great dragon, who had been chained for a thousand years, was loosed; and the first use which he made of his liberty was to scatter from his tail the new religious orders, which with unexampled rapidity diffused themselves over the Christian world. From that moment faith, discipline, and morality, were corrupted; and the re-establishment of the Gospel was reserved for the exertions of Wycliffe and his "poor priests (1)."

His favourite maxim that dominion or the right to property is founded in grace, seems to have been generated from a strange amalgamation of feudal and theological notions. He argues, that forfeiture is confessedly the punishment of treason: now every sin is a treason against God: of course the sinner must forfeit whatever he holds of God, and consequently all right to authority or property; since, of whomsoever he may hold them immediately, originally they are derived to him from God (2).

He admitted seven sacraments with the Catholic church; but differed from it in explaining the nature of the eucharist, and the contract of matrimony. On the former, if he frequently made use of orthodox language he still more frequently taught a doctrine similar to the impanation of Luther. In his confession, where he might be expected to speak plainly, he has intrenched himself behind so many unintelligible distinctions, that it will be difficult for the most acute logician to discover his meaning (3): in his other works he repeatedly teaches that at the consecration the bread, without ceasing to be bread, becomes the very body of Christ which suffered on the cross: so that the nature of bread is not destroyed, but is exalted into a substance of greater dignity (4).

(1) Trialog. iv. 32, 33.

(2) Trialog. iv. 17. In favour of this opinion he advances eleven arguments, answered by Woodford, 232—250.

(3) Sæpe confessus sum et adhuc confiteor quod idem corpus Christi in numero, quod fuit assumptum de virgine..... ipsum, inquam, idem corpus et eadem substantia est vere et realiter panis sacramentalis seu hostia..... nonobstante audeo dicere quod corpus Christi sit essentialiter substantialiter corporaliter vel ydemptice ille panis..... conceditur quod corpus Christi est quantumcunque varie quantificatum ibi, cum sit quælibet pars quantitativa illius hostiæ, etc. etc. Confessio Mag. Joan. Wyeclyff, apud Lewis, 272.

(4) "It is verray Goddus body in fourme of "brede..... it is verray Goddus body and verray "brede." Knyght. 2649. "The right faith of "Christen men is this, that this worshipful sa"crament is bread and Christ's body." MS. apud Lew. 73. See Trialog. iv. 4. 27.

On matrimony he hazarded several extraordinary opinions: that the usual contract, in which it is said, "I take thee to wife," contains a falsehood, and is consequently void: that, however, the consent of the mind is sufficient without any expression of that consent in words: but that women, who have passed the time of childbearing cannot lawfully be married, either with words or without them. His arguments on these subjects are mere verbal quibbles (1).

The priests, who truly preached the Gospel, were, in his opinion, the real and the only members of the hierarchy: all, who opposed them, were antichrists, and the proctors of Satan. Of these he numbered twelve classes, beginning with the pope, and ending with the mendicant friars (2). Yet he affirmed, that "prelates and "priests ordeyned of God, comen in the stede of apostles and dis- "ciples, and that the pope is highest vicar that Christ has here in "earth (3)."

He inculcated the doctrine of purgatory, and strenuously maintained the efficacy of the mass (4): but while he admitted the necessity, he censured the multitude of ceremonies (5), and loudly inveighed against the custom of singing in the churches (6). He also disapproved of indulgences, sanctuaries, and pilgrimages, as calculated rather to enrich the clergy than to nourish devotion (7).

Wycliffe's opinions, echoed and re-echoed from the pulpits of his "poor priests," made numerous proselytes. Men crowded to hear the new preachers. The novelty of their manner, the severity with which they arraigned the real or imputed vices of their spiritual superiors, and the boldness of their invectives against the dues, the claims, and privileges of the clergy, interested the passions, and won the assent of their hearers. But there was another weapon which the rector of Lutterworth wielded with equal address and still greater efficacy. In proof of his doctrines he appealed to the Scriptures, and thus made his disciples judges between him and the bishops. Several versions of the sacred writings were even then extant: but they were confined to libraries, or only in the hands of persons, who aspired to superior sanctity (8). Wycliffe made a new

(1) Take for example his argument against the contract. No woman is a man's wife till she has given her consent: but in the marriage ceremony the man says; "I take thee to wife," before the woman has given her consent; therefore he says what is false; and consequently the contract is null. See Trial. iv. 20. 22. Woodford: 214.

(2) Trialog. iv. 26.

(3) MS. of prelates, apud Lew. p. 129.

(4) "The seying of masse with cleanness of holy "life, and brenning devotion full much, and neet "houds, most pleaseth God almighty, and profi- "teth to christen souls in purgatory." MS. apud Lew. 131.

(5) Trial. iv. 11.

(6) "When there ben fourty or fifty in a queer, "three or four proud and lecherous forels shullen "knack the most devout service that no man shall "hear the sentence, and all other shullen be "dumb, and looken on them as fools. And then "strumpets and thieves praisen sire Jack, or "Hobb and William the proud clerk, how smal- "len they knacken their notes, and seyn that "they serven well God and holy church, when "they dispisen God in his face. and letten other "men of their devotion and compunction, and "stirren them to wordly vanity." MS. of prelates, apud Lew. 134.

(7) Ibid. 137. 350.

(8) "The hole byble was long before Wick- "liffe's days by vertuous and well learned men "translated into the English tong, and by good "and godly people with devotion and soberness "wel and reverently red." Sir Tho. More. Dialog. iii. 14. The same is asserted by archbishop Cranmer. "It is not much above one hundred "years ago since scripture hath not been accus- "tomed to be read in the vulgar tongue within

translation, multiplied the copies with the aid of transcribers, and by his poor priests recommended it to the perusal of their hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power. Men were flattered by the appeal to their private judgment: the new doctrines insensibly acquired partisans and protectors in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of letters; a spirit of inquiry was generated; and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution, which in little more than a century astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe.

The king had now reached his seventeenth year. The resolution and intrepidity which he had displayed during the insurrection seemed to portend a fortunate and glorious reign; and the qualities of his heart were recommended by the superior beauty of his person, and the elegance of his manners. But, to whatever cause it were owing, to the inexperience and prodigality of his youth, or to the ambition of his uncle, or the turbulence of his people, his reign from this period became a succession of errors and misfortunes, which involved him repeatedly in distress, and ultimately cost him his crown and life. The ministers, whom design or accident placed near his person, were not selected from the higher classes in the state; and when, as it was natural to expect, by their attention they had secured his attachment, the favour which they enjoyed was construed into a crime, and every benefit which they received was deemed an injury by the more noble and ancient families. This systematic opposition to his favourites exasperated the mind of the king, and induced him to lend an attentive ear to the jealousies and apprehensions suggested by the officious friendship of those around him. The reader will recollect, that at first the duke of Lancaster was the chief object of suspicion; and that the reports which had then been circulated, on no better ground perhaps than his great power, and his proximity to the throne, had been renewed during the late insurrection. The prince thought proper to seek an asylum at the Scottish court: nor did he return till the king by proclamation bore testimony to his innocence, and authorised him to travel with a body-guard, for the better security of his person (1). When the bishop of Norwich had closed his ill-fated crusade, the duke concluded an armistice with France; in which the Scots were comprehended: but, as they still continued the war, he led a numerous army across the borders, burnt the huts of which their towns were composed, and inflicted on them a more serious injury by cutting down their forests, in which they had been accustomed to elude the pursuit of the English (2). At his return from this expedition, the

A. D. 1383. Nov.

A. D. 1384.

"this realm; and many hundred years before "that it was translated and read in the Saxons' "tongue..... and when this language waned old "and out of common usage, because folk should "not lack the fruit of reading it, was translated "again into the newer language, whereof yet also "many copies be found." Strype's Cranmer, App. 242.

(1) Rym. vii. 318, 319.

(2) Knyght. 2673. He assures us that for this last purpose no fewer than 80,000 axes were employed at the same time. Ibid.

reports of his disloyalty were revived; and, during the parliament at Salisbury, a carmelite friar put into the king's hands the written particulars of a real or pretended conspiracy to place the crown on the head of his uncle. Richard was advised to communicate it to the duke; who swore that it was false, offered to prove his innocence by battle, and required that the informer might be committed to close custody for future examination. The friar persisted in his story, and was given to the care of sir John Holand, the king's uterine brother (1), who strangled him with his own hands during the night, and ordered his body to be dragged through the streets in the morning as that of a traitor. This dark and mysterious murder did not remove the secret suspicions of Richard; but the lord Zouch, whom the friar had mentioned as the author of the memorial, declared on his oath that he was ignorant of its existence; and the earl of Buckingham, another of the king's uncles, bursting into the room with his sword drawn, swore he would murder the first man who should charge his brother with treason (2). The king dissembled; and Lancaster crossed the sea to obtain a prolongation of the armistice. A resolution was, however, taken to arrest him on his return: but he disappointed his enemies, and shut himself up in his strong castle of Pontefract, till the king's mother, by repeated journeys and entreaties, reconciled the uncle and nephew, and also obtained a full pardon for her own son, sir John Holand (3).

Apr. 29.

May.

In consequence of a treaty concluded at Paris, the king of France had sent to Scotland an aid of one thousand men at arms under the command of Vienne, with a subsidy of forty thousand livres in francs of gold, and armour for the equipment of a thousand Scottish knights and esquires. It is amusing to read in Froissart the complaints of the Frenchmen after their arrival. The country was wild; the people were uncivilized; even Edinburgh, the capital, was inferior to the provincial towns of Tournay or Valenciennes. There were no banquets, no balls, no tournaments. The strangers were compelled to purchase the coarsest fare at an exorbitant price; and the jealousy of the natives refused forage for their horses, and hourly laid snares for their lives. For a long time only two of the nobility, the earls of Douglas and Moray, condescended to visit them; and

A. D. 1385. May.

(1) The princess of Wales had for her first husband sir Thomas Holand, who in right of his wife was created earl of Kent, and lord Wake of Lydell. She bore him two sons, Thomas Holand, who inherited the honours of his father, and John Holand, afterwards created earl of Huntingdon, and duke of Exeter.

(2) Wals. 309, 310.

(3) Rym. vii. 446.—In a parliament held about the end of the year, a petition was received from the celebrated Alice Perrers. Soon after her condemnation, sir William Windsor, her husband, had presented a bill of errors against it. He stated in particular, that she had been impeached as a feme sole, though she had long been his wife; that she was tried in her absence; and that to obtain a favour from the king, the act of which she had been convicted, was a very different thing from soliciting causes in the courts, which alone had been forbidden by the statute. In return he obtained the restoration of her lands, with the exception of four manors, on condition that he served with 103 men at arms against France. He was now dead, and at her petition the judgment against her was entirely revoked, with a proviso that all alienations of property made in consequence of it should be deemed valid. Rot. Parl. iii. 40. 186. 327.

when they were at last introduced to the king, they were shocked at "his red bleared eyes, of the colour of sandal wood, which convinced them that he was no warrior." It was the interest of the French to commence the campaign immediately: but the Scots demanded to be paid for fighting their own battles; and the forty thousand livres were distributed among them before they could be brought into the field (1). They burst at length into Northumberland, and took three castles in the marches: but the approach of Richard with an army of eighty thousand men compelled them to retire with precipitation (2).

July. This was the first time that the young king had appeared at the head of an army: but his progress was arrested at York by an unfortunate circumstance, which cast a gloom over the sequel of the expedition. In the city, or its neighbourhood, the son of the earl of Stafford, one of the royal favourites, was basely assassinated by the hand of sir John Holand. The father and the relatives of the slain loudly demanded justice; the queen mother implored the mercy of her son in favour of his brother. But Richard, who had not forgotten the death of the friar, was inexorable. He confiscated the property of the assassin, and threatened him with the gallows,

July 8. if he ever left the sanctuary of St. John of Beverly. In a few days the unhappy mother died of grief: her guilty son waited till the anger of the king had subsided, obtained his pardon, and married Elizabeth second daughter of the duke of Lancaster (3).

Aug. 1. From York the king proceeded to Durham, where, in a council of war, the army was divided into three battles and two wings, and a code of laws was enacted for the maintenance of discipline during the expedition. Thence this mighty host advanced by slow marches to the borders: but there they met with no enemy. The king of Scots, sensible of his inability to arrest, did not attempt to oppose their progress. Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee were

(1) Froiss. iii. xii. Rym. vii. 484. The livre was the nominal pound of 20 sols (Rym. ibid.): and 63 livres, 17 sols, 6 deniers, was the value of a mark, or eight ounces of gold. (L'Art de Vérifier les dates, i. 604.) The money was distributed among men of every rank from the prince of Scotland, who received 5500 livres, to John Gray, who was compelled to content himself with ten. Ibid. The quarto register of Robert II, quoted by Mr. Pinkerton, in his History of Scotland (vol. i. p. 165.) contains the agreement between the Scots and their auxiliaries before they began their expedition. It provides for the safety of persons bringing provisions to the army in its march to the borders, and forbids pillage under the penalty of death. All are to wear a white cross of St. Andrew before and behind. If a Frenchman insult a Scot, he is to be arrested by the Scots, and brought before his own chief, and vice versâ. The punishment for a riot is the loss of horse and armour, if the offender be a knight; of a hand or an ear if he be not. The same punishment is to be incurred by the man who shall set fire to a church in England, kill a woman or child, or commit a rape. The prisoner shall belong to the man who first received his hand.

(2) These 80,000 men in the "Ordinaunce of "the Three Battailes" published in the Archæol. xxii. 13, dwindle down to about one-fifth of that number. Little reliance is to be placed on the ancient historians when they state the amount of armies: but I doubt whether the "ordinaunce" contains the whole number of fighting men that accompanied Richard. It mentions all that were retained by the king and the lords. But were there no others, "the raskaldry," as Hardyng terms them? In Rymer, v. 55%, we have an account of the retinues of the lords in an expedition into Scotland, amounting to 480 men at arms, and 480 archers: but we afterwards find that they were accompanied by 2400 archers de la commune.

(3) Wals. 346. Froissart attributes the murder to Holand's wish to be revenged for the death of one of his esquires, who in a quarrel had been killed by an archer belonging to sir Ralph Stafford. Froiss. xiii.

reduced to ashes; and the vanguard had reached the walls of Aberdeen, when advice was received that the Scots were ravaging the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and that Vienne had actually laid siege to Carlisle. By the advice of the duke of Lancaster, it was resolved to march back to the frontier, and to intercept the enemy on their return: but during the night fresh suspicions were infused into the mind of the king by the chancellor, sir Michael de la Pole; and the next morning he angrily told his uncle, "You, sir, Aug. 30. "may go with *your* men, wherever you think best. I with mine "shall return to England." "Then I shall follow you," rejoined the duke; "for there is not a man in your company who loves you "as well as I and my brothers; and if any one but yourself dare "advance the contrary, I am ready to throw him my glove." The army was disbanded; and the Scots and French boasted that the havoc which they had wrought in Cumberland and Westmoreland more than balanced the destruction caused by the English in Scotland (1).

In the next parliament the king confirmed the honours which Nov. 3. he had bestowed during the expedition on the borders of Tiviotdale. His uncles, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, who had been created dukes of York and Gloucester, were invested with the sword, Nov. 12. coronet, and cap of state, and received for the support of their new dignity a grant of lands from the crown to the yearly value of one thousand pounds. Henry of Bolingbroke son to the duke of Lancaster, and Edward Plantagenet son to the duke of York, were made earls of Derby and Rutland: Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, with the title of marquess of Dublin, obtained a grant for life of the revenue of Ireland, on condition of paying the yearly sum of five thousand marks into the exchequer; and Michael de la Pole was created earl of Suffolk, with the reversion of the estate of the late earl on the deaths of his widow and of the queen. Richard trusted that the princes of the blood, pleased with their own honours, would view the preferment of these two favourites with less jealousy (2): but at the same time, to cut off the ambitious hopes of his uncle Lancaster, he declared Roger earl of March, the grandson of Lionel duke of Clarence, the presumptive heir to the throne (3).

During the sitting of parliament an embassy from Portugal arrived in London. A few years before, Ferdinand the late king had concluded an alliance against the king of Castile, with the duke of Lancaster, and the earl of Cambridge, who advanced pretensions to the succession of that crown in right of their respective wives. The earl with a small but gallant army sailed to Lisbon; the duke had engaged to follow him: but his departure was prevented by the in-

(1) Wals. 316, 317. Froiss. xiv. xv. xvi. Ford. xiv. 49, 50.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 205—210. Rym. vii. 482. 505. Knyght. 2675.

(3) Let. Coll. ii. 481.

surrection of the commons; and Ferdinand, finding himself unequal to the contest, concluded a peace with his adversaries. This king had forcibly carried off Leonora, the wife of Lorenzo d'Acunha, who was crowned queen, and bore him a daughter named Beatrice. While the earl of Cambridge remained at Lisbon, his son John was married to the princess. They were both of the same age, in their tenth year: but the earl, at his departure, refused to leave his son behind him; and Ferdinand soon after gave the princess, his only
A. D. 1383. child, in marriage to John king of Castile, his former enemy. That
Oct. 29. prince, at the death of his father-in-law, demanded the crown in right of his wife. His claim was admitted by the nobility: but the four cities of Lisbon, Coimbra, Oporto, and Ourique, declared that they would never acknowledge the pretensions of an illegitimate daughter, whose mother's husband was still alive, and offered the crown to John, natural brother to the late king, and grand master
A. D. 1385. of the order of Avis; who, to preserve himself on the throne, soli-
Apr. 6. cited the aid of the duke of Lancaster against their common enemy. The duke accepted the proposal with pleasure; Richard was glad of any pretext to remove him out of the kingdom; and of the supply voted for the year, one half was appropriated to defray the expenses of the expedition (1). The winter was spent in collecting an army of twenty thousand men, in which were two thousand men at arms, and eight thousand archers. Before its departure the king presented his uncle, and the queen presented the duchess, with rich crowns of gold. The expedition sailed from Plymouth (2), touched at Brest
A. D. 1386. to relieve the garrison, and landed at Corunna. By the reduction
July 9. of Gallicia, a road was opened into Portugal, where the duke was
Aug. 9. met by king John, and to cement their friendship a marriage was celebrated between that prince and Philippa the eldest daughter of Lancaster, by his first wife. But the next campaign proved unfor-
A. D. 1387. tunate. The English army wasted away under the heat of the cli-
May. mate; the conquests made in the last year were rapidly lost; and the duke himself, to recover his health, was compelled to quit Portugal, and to take up his residence in Guienne. But these disasters were repaired by his policy. The duke of Berri had proposed to marry Catherine, Lancaster's only issue by his present wife Constantia, and heiress to her mother's pretensions to the crown of Spain. It was contrived that intelligence of this proposal should be conveyed to the king of Castile, who immediately took the alarm, and offered to compromise the quarrel between the families, by the marriage of Henry, his son and heir, to the same princess (3). The offer was accepted. Constantia waived her claim to the throne in favour of her daughter; the succession after the death of the present king was

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 204.

(2) It was escorted by a Portuguese squadron of ten ships of wonderful magnitude, and of six galleys, some of which were worked with three hundred oars. Kuyght. 2676.

(3) Froiss. ix. 24. 46. Walsing. 342.

settled on Henry and Catherine, and their issue, and in failure of them, on the issue of the duke of York by Isabella, the sister of Constantia. Two hundred thousand crowns were paid to Lancaster to defray the expenses of the late expedition, and an annuity of one hundred thousand florins was settled on him, and another to the same amount on the duchess, during their respective lives. Henry and Catherine were married, and created prince and princess of Asturias. Their issue reigned over Spain for many generations (1). A. D. 1388.

If Richard mistrusted the ambition, he soon found reason to lament the absence of Lancaster, whose authority had hitherto checked the warmer passions and more precipitate counsels of his brother, the duke of Gloucester. But that prince now assumed the ascendency; fomented the discontent of the nobility; new modelled the government; and left to his nephew; little more than the empty title of king. The French, encouraged by the absence of the army in Spain, had seriously formed the design of invading England. Their preparations of arms, provisions, and ships were immense. Every baron and knight seemed ambitious of retaliating on the English those injuries which they had so frequently inflicted on France; the cavalry and infantry collected for the expedition exceeded one hundred thousand men; and the fleet, which had assembled in the port of Sluys, to use the exaggeration of a contemporary, was so numerous, that if the vessels had been laid side to side, they would have formed a bridge from one country to the other. The intelligence of this formidable armament spread universal dismay: but levies were made, beacons formed, and troops collected in the most favourable situations. The earl of Arundel received the command of the fleet, with instructions to destroy the ships of the enemy as soon as they had landed their forces; and orders were issued to the troops to lay waste the country before the invaders, and avoid a general engagement (2). The confidence of the nation revived: but the opportunity was seized by the great barons, under the guidance of the duke of Gloucester, to plot among themselves the overthrow of the administration. They contended that the king's officers converted the public revenue to their private emolument; that the commons, by continual taxation, had been impoverished; that the higher classes could not procure the payment of their rents; and that the tenants were in many places compelled to abandon their farms through distress (3). How far these evils were chargeable on the administration, it is impossible to ascertain: that the young king was fond of expense in his household, we know; but it is also true that during the last year he had voluntarily remitted to the A. D. 1386.

(1) Rym. vii. 603. Knyght. 2673. Wals. 342.

(2) Froiss. viii. 7, 8. Knyght. 2679. The constable of France had ordered a fortress of wood to be formed of frame-work, and to be shipped for the use of the king, after he should have landed. But during the voyage from Treguier to Sluys his fleet was dispersed, and three ships with the frame-work and carpenters were taken. Richard ordered it to be put together, and exhibited at Winchelsea. Froiss viii. 15. Knyght. 2679.

(3) Knyght. 2685.

people a tenth and fifteenth, which had been granted to him in parliament (1). The intended invasion, from unforeseen occurrences, was delayed from week to week, till it became necessary to postpone it to the following year; and Richard summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, in which the two parties made the
Oct. 1. experiment of their strength. The session was opened by a speech from the earl of Suffolk the chancellor, who informed the houses that in a great council at Oxford the king had proposed to lead an army into France in support of his right to the French crown; that it would be their duty to deliberate on the expediency or inexpediency of such a measure; and that, if it met with their approbation, they must be careful to provide the funds which would be necessary to defray its expense. But the lords and commons, instead of applying to these subjects, returned with a joint petition for the removal of the ministers and the members of the council, particularly of the chancellor, whom it was intended to impeach as soon as he should be deprived of office. Richard, if we may believe the suspicious assertions of his enemies, resolved at first to seize and imprison the chief of his opponents: but having sounded the dispositions of the mayor and citizens, and finding that he could not rely on their assistance, he abandoned the design, retired to his palace at Eltham, and ordered the two houses to proceed to the consideration of the supply. They refused to obey until he should grant their petition,
Oct. 23. and return to his parliament. After a struggle of almost three weeks he came to Westminster, dismissed the obnoxious ministers, gave the seals to the bishop of Ely, and appointed the bishop of Hereford
Oct. 24. treasurer. But this condescension, instead of mollifying, encouraged his adversaries; and the commons resolved to impeach the earl of Suffolk, the late chancellor, of high crimes and misdemeanors Richard ordered them to send to him a deputation of forty knights; and received a refusal, under the pretence that the lives of the deputies would be in danger. At length a compromise was effected, and the king attended in parliament, as soon as he received a promise that none of his favourites or counsellors should be molested, excepting the chancellor (2).

The first instance of a prosecution by the commons in parliament occurred about the close of the last reign, and has been noticed already: this is the second, but of greater interest from the more elevated rank and important situation of the accused. The bill of impeachment was divided into seven heads, charging the earl with having obtained from the king grants beyond his deserts, and contrary to his oath (3); with having enriched himself by defrauding

(1) Rym. vii. 471. Rot. Parl. iii. 98.

(2) Compare Knyghton (2680—2683) with the rolls of parliament (iii. 215. 231. 233. 242. 374.)

(3) In taking the oath as chancellor, he had sworn not to permit the loss "or disherison of "the king, but to do and seek his profit as far as "he could do it with reason." Hence it was maintained that knowing the king's wants, he could not accept of any grant from him. He replied that the words had not that meaning;

the crown; and with having put the great seal to illegal charters and pardons. He had intrusted his defence to his brother-in-law, sir Richard Scrope; but the lords observed that it would be more to his honour if he should conduct it himself, and he went through the different charges in order, contending that the more criminal of them were unfounded; and that the others did not include any legal offence. As to his deserts he would be silent, but hoped that what he had suffered for the king would not be forgotten. Here, however, sir Richard Scrope interposed. The accused, he remarked, had served in war thirty years as a knight banneret without disgrace or reproof; had thrice been a captive in the hands of the enemy, twice as a prisoner of war, once as envoy to a foreign state; and had been governor of Calais, admiral of the fleet, and often ambassador from the king. Nor was he raised from a low situation to the dignity of an earl, but was at the time, and had long been, a privy councillor, and chancellor, and possessed the property necessary for the support of that rank which was next to the rank of an earl. The managers for the commons were heard in reply, and the earl in rejoinder: after which, at the petition of his accusers, he was given in custody to the lord constable, and immediately enlarged upon bail. Within a few days the king and lords agreed in their award, by which he was acquitted on four charges; on the others his answers were pronounced insufficient; and he was therefore adjudged to forfeit the several sums specified in those charges, and to be confined in prison during the king's pleasure (1). It is needless to say that soon after the dissolution of the parliament he was released.

This prosecution deserves to be remembered by posterity, as it conferred to the commons their new claim of impeaching the ministers of the crown: but both the proceedings and the result seem to prove that the administration of Richard had not been so arbitrary and oppressive as we might otherwise have been led to suppose; and will justify a suspicion that the prosecution of the chancellor had been undertaken for the purpose of intimidation rather than of punishment. But now the objects of the party in opposition to the court more clearly unfolded themselves, and it was proposed to imitate the precedents of the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward II., by establishing a permanent council with powers to reform the state of the nation. To such a measure the king declared that he would never give his assent. He threatened to dissolve the parliament; and the commons, to terrify him,

that he could accept a grant from the king as well as any other person; and that the grant to him, with those to the duke of Gloucester and others, was confirmed in parliament. But in the judgment pronounced against him, it was said that no confirmation of the grant could be found on the rolls: a direct falsehood, as it is entered there exactly in the same words as the grant to Gloucester himself, to which no objection was made. Præsentibus prælatis, proceribus, magnatibus, ac tota communitate. Rot. Parl. iii. 206. 209.

(1) Rot. Parl. 216—220.

sent for the statute by which Edward II. had been deposed from the throne (1). At length one of the lords represented to him, by desire of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel, that if he should persist in his refusal, his life would be in danger; that the lords and commons would separate without his permission; and that he would then see in what a forlorn and abandoned state he would be
Nov. 19. left (2). His obstinacy was subdued; and with a reluctant hand he signed a commission to eleven prelates and peers, besides the three great officers of state, appointing them a permanent council to inquire into the conduct of the officers in his household, courts of law, and every part of the kingdom; into the accounts of the treasury, the gifts and pardons which had been granted, and the alleged grievances of the people; to hear and determine all complaints which could not be redressed by common course of law; and to provide such remedies for all abuses as should appear to them good and profitable (3). The duke and earl were of the number; and, as the majority of their colleagues belonged to the same party, they possessed, in effect, the whole power of the government. To protect them in the execution of their office, the commons petitioned that from the moment any opposition should be made to their authority, the payment of the subsidy, which had been voted, should cease; and that the authors, advisers, or abettors, of such opposition should for the first offence be liable to forfeiture and imprisonment,
Nov. 28. and for the second to the loss of life or member (4). Richard gave his assent; but refused to extend the duration of the commission beyond twelve months; and at the close of the session had the courage to protest openly and in person against any thing done in that parliament, which might turn to his prejudice, or prove contrary to the liberties and prerogatives of his crown (5).

The commissioners appear to have commenced their labours with examining the accounts of the officers employed in the collection of the revenue; and the sequel affords a strong presumption
A. D. that the royal administration had been foully calumniated. We
1387. hear not of any frauds discovered, or of defaulters punished, or of grievances redressed (6). The earl of Arundel alone, who had been appointed admiral of the fleet, reflected a lustre on the new administration. On different occasions, during the season, he captured one hundred and sixty sail of vessels richly laden, and principally with wine; he relieved the garrison of Brest, and took two forts in the neighbourhood of the town, of which he burnt one towards the sea, and delivered the other to the care of the governor. Thence

(1) Ibid. iii. 233.
(2) Ibid. 374.
(3) Rot. Parl. 375, 376. Stat. of Realm, ii. 39.
(4) Knyght. 2692. Stat. of Realm, ii. 42.
(5) Rot. Parl. 222. 225.

(6) Froissart, indeed, tells us that sir Simon Burley was fined 200,000 francs, and imprisoned. But his whole narrative differs so widely from the authentic particulars contained in the rolls, that it deserves no credit. It seems to be made up of every flying report which reached him.

sailing to Sluys, he destroyed the ships in the harbour, landed his troops, and laid waste the country to the distance of ten leagues (1).

It was not, however, to be expected that a prince, who had now reached his twentieth year, and who had in a more early age given proof of abilities and courage, would tamely acquiesce in his own degradation, or that his favourites would neglect to provide for their security by endeavouring to restore the ascendency of their protector. To emancipate himself from the actual control of the commissioners, Richard made a journey on one occasion to York, and on another to Chester. Wherever he came, his arrival was distinguished by some act of grace. The gentlemen of the county, and the chief burghers in the towns, were invited to the court of their young sovereign; and few refused to wear his livery, and bind themselves by oath to stand in his defence against all manner of men. At Shrewsbury he held a council of several judges, and a few days afterwards another at Nottingham (2); in which he enjoined them on their allegiance to inform him what was the law of the land on the different questions which should be laid before them. In their reply they maintained, that the commission which had superseded the king in the exercise of the royal authority was subversive of the constitution; that those who introduced the measure, and those who exhorted the king to agree to it, were liable to capital punishment, and all who compelled him to assent, or prevented him from exercising his rights, were traitors; that the king, and not the lords and commons, had the power to determine the order in which questions should be debated in parliament; that the king could dissolve the parliament at pleasure, and that those who acted in defiance of such dissolution were traitors; that the lords and commons could not, without the king's permission, impeach his officers and justices; that both the member who moved for the statute of the deposition of Edward II. and he who brought it to the house, were traitors; and that the judgment given against the earl of Suffolk was erroneous in all its parts. They affixed their seals to this answer, and promised on their oaths to keep it secret: but the next day it was betrayed by sir Roger Fulthorpe, one of the number, to the earl of Kent, and was by him communicated to the duke of Gloucester (3).

Feb. July. Aug. 20—25. Aug 26.

Richard, ignorant of this unfortunate discovery, proceeded to make arrangements for the resumption of the royal authority, at the expiration of the year allotted to the commissioners. To secure a majority in the next house of commons, he sent for the she-

(1) Knyght. 2692, 2693. Wals. 326.

(2) At the first of these councils were present sir Robert Bealknap, chief justice, sir John Holt, and sir William Burgh, justices of the king's bench, and sir John Cary, chief baron of the exchequer; at the second the same persons, with the exception of the chief baron, and with the addition of sir Robert Tresilian, lord chief justice, sir Roger Fulthorpe, justice of the king's bench, and John Lokton, the king's serjeant at law.

(3) Rot. Parl. iii. 232, 233. Knyght. 2692—2696.

riffs, who, if we believe some writers, gave him slender hopes of success. It was determined to arrest the most obnoxious of his opponents, and to send them to take their trials before the judges who had already given their opinions on the question of law; and for this purpose Thomas Usk was appointed sub-sheriff of Middlesex, and John Blake, the referendary, was employed to prepare a bill of indictment for a conspiracy against the royal prerogative (1). Sir Nicholas Brembre, who had been thrice mayor of London, undertook to secure the fidelity of the citizens; and even swore the different companies to be ready to live and die with the king, and to oppose his enemies to the last breath. The commission was to expire on the nineteenth of November: on the tenth Richard
Nov. 10. entered the capital. He was received with unusual expressions of joy and respect; the mayor and principal citizens wore his livery of white and crimson: and an immense crowd accompanied him to the church of St. Paul's, and thence to his palace at Westminster (2).

Nov. 11. Elated with his reception, the king retired to rest: the next morning he learned with astonishment that a numerous body of forces had reached the neighbourhood of London under the command of the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Nottingham, the constable, admiral, and marshal of England. They had concerted their measures with such secrecy as to elude suspicion, and had carefully watched all his motions on his return to
Nov. 12. the capital. A royal proclamation was issued the next day forbidding the citizens to lend assistance, or to sell provisions, to the armed force in the neighbourhood; but the following morning the confederates advancing to Hackney with forty thousand men, sent a letter into the city, in which they assured the mayor and aldermen that their only object was to deliver the king from the hands of the traitors who kept him in thraldom; commanded them with severe threats to give their aid to the same loyal cause; and required
Nov. 13. an immediate answer. The ensuing day they were joined at Waltham cross by the earls of Derby and Warwick; and these five
Nov. 14. noblemen, in presence of the commissioners, "appealed" (such was the term they used) five of the king's favourites of treason. Richard, unable to resist, consented to receive the complaints of
Nov. 17. the lords appellants on the next Sunday. They entered the city with every precaution against the pretended treachery of their enemies: stopped to examine all the houses in the mews; and kept the king waiting two hours on his throne in Westminster hall. But in his presence they behaved with the semblance of humility. At the entrance of the hall, on the lower and on the upper step of

(1) I have neglected many circumstances mentioned by historians, as I consider them mere fictions invented by the king's enemies: the intention of indicting the framers of the commission I have admitted, as the indictment itself is still extant on the rolls, p. 234.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 234. Knyght. 2696. Wals. 330. Mon. Evesh. 85.

the throne, they bent the knee before him. He arose, gave his hand to each, and bade them present their petition. They began with the most solemn protestations of attachment and loyalty; then accused of treason the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, sir Robert Tresilian, false justice, and sir Nicholas Brembre, false knight; and lastly, throwing their gauntlets on the floor, offered severally to prove the truth of the charge by single combat. Richard answered, that he would summon a parliament in which justice should be done; and that in the mean time he took both parties under the royal protection. He then invited the appellants into another room, where they partook of refreshment with him in the most friendly manner (1).

It now became evident that flight alone could save the obnoxious councillors. The earl of Suffolk, on the second attempt, succeeded in reaching the frontiers of France; the archbishop effectually concealed himself in the vicinity of Newcastle; and the duke of Ireland repaired to the northern borders of Wales. Here, however, he received letters from the king, authorizing him to raise forces, and promising to join him on the first opportunity. With joy he unfurled the royal banner; and his hopes were encouraged by the accession of Molyneux, the constable of Chester, with a strong body of archers. The intelligence of his rising was received with secret pleasure by the duke of Gloucester, who now ventured to disclose his real designs. He consulted several clergymen and sages of the law, in what cases a vassal would be justified in giving back his homage; and in a meeting at Huntingdon agreed with the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and the Lord Thomas Mortimer, "to "depose Richard, and take the crown under his own custody." It was afterwards pretended that in adopting this resolution they had no design to deprive the king of the royal dignity in earnest, but merely to intimidate him by reducing him for a few days to the condition of a private individual. But whatever might be their real intention, it was defeated by the opposition of the earls of Derby and Nottingham, who, though they were willing to pursue the favourites unto death, would never consent to deprive the king of his crown (2). In the mean time the duke of Ireland at the head of five thousand men rapidly advanced towards the Thames. His first object was to pass that river, probably in consequence of secret instructions from Richard; but the appellants, acquainted with his motions, marched in the night by different roads from the neighbourhood of London, and occupied all the passes before his arrival. He first made his appearance at Radcot. The width of the bridge Dec. 20. had been diminished, so that only one man could cross at a time; three barriers were raised athwart it; and the earl of Derby lay

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 229. Knyght. 2697—2701. Wals. 330, 331.

(2) See the charges against the duke (Rot. Parl. iii. 376) with his answer (ibid. 379).

behind with a powerful force. Aware of the danger, he turned immediately to seek another passage, but was met in front by his enemy of Gloucester, and followed by the earl of Derby, who on his departure had crossed the bridge. In this emergency the duke threw off his armour, plunged into the river, and quitting his horse, swam to the opposite bank. It was growing dark, and a report fortunately prevailed that he had been drowned. Molyneux, one of his valets, and a boy were killed: a few perished in the waters; the rest were stripped completely naked, and told that they might return home. After a lapse of some weeks it was announced that the duke had escaped to Ireland (1).

The appellants, on their return to London, took from the mayor the keys of the city, and required an audience of the king, who had retired into the Tower. The intimidated monarch yielded to
Dec. 23. all their demands. A proclamation was issued for the arrest of the fugitive archbishop, duke, and earl: eleven of the royal confidants were secured in different prisons: and ten lords and knights, with the ladies Poynings, Mohun, and Molyneux, were dismissed from court, and compelled to give security for their appearance before the next parliament. That Richard in his distress might not have a single person to whom he could unbosom himself, even his confessor, the bishop of Chichester, was forbidden to come into his presence (2).

A. D. 1388. Jan. 1. In the writs which had already been issued for the convocation of parliament the king had instructed the sheriffs to return such knights of the shire as had not taken any part in the late quarrel. These writs were now recalled, and new ones were issued in the
Feb. 3. accustomed style (3). As soon as the parliament had been opened by the chancellor, the duke of Gloucester rose, knelt to the king, and complained that he had been suspected of aspiring to the crown: but Richard immediately interrupted him by strongly asserting his own conviction of the innocence of his uncle. The lords appellants then exhibited thirty-nine articles of impeachment against the five appellees: the latter, with the exception of Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was in prison, were called, but did not answer to their names; and judgment was immediately prayed against them for their default. But the decision was put off till the next day; and all the judges, with the exception of Sir William Skipwith, were arrested on their seats in court, and committed to separate cells in the Tower (4).

The next morning the king called upon "the sages of the common "and civil law" to give to the lords their opinion respecting the bill of impeachment; who unanimously declared that it was in all its parts informal and illegal. The peers, however, resolved to pro-

(1) Rot. Parl. 236. Knyght. 2701—2703. Wals. 332.
(2) Knyght. 2705. Wals. 333. Otterburne, 174. Rym. vii. 566, 567, 568.
(3) Rym. vii. 566. Rot. Parl. iii. 400.
(4) Rot. Parl. iii. 228—236. Knyght. 2706. Wals. 334.

ceed : they were bound, they said, by no other law than the law and custom of parliament; the kingdom of England had never been governed by the civil law; nor would they, in the exercise of their jurisdiction, be guided by the practice of the lower courts. With the assent of the king the appeal was declared to be "good and effectual according to the law and course of parliament." The appellants again demanded judgment; but the house adjourned till the next day, when the demand was repeated, and the primate instantly rising, observed, that in obedience to the canons, which forbade the clergy to interfere in judgments of blood, he and the other prelates should depart; but that, before their departure, they would protest that their absence should neither create any prejudice to their own rights as peers, nor detract from the effect of such judgment as might be given by the temporal lords without their concurrence. All the bishops and abbots immediately left the house (1). Feb. 5.

Eight days were spent in examining the bill of impeachment. It gave a detailed history of the conduct of the appellees from the commencement of the late parliament; attributed to them several projects too absurd to deserve belief; and averred that their constant aim had been to compass the destruction of the lords commissioners, the appellants, and their associates. Of the thirty-nine articles contained in this instrument, fourteen were declared to amount to treason : the accused were found guilty of them all; and the duke, the earl, and Tresilian were separately adjudged to suffer the death of traitors, and to forfeit their property to the king. The fate of the archbishop of York, on account of the novelty of the case, was reserved for future deliberation; and in the mean time, his temporalities were confiscated. But of these victims three were already beyond their reach. The earl of Suffolk had arrived at Paris. He was kindly received by the French king, but died of despair before the end of the year. The duke of Ireland had found an asylum in Holland; and the archbishop was still concealed in Northumberland (2). But Tresilian, who had disguised himself, and occupied a lodging in front of the palace, was betrayed by a servant, brought before the lords, and hurried away to execution. The next day the same fate befel Sir Nicholas Brembre, who in vain protested his innocence, and offered wager of battle to his accusers. Feb. 13. Feb. 19. Feb. 20.

After a short interval, the four judges of the king's bench, the chief baron of the exchequer, and the king's serjeant at law, were Mar. 2.

(1) Rot. Parl. 236, 237. 244.

(2) The duke died at Louvain in 1392, of a wound received in hunting a wild boar : to the duchess was allowed 100 marks per annum for her support. The archbishop, at the request of the government, was translated by the pope from York to St. Andrew's. But as the Scots did not admit the authority of Urban, he sailed to Flanders, accepted a small curacy, and served it till his death. The bishop of Ely, the chancellor, was translated to York, Fordham of Durham to Ely, Skirlaw of Bath and Wells to Durham, and Ergham of Salisbury to Bath and Wells. By these translations the friends of the appellants were exalted, those of the king depressed. Rym. vii. 574—577. All these changes took place during the sitting of parliament. Rot. Parl. 237, 238. Knyght. 2709.

impeached of treason by the commons, on the ground, that knowing the traitorous intention of those who proposed the questions at Shrewsbury and Nottingham, they had, to please them, given answers contrary to law. They all replied in the same manner, that their answers had been extorted from them by threats, and that therefore they hoped for mercy. Fulthorpe added, that he had the
Mar. 3. next day disclosed the whole business to the earl of Kent. They were remanded: but Blake and Usk, who replied, that whatever they had done, had been done by the king's orders, were told that
Mar. 4. their defence was an aggravation of their crime, because they knew that the king was not his own master, but under the control of the appellees. They were condemned and executed. The judges were soon afterwards called in, and informed, that by award of the high court of parliament, they had been condemned to suffer the penalties of treason; but at the very moment the bishops entered the house,
Mar. 6. and begged that a stop might be put to the effusion of so much blood. At their intercession the lives of the condemned were spared: but they were banished for life, and confined in different cities in Ireland (1).

The same day the bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor, was impeached of having used threats to the judges at Nottingham, concealed the objects of the traitors, and exposed, by his connivance, the whole realm to danger. He replied that no threats had ever been used to the judges; that he was under the obligation of secrecy as to the answers; and that he had taken care that no evil should arise from the transaction. He was condemned to exile in Ireland (2).

If revenge or intimidation had been the object of Gloucester, he might now have been satisfied: but his thirst for blood was still
Mar. 12. unsatisfied; and four knights, the earliest and steadiest friends of the king, were impeached by the commons as aiders and accomplices of the traitors already condemned. They pleaded not guilty, and offered to prove their innocence as true knights in any manner which the lords should award. It had become the policy of the royalists to prolong the deliberations; and eight days were consumed in investigation and debate, till the approach of the Easter holidays sug-
Mar. 20. gested the necessity of adjournment. On the last day the lords and commons granted the king a subsidy till the feast of Pentecost; and took an oath to stand by the lords appellants during the present parliament, and to live and die with them against all men. The two houses were then adjourned by the king till the Monday fortnight after the festival of Easter (3).

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 238—241. They were disposed of in the following manner: — sir Rob. Bealknap, at Drogheda, with an allowance of 40*l.* per ann.; sir John Holt, ditto, 40 marks; sir Rog. Fulthorpe, Dublin, 40*l.*; sir Will. Burgh, ditto, 40 marks; sir John Cary, Waterford, 20*l.*; John Lokton, ditto, 20*l.*

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 241. 243, 244. Cork was assigned for his residence, with permission to receive 40 marks per annum from any of his friends who might allow him so much.

(3) The sheriffs were ordered to administer the same oath to all men in office, and all gentlemen, and persons of influence in their counties, vii.

During the recess every effort was employed to save the lives of the four knights, particularly of Sir Simon Burley. He had belonged to the court of Edward III.; had been selected by the black prince as guardian to Richard; and had negotiated the marriage between his sovereign and the present queen. He was attached to the king as to his son; and the king loved and revered him as a father. On these accounts Richard earnestly solicited Gloucester to spare him; but received for answer, that if he meant to keep his crown, he must consent to the execution of his favourite (1). The queen on her knees seconded the prayer of her husband: but neither her rank nor beauty, her tears nor entreaties, could soften the heart of the tyrant. The task was then undertaken by the earl of Derby, one of the appellants; and a fierce but fruitless quarrel between the uncle and nephew served only to prove that no consideration could move the duke from his sanguinary purpose. When the parliament reassembled, the inquiry was resumed; Richard obstinately maintained that Burley was innocent; and for three weeks by refusing his assent averted the fate of his friend. At length, on an occasion when the king, and the lords who supported him, were absent, the opposite party resolved that one out of the thirteen counts in the impeachment had been brought home to the prisoner. He was called in, and immediately condemned on the vague charge of having conspired with other traitors to compass the death of those who had established the late commission of government. He suffered the same day; and the only indulgence which he could obtain, was a commutation of the more ignominious part of the punishment into decapitation (2). Apr. 13. May 5.

A week later was decided the fate of Burley's fellow-prisoners, Sir John Beauchamp, Sir James Berners, and Sir John Salisbury. The two former were convicted of treason, for having estranged the king's affections from his loyal subjects, and attached him to themselves; the latter for having consented to pass the seas, and solicit the aid of the king of France in favour of the five lords appealed of treason. All were immediately led to execution; Salisbury was drawn and hanged: but the king interposed in favour of the other two, and obtained the consent of the lords that they should be beheaded (3). May. 12.

572. See the return from the county of Lincoln, Rot. Parl. iii. 400.

(1) Qe s'il voloit estre Roy, covient estre perfourne et fait. Rot. Parl. iii. 431.

(2) Rot. Parl. 241—243. 376. In the rolls of this parliament he is said to have been condemned with the *assent* of the king (Rolls, 243): in those of the 21st of Richard, without his assent, against his will, and in his absence. Rolls, 376.

(3) Rot. Parl. iii. 243. The manner in which these trials were conducted does not appear very consistent with our notions of justice. The impeachment was first read over in the presence of the accused, who spoke without the aid of counsel in his own justification. The commons replied: and the lords resolved to "examine the "charges and the circumstances with good deli- "beration, and to give such judgment as should "be to the honour of God, and the profit of the "king and the kingdom." (Ibid. 240, 241.) In this "good deliberation" days and weeks were consumed: but there is no hint that the prisoner was ever heard again in his defence, or counsel introduced, or witnesses examined. We only learn that the lords decided among themselves, whether the accused were guilty of any one or more of the counts in the impeachment, and whether such count or counts amounted to treason. As soon as this was determined, he was called in to receive judgment, and led immediately to execution. Ibid, 240. 243, 244.

The work of blood was now ended; and "the wonderful parlia-
"ment," as it was called by some, or "the merciless parliament,"
as it was more justly called by others, after a long session of one
hundred and twenty-two days was dissolved. Before its termination
an order had been issued for the expulsion of the Bohemians, who
attended the queen, and a pardon granted not only to the appellants
and their friends, but also to the adherents of the opposite party,
with the exception of eighteen persons by name. The parliament
was, however, careful to incapacitate the king from reversing the
attainders which had been passed, or recalling to England such of
the attainted as had escaped to foreign lands, and to remunerate the
services of the lords appellants with a present of twenty thousand
June 2. pounds out of the new subsidy. Their last legislative act amounted
to a condemnation of themselves. It was an ordinance that, "whereas
"several points had been declared treason in the present parliament
"which had never been so declared by any statute, no judge should
"on that account have power to give judgment of treason in any
"other case or manner than he had before the commencement of
June 3. "their proceedings." At the conclusion the king was compelled to
take the coronation oath a second time; the prelates renewed their
fealty, the lords their homage; and all swore never to agree or suffer
that any judgment given in that parliament should be reversed, nor
that any statute enacted in it should be repealed (1).

For nearly twelve months Richard continued a mere cipher
in the hands of the party. The duke governed with greater lenity
than might have been expected from his vindictive disposition: but
his administration was not distinguished by any act of sufficient
importance to dazzle the eyes of the nation, or to give stability
to his power. The invasion so often threatened from France was
repeatedly averted by the dissensions which broke out in that king-
dom; and the war with Scotland was productive of little profit
Aug. 9. or glory. The earl of Arundel had, indeed, the good fortune to
capture a fleet of French merchantmen: but, on the other hand,
the Percies lost against the Scots the battle of Otterburne in Nor-
thumberland, in which, if the earl Douglas was slain, the lords
Henry and Ralph Percy, the English generals, were made pri-
A.D. 1389. soners (2). The terror which Gloucester had inspired insensibly
wore away; several of his partisans offered their services to the
king; and Richard, by one bold action, instantaneously dissolved
that authority which had been cemented with so much blood.
In a great council held after Easter, he unexpectedly requested
May 8. his uncle to tell him his age. "Your highness," the duke replied,
"is in your twenty-second year." "Then," added the king, "I

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 244. 247—252. Stat. of Realm, ii. 43—50.

(2) See the two ballads on it in the "Reliques of ancient English poetry," and the "Border Minstrelsy." Also Froissart, ix. 37—42.

"must certainly be old enough to manage my own concerns. "I have been longer under the control of tutors than any ward "in my dominions. I thank ye, my lords, for your past services, "but do not require them any longer." Observing their surprise, he followed up the blow by demanding the seals from the archbishop of York, and the keys of the exchequer from the Bishop of Hereford. A new treasurer and new chancellor were appointed; the former council was dismissed; and the king gave his confidence to a few tried friends, with the duke of York and the young earl of Derby, who, though they originally belonged to the commission, had either never forfeited, or had regained the royal favour. Gloucester submitted with reluctance, and after an interview with his nephew retired into the country: Richard May 8. by proclamation informed the people that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands, that he intended faithfully to maintain the ordinances of the parliament at Westminster, and that he should suspend the collection of the subsidy, which had lately been granted, till he was better convinced that his necessities required it (1).

The king was now his own master; and whether it were owing to his wisdom or the wisdom of his ministers, it must be owned that for some years his administration was tranquil and happy. The merit indeed of suspending the war with France must be claimed by Gloucester, under whose administration the treaty was commenced; but Richard had the good sense to continue it to a conclusion; and, relieved from the pressure of foreign hostility, made it his endeavour to preserve uninterrupted harmony between himself and his people. He frequently met his parliament, consulted it on all matters of importance, and appeared anxious to deserve its approbation. On one occasion he ordered the chancellor, treasurer, and other members of his council, to resign; and openly invited every person, who felt himself aggrieved by them, to bring his charges against them as private individuals. The next day the two houses bore an honourable testimony to their integrity, and they were restored with applause to their former June 18. offices (2). In return for his condescension, both lords and commons were liberal in their grants, and successively confirmed by A. D. 1390. their votes the acknowledged prerogatives of the crown (3). Though he retained a deep sense of the injuries which he had suffered, he had the prudence to suppress his resentment; and, on the return of the duke of Lancaster from Guienne, recalled the duke of Gloucester to a seat in the council (4). He even affected an indifference to the lot of his friends, who had been banished to Ire-

(1) Knyght. 2735. Wals. 337. Rym. vii. 617. Rot. Parl. iii. 404.
(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 258.
(3) Ibid. 279. 286.
(4) Ibid. 316. Acts of Council, i. 17.

land, till he was able to serve them without danger or opposition. His former confessor he promoted to a bishopric in that island; and, as the revenue was moderate, added to it a small annuity. With the consent of parliament he recalled to London the three surviving judges; and, as soon as he heard of the death of the duke of Ireland, granted a full pardon to sir John Lancaster, the companion of the exile, and restored the earldom of Oxford in favour of the duke's uncle sir Aubrey de Vere (1). Three years later he ventured to give a stronger proof of his affection for his unfortunate friend. He ordered the body, which had been embalmed, to be brought from Louvain, and reinterred it with great solemnity in the church of Colne. Before the completion of the ceremony the coffin was opened by his orders, and the covering removed from the face. The features were still discernible; and the king gazed on it for some minutes with visible emotions of the most poignant grief (2).

A. D. 1378. Nov. It was during this period of comparative tranquillity that the legislative enactments against papal provisions and reservations were completed. As soon as the king of France had espoused the cause of the cardinal of Geneva against Urban VI., the claims of the two competitors were canvassed in parliament; and at the suggestion of the primate and the other prelates, it was determined to acknowledge Urban, and to obey him, as the rightful head of the church. The legislature even went farther, and by statute confiscated the revenues of the cardinals who rejected Urban, and put out of the king's protection every English subject who should make application to his adversary, as the real pontiff (3).

A. D. 1379. May 11. In return Urban issued in favour of the king a bull, by which the two next vacant prebends in each collegiate church were reserved, and the nomination was transferred from the bishops and chapters to the crown (4). But the harmony between the two courts was disturbed by the ambition of Edward Bromfield, the agent at Rome for the abbey of St. Edmund's; who, on the decease of his abbot, procured by false suggestions that appointment from the pontiff, and returning to England, took possession of the abbey in virtue of the papal provision. He was instantly apprehended under the statute of provisors passed in the late reign, and committed to the Tower (5). This event attracted the notice of the public; complaints were made in parliament of new provisions granted to several cardinals; and by an additional enactment it was ordained, that if any of the king's subjects should, without his license given with the advice of the council, farm or administer the benefice of any alien within the realm, or in virtue of such

A. D. 1380. Jan. 16.

(1) Ibid. 302, 303. 346.
(2) Wals. 352.
(3) Rot. Parl. iii. 48. Rym. vii. 222.
(4) Rym. vii. 216.
(5) Wals. 230, 231. 236.

administration should convey money out of the kingdom, he should for the same offence incur all the penalties comprised in the statute of provisors of the 27th of Edward III (1).

Bromfield's affair was compromised by his translation to a different benefice. The king granted the necessary licenses to the attorneys of the cardinals enjoying preferment in England (2); and the pope confirmed the concordat of Bruges between Edward III. and Gregory XI (3). But, though Urban was willing to concede other points, he still refused to surrender the claim which had for centuries been exercised by his predecessors of presenting to such benefices as became vacant in the court of Rome by the death or the promotion of the incumbents (4); and the parliament three years afterwards confirmed the former statutes, and, as an additional safeguard, extended the penalties of the late act to all foreigners residing on benefices obtained by provision, whether they held them for themselves or for the profit of others. The king, however, was permitted to dispense with this act in favour of the cardinal of Naples, and such persons as might render particular services to the crown (5); an exemption which tended in a great measure to render the statute nugatory; for as the cardinals in possession of English benefices generally died at Rome, the pope instantly conferred their livings on the surviving cardinals, who found no difficulty in obtaining the royal license; and the other preferments which became vacant in that court were frequently at the king's request bestowed on his own chaplains, as the cheapest means by which he could remunerate their services (6). A. D. 1388. Nov.

These evasions of the spirit of the law did not escape the observation of those who were enemies to the system of provisions; and in consequence of their reiterated complaints it was enacted in the parliament holden in 1390 that all provisions granted before the twenty-ninth of January in that year should be valid; that all granted afterwards should be of no effect; that every person who should accept of a benefice contrary to this statute should forfeit his lands and chattels, and be banished for life; that whoever should bring or send into England any papal sentence or excommunication against any person for the execution of this statute should, besides forfeiture, incur the penalty of life and limb; and that whoever should publish such sentence or excommunication should, if he were a prelate, lose his temporalities; if of inferior rank, suffer imprisonment, and make fine at the king's pleasure (7). But the last clause appeared to bear so hard on the clergy, that the spiritual peers, though they had concurred in all the other statutes against provisions, unanimously protested A. D. 1390. Jan. 17.

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 82. 83.
(2) Rym. vii. 253. 256. 258, 259, etc.
(3) Rym. vii. 384.
(4) Ibid. 321. 428. 437.
(5) Rot. Parl. iii, 163. Stat. of Realm, ii. 35.
(6) Rym. vii. 684.
(7) Rot. Parl. iii. 266. 270. Stat. of Realm, ii. 73.

against this, "inasmuch as it might tend to restrain the au- "thority of the apostolic see, or to subvert the liberties of the "church." By the king's order the protestation was read in parliament, and entered on the rolls (1).

Shortly afterwards Richard held a great council, and in his own name, and the names of the principal barons and knights, wrote to the pontiff, explaining their grievances, and requesting his holiness to devise some prompt and efficacious remedy for
A. D. 1391. the evil. What answer was returned does not appear. Urban died,
Feb. 4. and was succeeded by Boniface IX., who declared the statutes enacted by the parliament of no effect (2), and among other provisions granted a prebend in the church of Wells to cardinal Brancacio, who immediately began a suit in the papal court against
A. D. 1392. William Langbroke, the king's presentee (3). The controversy was
Aug. 14. immediately revived: the king's courts decided in favour of Langbroke: but rumours were circulated, that, if the prelates executed the decrees of such courts, they would be exposed to ecclesiastical
A. D. 1393. penalties. In the next parliament the commons petitioned
Jan. the king to inquire of all estates, in what manner they would behave in the two following cases: 1°. If the pope were to issue sentences of excommunication against the bishops for instituting the king's presentees in consequence of the judgment of the king's court; 2°. If, for the same reason, he should attempt to translate the bishops from their present sees to other sees out of the kingdom (4). The answer returned by the commons was, that such proceedings would be subversive of the rights of the crown, and that they would therefore stand by the king against them to live and die. The reply of the temporal lords was nearly to the same effect. The prelates declared that it was not their intention to deny that the pope could issue sentences of excommunication, and translate bishops according to the law of the holy church, but to do so in the cases proposed would be to invade the rights of the crown, which they were determined to support with all their power (5). In consequence of these answers, was drawn up the last and most comprehensive of the statutes of provisors or premunire, by which it is provided that, if any man pursue or obtain, in the court of Rome, or elsewhere, such translations, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things, against the king's crown and regality, or kingdom, as aforesaid, or bring them into the realm, or receive, notify, or execute them either within the

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 264.

(2) Fuisse et esse cassa et irrita, ipsaque ex superabundante cassamus, irritamus, et juribus vacuamus. Apud Raynald. v. 162.

(3) Rym. vii. 734.

(4) It is rather laughable to observe how soon the parliament began to fear that its own artifice might be turned to its prejudice. The plan of translating bishops out of the kingdom had been invented by the duke of Gloucester's party to get rid of the archbishop of York. But it now became evident that, if the pope could do this to punish a prelate who had offended the ruling party, he might do the same to punish a prelate from whom he himself had received offence.

(5) Rot. Parl. iii. 304.

realm or without, such person or persons, their notaries, procurators, maintainers, abettors, fautors, and counsellors, shall be out of the king's protection, their goods and chattels, lands and tenements, shall be forfeited to the king, and their persons attached wherever they may be found (1).

There is reason to believe that, when this bill was discussed in the house of lords, it met with considerable opposition. It was at least withdrawn by the commons, who agreed that the king should refer the whole matter to his council, and have full power to make such alterations and ordinances as he might think fit, and to carry them, when made, into execution (2). Though they expressed a hope that, when it was thus amended, they should assent to it at the next parliament, it does not appear to have been ever laid before them again; but to have been occasionally acted upon, and occasionally modified, as suited the royal convenience. The pope was still careful to bestow the English benefices of the deceased cardinals on their survivors: but frequently the king was also careful to present to them himself. On each of these occasions the old contest was fought over again; and in every case the provisor was compelled to relinquish his pretensions, and the pope, that he might save his own claim, conferred the benefice on the king's presentee. Convinced by experience of their inability to continue the contest with honour to themselves, the pontiffs negotiated with the court, and assented to such modifications of the statute as the king thought it prudent to make. Provisions in favour of aliens, unless they were cardinals, were entirely abolished, and those in favour of natives were generally granted to persons who had previously obtained the royal license (3). Thus ended this long and angry controversy entirely to the advantage of the crown; for though the right of election remained to the clergy, it was merely nominal, as they dared not reject the person recommended by the king; and though the pope still pretended to confer the great dignities of the church by provision, the provisor was invariably the person who had been nominated by the crown.

(1) Stat. of Realm, ii. 84, 85.

(2) Fait a remembrer touchant l'estatut des provisours, qe les communes, pur la grante affiance, ... s'accorderent et assenterent en plein parlement, qe nre dit Sr le Roi, par bone deliberation et assent des seigneurs et de son sage conseill, preigne toute la matire a luy, et q'il eit plein poair et auctorite de modifier le dit estatut, et ent ordeiner par deliberation et assent susditz en manere comme luy semblera meutz. Rot. Parl. iii. 301.—Four years afterwards another memorandum to the same import, and nearly in the same words (the king was to alter it par assent et advis de tieux sages et dignes persones queux lui plerra appeller pur conseiller en le matiere) is inserted in the rolls: and it is added, that immediately afterwards the prelates protested, that, if any ordinance were made which should restrain the power of the pontiff in the business of provisions, or derogate from the liberties of the church, they neither could nor ought to assent to it. Rot. Parl. iii. 340, 341. Hence I think it plain that this statute was never properly passed in parliament, and on that account does not appear in the rolls. It was, however, acted upon by the king's council; and is referred to in the 25th Hen. VIII. c. 20, and 2nd Philip and Mary, c. 8.

(3) We have one of these temporary modifications in Wilkins, Con. iii. 237. 1°. The bishoprics were to be granted after the election, and by provision, to the person elect, if the king wrote in his favour. If he did not, to some other person acceptable to the king. 2°. In cathedral and collegiate churches, the pope and the ordinary were to present alternately, till the pope

A. D. 1384. May 27. June 7. July 26.

If the war between England and France still continued, it was more from the difficulty of adjusting their differences than from any real enmity between the two monarchs. Of late hostilities had been suspended by a succession of negotiations, which, in 1394, terminated in a truce for four years (1). Soon afterwards Richard was deprived of his consort, the good queen Anne, who died at his palace of Shene, and was interred at Westminster. The king appeared inconsolable; and, to divert his melancholy, was advised to visit his Irish dominions. They had formerly produced a yearly income of thirty thousand pounds: now the receipts were not equal to the ordinary expenses of the government. To understand the cause of this defalcation we must take a hasty review of the past transactions in Ireland. After the fall of Bruce, the second Edward was too much occupied by his domestic enemies, the third by his wars with Scotland and France, to attend to the concerns of the sister island; and the natives by successive encroachments gradually confined the English territories within narrower limits. The greater part of Ulster was recovered by the O'Nials; the O'Connors won several districts in Connaught; and in Leinster the O'Brians maintained, with perseverance, and often with success, the cause of Irish independence. Had the natives united in one common effort, they might have driven the invaders into the ocean: but they lost the glorious opportunity by their own dissensions and folly. Their hostilities were generally the sudden result of a particular provocation, not of any plan for the liberation of the island; their arms were as often turned against their own countrymen as against their national enemies; and several septs received annual pensions from the English government as the price of their services in protecting the borders from the inroads of the more hostile Irish.

Neither did the English pale present a scene of less anarchy and disunion. The settlers were divided into two classes, the English by race and the English by birth. The former were the descendants of the first invaders, and considered themselves as the rightful heirs to the lands and emoluments which had been won by the swords of their progenitors. The further they were removed from the seat of government, the less did they respect its authority; and, as they lived in the constant violation of the English laws, naturally sought to emancipate themselves from their control. Hence many adopted the dress, the manners, the language, and the laws of the natives, and were insensibly transformed from English barons into Irish chieftains. Of these the most powerful was Thomas Fitz-Maurice, who collected without distinction of country every adventurer under his standard; expelled the English settlers who refused to conform to

had possessed three presentations. He might grant the provisions to cardinals: otherwise he was bound to select Englishmen. 3°. In other benefices the pope and ordinary were to present alternately for fourteen months. Anno 1398.

(1) Rym. vii. 770.

his wishes; encouraged intermarriages with the natives, and established among his dependents the customs of tanistry and gavelkind.

Yet such was the weakness of the government, that, to secure his fidelity, he was created earl of Desmond, and his possessions were erected into a county palatine.

The English by birth comprised the persons born in England whom the king had invested with office in Ireland, and the crowds of adventurers whom penury or crime annually banished from their own country. To the old settlers they were objects of peculiar jealousy and hatred: by the government they were trusted and advanced, as a counterpoise to the disaffection of the others. Edward III. had gone so far as to forbid any person to hold office under the Irish government who was not an Englishman, and possessed of lands, tenements, or benefices in England; but the prohibition aroused the indignation of the English by race: in defiance of his authority they assembled in convention at Kilkenny; and so spirited were their remonstrances that he revoked the order, and confirmed to them the rights which they had inherited from their ancestors. A. D. 1342.

Edward had appointed his son Lionel duke of Clarence to the government of Ireland. The prince landed with an army, obtained some advantages over the natives, and left the island, having rather inflamed than appeased the jealousy between the two parties. Some years later he returned; a parliament was held under his influence; and the result was the celebrated statute of Kilkenny. Its provisions were directed not against the natives, but the descendants of the English settlers, who, "to the ruin of the common weal, had re-"jected the laws of England for those of Ireland." It enacted that marriage, nurture of children, and gossipred with the Irish, should for the future subject the offender to the penalties of high treason; and that the Englishman who should adopt an Irish name, or the Irish language, or the Irish dress, should be constrained by imprisonment or forfeiture to give security that he would conform to the manners of his own country. It was moreover declared that the Brehon laws were a lewd custom, latterly crept in among the English, and it was made high treason for any Englishman to decline the authority of his own laws, and submit his cause to the decision of the Brehon judges (1). A. D. 1361. Mar. A. D. 1364.

Still the former dissensions prevailed among the strangers; and the Irish gradually extended their conquests. To restore tranquillity, Richard, in his ninth year, created the earl of Oxford, his favourite, marquess of Dublin, and afterwards duke of Ireland; bestowed on him the government of Ireland for life; and granted to him and his heirs all the lands which he should conquer from

(1) Apud Leland, i. 320.

the natives, with the exception of such as had already been annexed to the crown, or conferred on former adventurers(1). Thirty thousand marks were allotted for the expedition by the parliament; and the most sanguine hopes of success were generally cherished; when the whole plan was defeated by the dissension between the king and his barons, and the subsequent exile and death of the duke. Now, however, the moment seemed to be arrived when the English ascendency might be restored, and the natives reduced to the most complete submission. With four thousand men at arms and thirty thousand archers, Richard landed at Waterford: the duke of Gloucester, the earls of Rutland and Nottingham, aided him with their advice; and, though the state of the country, intersected with lakes, morasses, and forests, impeded his progress; though the enemy, by retiring into inaccessible fortresses, shunned his approach; yet in a short time the idea of resistance was abandoned; the northern chieftains met the king at Drogheda, the southern attended his deputy, the earl of Nottingham, at Carlow; and all, seventy-five in number, did homage, promised to keep the peace, and submitted to pay a yearly tribute. The four principal kings, O'Nial, O'Connor, O'Brian, and M'Murchad, followed Richard to Dublin, where they were instructed in the manners of the English by sir Henry Christal; submitted to receive, though with some reluctance, the honour of knighthood, and, arrayed in robes of state, were feasted at the king's table. But a distinction was made between the natives who had not previously sworn fealty and those who had done so and rebelled, the "Irrois savages, and Irrois "rebels," as the king denominated them. Yet the latter on their submission were taken under protection, and obtained the promise of a full pardon on the payment of a proportionate fine. Richard, though he devoted much of his time to parade, did not neglect the reformation of the government. Grievances were redressed, the laws enforced, tyrannical officers removed, and the minds of the natives gradually reconciled to the superiority of the English (2).

A. D. 1394. Oct.

A. D. 1395. Mar. 25.

But while the king was thus establishing his power in Ireland he was suddenly recalled to his English dominions. The disciples of Wycliffe, under the denomination of Lollards, had seized the opportunity of his absence to commence a fierce attack upon the revenues and the discipline of the church. Not content with affixing libels against the clergy in the most public places in the capital, they had prepared an inflammatory petition, which was to be pre-

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 209, 210.

(2) Acts of Coun i. 56. 62. Christal gave the account of this expedition to Froissart. He had formerly been made prisoner by one of the natives, a powerful man, who unexpectedly leaped up behind him, embraced him tightly, and, urging the horse forward with his heels, fairly carried him off. During his captivity he had learned the Irish language, and on that account was now charged with the care of the four kings. His great difficulty was to induce them to dine at a different table from their servants, and to wear breeches, and mantles trimmed with the fur of squirrels. Froiss. xi. 24.

sented to the house of commons. This instrument is a strange compound of fanaticism and folly. It complains that, ever since the church had been endowed with worldly possessions, faith, hope, and charity have been banished from England; that the English priesthood is a false priesthood, because sinners can neither impart nor receive the Holy Spirit; that the clergy profess a life of celibacy, but pamper themselves too much to observe it; that by accepting places under the government, they become hermaphrodites, obliging themselves to serve both God and mammon; that they teach transubstantiation, which leads to idolatry; enjoin confession, which makes them supercilious; authorise war and criminal executions, which are contrary to the law of Christ, a law of mercy and love; and permit men to exercise the trades of the goldsmith and sword cutler, which are unnecessary and pernicious under the dispensation of the gospel. No one was found to present the petition; May. but the prelates, alarmed at the boldness of the fanatics, solicited the protection of the king, who, at his return to London, severely reprimanded the patrons of the Lollards, and ordered their teachers to be expelled from the university of Oxford (1).

During the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and the king's favourites, Richard had been frequently reproached with a secret leaning towards the friendship of the king of France. On the death A. D. 1394. of his queen he discovered this inclination more openly, and solicited June 7. the hand of Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., a princess in her eighth year. The dukes of Lancaster and York approved of the match: the duke of Gloucester, who on all occasions made his court to the prejudices of the nation by opposing any alliance with France, was able to postpone it for many months. At length his A. D. 1396. acquiescence was purchased with gifts and promises; and a treaty Mar. 9. was signed, purporting that Isabella should marry Richard; that she should receive for her dower eighty thousand crowns by annual instalments; that when she had completed her twelfth year she should be at liberty to assent to the marriage or to dissent from it; that the heirs of her body should not derive from their mother's descent any additional claim to the French crown; and that the truce Sept. 27. already existing between the two kingdoms should be prolonged Oct. 27. Nov. 1. for the term of twenty-eight additional years, and should comprehend their respective allies. Richard sailed to France to receive the princess; the kings feasted each other in their pavilions between Ardres and Calais; the marriage ceremony was performed by the A. D. 1397. archbishop of Canterbury; and the young queen was afterwards Jan. 7. crowned with the usual magnificence at Westminster (2).

(1) Wilk. Con. iii. 221. Wals. 351. Rym. vii. 805.

(2) Rym. vii. 802—805. 811—830. 834—837. 845—847, 848. Wals. 353. Isabella brought with her, besides jewels and plate, "robes, tapisserie, et autres meubles, tant pour la personne, "et pour la chambre, come pour la chapelle, "l'escuyerie, panneterie, eschansonnerie, fruiterie, la cuisine, et autres offices;" for all which Richard gave a receipt at Calais, 7 Nov. Thres. des Chart. 64.

This alliance with the royal family of France encouraged Richard to execute a scheme of vengeance which he had long cherished within his own breast. He had not forgotten the sufferings and murders of his favourites, nor the insults which had been offered to his own authority. Hitherto it had been prudent to dissemble; now, thinking himself secure on the throne, he resolved to wreak his vengeance on the offenders, though the principal of them was one of his nearest relatives. Of his three uncles the duke of York alone seems never to have forfeited his friendship. The easy and indolent disposition of that prince withdrew him from the rash and intemperate councils of his brother of Gloucester; and if he did not strenuously exert himself in the cause, he never gave the weight of his co-operation to the enemies of his nephew. He was now beloved and trusted by Richard. During the king's absence in Ireland he had been appointed regent of the kingdom; and his son, the earl of Rutland, was believed to hold the first place in the royal favour. With respect to the duke of Lancaster it had formerly been otherwise, when he was suspected of aspiring to the crown. But age had chilled his ambition: every sinister impression had been effaced by more recent services; and a grant to him for life of the sovereignty of Guienne, though it was afterwards recalled at the solicitation and remonstrance of the natives, proved how ready the king was to gratify the wishes of this uncle. Constance, his second wife, did not long possess the affection of her husband, which he had transferred to Catherine Swynford, a knight's widow, and governess of his two daughters by Blanche, the first duchess. Constance died in 1394, and in 1396 the duke married Swynford after an illicit cohabitation of about twenty years, during which she had borne him three sons and one daughter of the surname of Beaufort, from
Feb. 6. Beaufort castle in France, in which they were born. This marriage was resented as a disgrace by the other princes of the blood royal: but Richard, to please his uncle, approved of it, legitimated the
Feb. 10. children, and raised the eldest son to the dignity of earl of Somerset (1). But the duke of Gloucester, the third uncle, though he knew how cruelly he had wounded the feelings, disdained to cultivate the friendship of his nephew. He was still the chief mover of every intrigue, the soul of every faction that opposed the king's wishes. He never took his seat at the council board but to embarrass the proceedings; was the last to arrive, and the first to depart; treated Richard with an air of superiority; and frequently threw

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 343. In the original patent of legitimation, and in the copy entered on the rolls of parliament, there was no reservation of the *royal dignity*. In the copy on the patent rolls there is such reservation, but it is interlined, and in a different ink, though the hand is nearly the same. In the exemplification by Hen. IV. in 1407, the exception occurs without interlineation. See Sir Harris Nicolas in Excerpt. Hist. 153. It appears, however, to me that the original patent, though it omits, nevertheless implies the exception; for it explains the honours, dignities, pre-eminences, estates, degrees, and offices which it enables the Beauforts to hold, as duchies, principalities, earldoms, baronies, and other fees, whether holden mediately or immediately of the crown Is not this equivalent to a reservation of the royal dignity?

out sarcasms in his hearing on his supposed inactivity and degeneracy from the spirit of his fathers. At the same time it was the policy of the duke to ingratiate himself with the knights, who had distinguished themselves in the last reign; to inveigh against the peace with France; to lament the pusillanimity of the king; and to represent him as fit only to live in the company of ladies and bishops (1). That he might at least display his own courage, he obtained permission to join the Christians, who were fighting against the infidels in Prussia: but, whether it was that the expedition was merely a pretence, or that his courage evaporated at sea, he returned in a few days, and asserted that he had been driven back by a storm. He was then appointed to the government of Ireland, but neglected to take possession, probably because Ireland was a country in which, as he said, he could reap neither wealth nor glory. Richard's mind was perpetually harassed by what he saw and heard of Gloucester's conduct; a repetition of petty injuries kept alive his resentment, and the memory of the past urged him to get rid of a prince who still continued to display the same contempt for the person, the same hostility to the favourites of his sovereign. We are even told July 8. that the duke had actually formed a plan with his former associates, the present archbishop of Canterbury (2), and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to seize and imprison the king (3): but the account appears to be no more than a report invented to explain the cause of his arrest. This, at least, is certain, that no such charge was afterwards brought forward by his accusers in parliament.

When Richard had taken his resolution, it was carried into effect with secrecy and despatch. The earl of Warwick, having dined with the king, was arrested at the house of the chancellor, near Temple Bar, hurried away to the Tower, and for greater security July 10.

(1) On this subject a singular occurrence took place in the parliament held in 1397. On the 1st of February the commons delivered a bill to the lords for the regulation of the king's household, complaining, among other things, that so many bishops, who had lordships, and so many ladies, with their servants, were always with the king, and were supported at his expense. Richard the next day sent for the lords, asserted that the bill was an invasion of his prerogative, and ordered the duke of Lancaster to demand from the commons the name of the person who had introduced it. This was sir Thomas Haxey, a clergyman. On the third, the commons appeared before the king and the lords, professed their sorrow for the offence they had given, and declared that their only intention was to request the king to consider the subject of his household, and to make what regulations he thought proper. He professed himself satisfied; adding that, as he did not demand from them either tenths or fifteenths, they ought not to interfere with his expenses. But Haxey was singled out for punishment, as a terror to others. His bill had been expressed in these words:—May it please the commons of England to consider the expenses of the king in his household, from the multitude of bishops and ladies with their followers, and to ordain due remedy thereof. On the fifth a law was made, that whoever moved, or should move the commons of parliament, or any other person, to make remedy or reformation of anything appertaining to the king's person, rule, or royalty, should be held for a traitor; and two days after, Haxey, on his own confession, was condemned, according to this ex post facto law, to suffer the punishment of treason. But his life was immediately spared at the intercession of the prelates, and a full pardon was granted to him on the 27th of May. It is probable that no intention existed of putting Haxey to death; but that the whole of this unjustifiable proceeding had for its object to check the attempts of Gloucester's partisans to intimidate the opponents of the court. See Rot. Parl. iii. 339. 341. 407, 408.—From this instance it appears that clergymen sate at this period among the commons in parliament.

(2) He was Thomas de Arundel, brother to the earl of the same name, who had been bishop of Ely and chancellor during the prosecution of Richard's favourites; and was afterwards translated to the see of York, and thence to that of Canterbury. Ang. Sac. i. 62. 122.

(3) Froissart, xl. 48. Account of MSS. in library of king of France, ii. p. 205.

conveyed to the castle of Tintagel in Cornwall (1). The primate was unsuspectingly employed to bring his brother the earl of Arundel to a private conference with Richard, who instantly apprehended and sent him to Carisbrook castle, in the isle of Wight; but with a promise, confirmed upon oath, that he should not suffer either in his person or property (2). To prevent the escape or resistance of his uncle, Richard himself headed the party appointed to apprehend him, and proceeded to his castle at Plashy. The duke with his family came out to meet the king, but was immediately delivered to the custody of the earl of Nottingham, earl marshal (3). That nobleman pretended to conduct him to the Tower; but, when they had reached the Thames, he put him on board a ship, sailed down the river, and lodged his prisoner in the castle of Calais, of which he was governor. From the sudden disappearance of the duke it was generally believed that he had been murdered; and his friends, alarmed at his supposed fate, began to tremble for their own safety.

July 15. Richard, to tranquillise the public mind, issued a proclamation, stating that these arrests had been made with the assent of the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, and Salisbury, the lord Despenser, and sir William Scrope, and with the approbation of his uncles of Lancaster and York, and his cousin of Derby; that the offences of the prisoners were of recent date, and had no connexion with the occurrences of the tenth and eleventh years of his reign, and that none of his subjects had any reason to be alarmed on account of the part which they had taken on those occasions (4).

To arrange his plans with greater secrecy, he now repaired to the castle of Nottingham, where it was determined to copy the former example of the prisoners, and to appeal them of treason, after the manner in which they had appealed the king's favourites. The noblemen who had advised the arrests were at dinner, when they were unexpectedly summoned from table to the gate of the castle, and required to put their seals to a form of appeal, which had been prepared for the occasion. On their return they found the king in the hall, seated on the throne, and wearing his crown. "We appeal," they were made to say, "Thomas duke of Gloucester, Richard earl of "Arundel, and Thomas earl of Warwick, and, say that they have "acted as traitors to your majesty and your realm. Such we hold "them, and such we will prove them to be, when, where, and in "whatever court your majesty shall ordain. And we beseech your

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 436.
(2) Ibid, 435.
(3) There are different accounts of this arrest. The contemporary author in MS. mentioned before assures us that it took place in the morning, when the king arrived before the duke was up (p. 208): Froissart fixes it at five in the afternoon (xi. 48). Both agree that he joined Richard in the court of his palace, was asked to accompany him to London, and made prisoner on the road. But the rolls of parliament declare that he was arrested, as he came forth in procession to meet the king: domino regi cum processione solemni humiliter occurrentem. Rot. Parl. iii. 418.
(4) Rym. viii. 6. To the noblemen who are said to have given their assent to these arrests should have been added the young earl of Somerset. Rot. Parl. iii. 374.

"majesty to hear us as soon as may be, and to do full right and jus-
"tice on this our appeal." Their request was granted, and the time of trial fixed for the ensuing parliament (1).

On his return the king remained a few days at Woodstock, where it was resolved to take the deposition of the duke of Gloucester in Aug. 15.
prison, and a commission for that purpose was signed and addressed to sir William Rickhill, one of the justices. About three weeks later Sept. 5.
Rickhill was awakened in the middle of the night at Essingham in Kent by a royal messenger, who ordered him to repair immediately to Dover, and to follow the earl of Nottingham to Calais. If he was surprised at the mysterious nature of this message, his surprise re- Sept. 7.
doubled, when after his arrival the earl delivered to him a commission to interrogate the duke of Gloucester, whom he had for many weeks believed to be dead. In this delicate and dangerous business Rickhill proceeded with a caution which afterwards saved his life. He required that two witnesses should be appointed to see and hear all that passed between him and the prisoner; and on his introduction to Gloucester, advised him to return his answer in Sept. 8.
writing, and to keep an exact copy of it in his own possession; Some hours later the duke delivered to him what was termed his confession, with a request that he would come back the next morning, to receive any further communication that might be deemed necessary. But in the morning Rickhill was refused admission; and, after remaining two days longer at Calais, he returned to Eng- Sept. 11.
land, and gave an account of his proceedings to the king the day before the opening of the parliament (2). Sept. 16.

To prevent any opposition to his wishes, Richard was accom- Sept. 17.
panied to Westminster by a most formidable force, composed of the knights and esquires who wore his livery of the hart, and of his body-guard of archers levied in the county of Chester. The leading men in the commons had received their instructions from the court; and on the second day of the session sir John Bussy the speaker, Sept. 18.
petitioned the king that the clergy might appoint proxies to represent them in their absence from trials of blood; that the commission of regency, and the statute confirming it, passed in the tenth year of his reign, should be repealed, as extorted from him by threats and violence; that whoever in future should procure the enactment, or act in virtue of such a commission, should suffer the penalties of treason; and that all pardons, general or private, heretofore granted to the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, should be revoked, as prejudicial to the king, and wrung from him by constraint. These petitions were immediately granted with the unanimous assent of parliament (3).

The commons next impeached Thomas Arundel archbishop of

(1) Compare Rot. Parl. iii. 374, and 449—452.

(2) See Rickill's deposition, Rot. Parl. iii. 431.

(3) Rot. Parl. iii. 348—351.

Canterbury of high treason. He had, they maintained, aided the duke and two earls to obtain the commission of regency, and procured himself to be named one of the number; had also advised the arrest and execution of sir Simon Burley and sir James Berners, contrary to the will of the king: and had committed these crimes while he was chancellor, and bound by his oath to support the rights of the crown. He rose to defend himself, but was silenced by Richard, who, on account, as he pretended, of the archbishop's dignity, wished to have more time to consider the matter (1).

Sept. 21. The following day the lords appellants presented their charges against the three peers: 1. That the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel had compelled the king to assent to the commission of regency, by threatening his life in case of refusal; 2. That they had drawn to their party the earl of Warwick and the lord Thomas Mortimer at Harringay park, and with force of arms constrained the king at Westminster to take them under his protection; 3. That these four, usurping the royal power, had condemned sir Simon Burley to death, against the king's will and without his assent; and, 4. That at Huntingdon they had conspired to depose the king, shown him the act of deposition of Edward II., and told him that, if he had not met with the same fate, he owed the preservation of his crown to the respect which they entertained for his deceased father. To these charges the earl of Arundel pleaded not guilty, and offered to prove his innocence by wager of battle, or by the verdict of a jury. He then pleaded a general and particular pardon. But these had been already revoked, and he was ordered to speak to the facts alleged against him. On his refusal the duke of Lancaster pronounced the usual judgment of treason; he was immediately led back to the Tower, and his head was struck off the same day under the direction of the lord Morley, the lieutenant of the earl marshal (2).

That nobleman, who was still at Calais, had received an order to bring his prisoner, the duke of Gloucester, to the bar of the house, that he might reply to the lords who had appealed him of treason.

Sept. 24. Three days later an answer was returned, that the earl marshal could not produce the said duke before the king in parliament, for that he, being in custody in the king's prison at Calais, had there died. The time, the place, the suddenness of the death, will create a suspicion that this unfortunate prince had been murdered; and in the next reign it was pretended that Richard, unwilling to disgrace the royal family by bringing his uncle to a public trial, and equally unwilling to grant life to one who had so unfeelingly refused mercy to others, had sent assassins to Calais, by whom the duke

(1) Ibid. 351.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 374—377. 435. Hence it is evident that the earl marshal himself was not present; and that the story of his insulting the prisoner at his execution cannot be true. Wals. 355.

was smothered between two beds (1). However that may be, the lords appellants demanded judgment; the commons seconded their demand by a petition; and the duke was declared a traitor, and all his property confiscated to the crown (2).

The next day was read in parliament Gloucester's confession taken by sir William Rickhill. He acknowledged that he had been guilty of procuring the commission of regency; of presenting himself with an armed force before the king in Westminster-hall; of opening the king's letters without permission; of speaking slanderously of him in the hearing of others; of employing threats to induce him to condemn sir Simon Burley; of asking the advice of others, whether he might not give up his homage; and of having conspired with others to depose the king, but only for a few days, after which he meant to replace him on the throne. He protested, however, that, since the day on which he swore to his nephew on God's body at Langley (3), he had always been faithful to him; and concluded in these words: "Therefore I beseech my liege and "sovereign lord the king, that he will of his high grace and be-"nignity accept me to his mercy and his grace, as I that put my "life, my body, and my goods wholly at his will, as lowly and as "meekly as any creature can do, or may do, to his liege lord. "Beseeching to his high lordship that he will, for the passion that "God suffered for all mankind, and the compassion that he had of "his mother on the cross, and the pity that he had of Mary "Magdalene, that he will vouchsafe for to have compassion and "pity, and to accept me unto his mercy and his grace, as he that "hath ever been full of mercy and of grace to all his lieges, and to "all other that have not been so nigh to him as I have been, though "I be unworthy (4)." How eloquently he could plead for mercy in his own favour, though he had never shown mercy to others! Sept. 25.

The archbishop of Canterbury had not appeared in his place in parliament since his impeachment. His absence was attributed to the perfidious counsel of the king, who, fearing the impression which might be made by his eloquence, affected to be his friend,

(1) In the first year of the next reign a paper was read in parliament, purporting to be a confession upon oath of John Hall, a servant to the earl of Nottingham. He said, or was made to say, that some day in September the duke was brought from the castle of Calais to a hotel called the prince's inn, and delivered to two persons, servants of the king and the earl of Rutland. That they took him up stairs, advised him to send for a confessor, as he must die, and, after the departure of the priest, smothered him between two beds in presence of himself and three others. As soon as this paper had been read, Hall was condemned, and immediately executed without having been heard, or even presented before his judges. Though eight were named in the deposition, as being concerned in the transaction, not one of them was examined or molested. If we reflect how much it was for the interest of Henry IV. to have Richard believed the author of Gloucester's death, all these circumstances tend to excite a suspicion that he could not prove it. See Rot. Parl. iii. 453.

(2) Ibid. 378.

(3) That oath was taken ten years before (Rot. Parl. 421). I notice this, because some writers suppose the duke's confession to regard recent occurrences, whereas it refers entirely to his conduct in the years 1386 and 1387. Richard ordered prayers for his soul in all parish churches, because he confessed and repented of his treasons before his death. Acts of Coun. i. 76.

(4) Rot. Parl. 379. His acknowledgment of having employed threats to procure the condemnation of Burley is not in the confession; but was added afterwards by word of mouth to Rickhill. Ibid. and 431. I have preserved the very words, and altered nothing but the spelling.

advised him not to irritate his enemies by his presence, and promised to shield him from their resentment (1). However that may be, as soon as the confession of the duke of Gloucester had been read, the commons prayed judgment against the primate. Richard immediately declared that he had acknowledged himself guilty, and thrown himself on the royal mercy; and sentence was pronounced that he should be banished for life, and that his temporalities should be forfeited to the crown. Arundel repaired to France: the pope, after some negotiation with Richard, translated him, probably without his knowledge, to the see of St. Andrews; and Roger Walden, dean of York, and treasurer of the household, succeeded him in the archbishopric of Canterbury (2).

Sept. 28. The earl of Warwick was then brought to the bar of the house. He pleaded guilty: but the sentence of death was commuted into exile, and the Isle of Man was assigned for his residence. The lord Cobham was also convicted on the impeachment of the commons, and condemned to pass the rest of his life in the Isle of Jersey. The lord Mortimer, who had fled for protection to one of the Irish septs, was outlawed (3).

Whatever may have been Richard's object, whether it were security or revenge, it must be confessed that the manner in which these prosecutions were conducted was illegal and unjustifiable. Not only did the king violate the pardons which he had formerly granted, but the terms of the proclamation which he had recently issued. At the same time the concurrence of the princes of the blood furnishes a strong presumption that there had been something highly criminal or dangerous in the conduct of Gloucester. His nephews, the earls of Somerset and Rutland, were two of his accusers; his brothers, the dukes of Lancaster and York, joined in his condemnation; and the former even pronounced against him the judgment of treason. Can we suppose that they would have thus united to disgrace and punish their own blood, had they been influenced by no other motive than the king's resentment for an offence committed and pardoned ten years before (4)?

(1) Ibid. 421.

(2) Rot. Parl. 351. From a document in Wilkins (Con. iii. 232) which, if genuine, must have contained the instructions from the king to his envoys, it would appear that Richard thought St. Andrews too near to England. That, however, he acquiesced in the translation, appears from Rym, viii. 31.

(3) Rot. Parl. 379—382. Cobham was convicted in January. But I mention him now, that all the convictions may come before the reader at once.

(4) I think I can discover some traces of enmity between the duke of Lancaster and the party of the duke of Gloucester before this period. In the parliament of 1394 the earl of Arundel, Gloucester's intimate friend, told the king that certain matters lay so near his heart, that he could not in conscience conceal them: 1°. That the duke of Lancaster walked often arm-in-arm with the king, who even wore his livery; 2°. That in council the duke by his haughtiness prevented others from giving their opinions; 3°. That he had obtained the grant of Guienne to the king's prejudice; 4°. That he had received too much money for his journey to Spain; 5°. That his conduct was blamable in the negotiations for peace. Richard vindicated his uncle; and by award of parliament Arundel was obliged to make the following apology to the duke: "Sir, since it seemeth to the "king and other lords, and eke since ye be so "mickle grieved and displeased by my words, it "forthinketh me, and I beseech you of your good "lordship to remit me your mawtalent (resentment)." Rot. Parl. iii. 313. 314.

It is remarkable that several peers who sate and voted in this parliament had been engaged in the very transactions which were now declared treasonable. The duke of York, the bishop of Winchester, and Richard Scrope, had been members of Gloucester's commission; the earls of Derby and Nottingham had been two out of the five who appealed the king's favourites of treason. In these the doom of their former associates could not fail of awakening the most gloomy apprehensions; nor, after what had passed, was the expedient to which they had recourse calculated to satisfy them of their security. Richard declared in full parliament that, though the three former had been named in the commission, they had always behaved as true and loyal subjects; and that the two latter, though they had at first allowed themselves to be deceived by the pretences of Gloucester, had given a convincing proof of their loyalty, by abandoning him and returning to their duty the very moment in which they discovered his treason. He then created his two cousins Sept. 29. of Derby and Rutland dukes of Hereford and Albemarle; his two uterine brothers, the earls of Kent and Huntingdon, dukes of Surrey and Exeter; the earl of Nottingham duke of Norfolk; the earl of Somerset marquess of Dorset; the lords Despenser, Nevil, Percy, and William Scrope, earls of Gloucester, Westmoreland, Worcester, and Wiltshire. A general pardon followed, from which were excepted those who took up arms against the king in his eleventh year, not, however, without the hope of favour, provided they sued for it within eight months. To give the greater stability to these proceedings, it was enacted, that to compass the death or deposition of the king, or to give him back the homage which had been done to him, or to raise forces and march against him for the purpose of making war within the realm, were and should be accounted acts of treason; that every judgment, ordinance, and declaration made in the present parliament, should in all time to come have the full force of statutes; that if any man should attempt to repeal or overturn them, he should suffer the penalties of treason; and that the lords spiritual and temporal should swear to observe them; that their oaths should be enrolled in the chancery; and that the prelates should excommunicate all who publicly or privately should act contrary to them. On the last day of the session the peers took the oath: at the request of the king the commons stretched out their right hands to show that they joined in it; and then the lord Thomas Percy, who had been appointed by the clergy to assist as their proxy at the late trials, swore in the name of his constituents (1). What reliance could be placed on such oaths, it is difficult to conceive. Of the very men who now swore, the greater

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 353—356. Stat. of Realm, ii. 95—107. I conceive that the persones exemptz called before the council to make fine, (Acts of Coun. i. 75, 76) were the persons mentioned above as excepted from pardon. See Rym. viii. 26.

part had sworn the contrary ten years before; and, as they violated that oath now, so did they violate the present before two more years had elapsed. The parliament was prorogued to meet again at Shrewsbury after the Christmas holidays (1).

These transactions unfolded to view the real character of the king. The secrecy with which for so long a period he had concealed his purposes of revenge, the dissimulation with which he had heaped favours on his destined victims, and that contempt for the forms of law and principles of justice which he had displayed in the course of the proceedings, astonished and appalled not only the former adherents of Gloucester, but every man who on any occasion had incurred the royal displeasure. The duke of Norfolk possessed, apparently at least, a high place in the king's favour: but he was conscious how deeply he had engaged in the political transactions of the eleventh year; he knew that by his reluctance to join in the late prosecutions he had given cause of offence (2); and he entertained a suspicion, that the honours to which he had been raised were meant only to blind and ensnare him. Of the original lords appellants, he and the duke of Hereford alone remained. Chancing to overtake the latter on the road between Brentford and London, he unbosomed himself to his friend, detailed his apprehensions, and pointed out the most suspicious characters in the king's council (3). Whether it were that Hereford incautiously divulged the secret, or that he betrayed it clandestinely to Richard, is uncertain. But he received an order to attend the monarch at Haywood; was charged on his allegiance to communicate to the council the whole conversation; and was remanded with an injunction to appear before the parliament, and to submit every particular to the cognizance of that tribunal.

At the appointed day the three estates (for the proctors of the

(1) Ibid. 356—369. I suspect the parliament had been prorogued on account of the absence of the earl of March, the presumptive heir to the crown, who was the king's lieutenant in Ireland. All were anxious that he should give his consent to the late transactions, and Richard despatched a peremptory order for him to attend at Shrewsbury. No excuse would be admitted (Rym. viii. 21. Oct. 15). He obeyed; and as soon as the session was opened, took the oath, which had been taken already by the other peers (Rot. Parl. iii. 357), and concurred in the different ratifications of all that had passed in his absence.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 383.

(3) The following was the conversation, according to Hereford's account of it:—*Norf.* We are on the point of being undone.—*Heref.* Why so?—*Norf.* On account of the affair of Radcotbridge.—*Heref.* How can that be, since he has granted us pardon, and has declared in parliament that we behaved as good and loyal subjects?—*Norf.* Nevertheless our fate will be like that of others before us. He will annul that record.—*Heref.* It will be marvellous indeed, if the king, after having said so before the people, should cause it to be annulled.—*Norf.* It is a marvellous and false world that we live in; for I know well that, had it not been for some persons, my lord your father of Lancaster and yourself would have been taken or killed, when you went to Windsor, after the parliament. The dukes of Albemarle and Exeter, and the earl of Worcester and I, have pledged ourselves never to assent to the undoing of any lord without just and reasonable cause. But this malicious project belongs to the duke of Surrey, the earls of Wiltshire and Salisbury, drawing to themselves the earl of Gloucester. They have sworn to undo six lords, the dukes of Lancaster, Hereford, Albemarle, and Exeter, the marquess of Dorset and myself: and have sworn to reverse the attainder of Thomas earl of Lancaster, which would turn to the disherison of us and of many others.—*Heref.* God forbid! It will be a wonder, if the king should assent to such designs. He appears to make me good cheer, and has promised to be my godd lord. Indeed he has sworn by St. Edward to be a good lord to me and the others.—*Norf.* So has he often sworn to me by God's body: but I do not trust him the more for that. He is attempting to draw the earl of March into the scheme of the four lords to destroy the others.—*Heref.* If that be the case, we can never trust them.—*Norf.* Certainly not. Though they may not accomplish their purpose now, they will contrive to destroy us in our houses ten years hence. Rot. Parl. iii. 360. 382.

clergy were present) assembled at Shrewsbury; and their proceedings were marked with the same obsequiousness to the will of the monarch, the same disregard of the liberties of the people, which they had evinced before the prorogation. 1°. Sir John Bussy, the speaker, demanded that the acts of Gloucester's parliament, in the eleventh year of the king, should be repealed. As a preliminary, the judges and serjeants at law were introduced, and commanded to give their opinion of the answers which had been returned by the former judges to the questions submitted to them at Nottingham. They unanimously replied, that to the same questions they should have given the same answers (1). Immediately the lords, the clergy, and the commons separately declared their assent; and all the judgments, ordinances, and statutes of Gloucester's parliament were repealed. 2°. It was evident that this act of theirs might be reversed by their successors, with as much ease as they had reversed the acts of the eleventh year; and the speaker the next day petitioned that the very attempt to invalidate any of the proceedings of the present session should be declared treason. The king consulted the judges (2), who replied that no greater security could be devised than the authority of parliament. At his request, however, the lords repeated their former oath on the cross of Canterbury; the proctors of the clergy followed them; and the knights of the shire standing round the king, with most of the citizens and burgesses, imitated their example. Richard then inquired if it were possible to bind his successors; and, when he was informed that he could not, declared that he would at least solicit the pope to excommunicate the prince who should hereafter annul any act of the present parliament. A herald by proclamation asked the people if they would assent to this kind of security; and they, raising their hands, proclaimed with loud shouts their assent (3). 3°. Two days before the opening of the session the duke of Hereford had obtained a general pardon under the great seal for the treasons, misprisions, and offences, that he had ever committed (4). He now appeared in parliament to prosecute the duke of Norfolk, and exhibited in writing the whole of the conversation between them. As if, however, he were conscious of guilt, and apprehensive of the royal sincerity, he returned the next morning,

A. D. 1398. Jan. 27.

Jan. 29.

Jan. 30.

(1) Ibid. 32.

(2) From these proceedings it is plain that the judges no longer sate in parliament with the lords in the same manner as formerly. Sir William Thirnyng, chief justice of the king's bench, said that parliament alone could declare that to be treason which had not been so declared before; but that, were he a lord and peer of parliament, he would have answered as the others had done. The act of repeal is made "by the king, with "the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, of "the proctors of the clergy, and of the commons, "and by the advice of the judges, and serjeants." Ibid. 358.

(3) Proclamation feust fait en audience de tout le peuple..... criantz ove hautes voices, q'il lour plest bn, et q'ils sont a ceo pleinement assentuz. Ibid. 360. I notice this circumstance, because it serves to explain those passages in more ancient writers which describes the people as assisting at the great councils, and testifying their approval by acclamation. The custom seems still to have prevailed. We find the people mentioned also in the first parliament of the next reign.... populoque dicti regni tunc ibidem propter factum parliamenti in maxima multitudine congregato. Ibid. 417.

(4) Rym. viii. 32.

threw himself on his knees before Richard, and addressed him in the following terms: "My liege lord, there have been riots, "troubles, and evil deeds in your realm to the offence of you and "your royal estate; and in them I know that I have taken a part; "not, however, for an evil end, or to displease you, as I did not "then know that I was doing wrong. But now, sir, I know it, and "confess my fault. Wherefore, sir, I cry you mercy, and beg your "pardon." The king immediately assented to his petition, promised to be his good lord, and in a set speech announced to the
Jan. 31. several estates that he had granted him a full pardon (1). 4°. Richard had previously demanded an aid of the commons; and on the fourth day they voted him, with the assent of the lords, a tenth and a half, and a fifteenth and a half; and in addition, as if they sought to render him independent of parliament, granted him the tax on wool, wool-fells, and hides, not for a short and determinate period as usual, but for the whole term of his natural life. Such liberality required a return on his part; and he published a general charter of pardon for all offences against the crown; but with this most curious exception, that no benefit should be derived from it, if either lords or commons in future parliaments should impeach the grant, which had been now made to him of a revenue for life (2). 5°. But the most unconstitutional act of the session still remains. It had been usual in former times to dismiss the members as soon as the public business was terminated, and to detain a committee of lords and justices to hear and determine such petitions as had been presented and not answered. A similar committee was now appointed of twelve peers and six commoners, of whom one half was required to be present at the deliberations; but they were not only invested with the powers of the ancient committees, but also authorised to "hear, examine, and determine all matters and subjects "which had been moved in presence of the king, with all the de-"pendencies thereof:" words of indefinite and therefore of the more dangerous tendency, under the colour of which the committee arrogated to itself all the powers and functions of a full parliament. To it was referred the charge which had been brought against the duke of Norfolk (3).

That nobleman had not thought proper to attend his duty in parliament: but he surrendered on proclamation; and was introduced

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 367. From this anxiety of Henry to obtain his pardon, which he had now solicited and received twice since the declaration made in his favour by Richard a few months before, I am inclined to suspect that he had engaged in the designs of Norfolk, whatever they were, and had been admitted to favour on the condition that he should accuse his associate.

(2) Ibid. 368, 369.

(3) Ibid. 368. When Richard was deposed, his enemies alleged that this committee had no other powers than former committees; and that the additional authority was given to them by the king, who had for that purpose falsified the rolls. Of the truth of the charge we have no evidence.—I should observe that, though the same committee was appointed to examine the accusation against the duke of Norfolk, two of the members attended, not as peers, but as proctors for the clergy. Ibid. 360. This was in consequence of a petition from the commons, lest it might afterwards be alleged that the clergy were not represented in the committee.

to Richard at Oswaldstre. He loudly maintained his innocence against his accuser; and, bending his knee, said to the king: "My "dear lord, with your leave, if I may answer your cousin, I say "that Henry of Lancaster is a liar; and in what he has said, and "would say, of me, lies like a false traitor as he is." Richard ordered both parties into custody; and, proceeding to Bristol, with the assent of his committee of parliament, determined causes and published laws in the same form as if the two houses were sitting. He even enacted that these new statutes should possess equal authority with those which had been passed in the last parliament; that any man who should seek to annul or repeal them should suffer the penalties of treason; and that every prelate before he received his temporalities, every tenant of the crown before he obtained livery of his lands, should take an oath to observe all laws, ordinances, and judgments, as well those made by the king in the late parliament, as those made by him since its dissolution, with the assent of the committee, to oppose every endeavour to alter or revoke them, and to pursue with all his might every man who should infringe them, till the offender had suffered the punishment of his treason. At the same time it was determined that the controversy between the two dukes should be referred to a high-court of chivalry (1).

Feb. 23.

Mar. 19.

For this purpose, the barons, bannerets, and knights of England, were summoned to assemble at Windsor. The appellant and appellee were produced before them: Hereford persisted in the charge; and Norfolk, though he acknowledged that he had spoken disrespectfully of certain lords, denied every expression which seemed to reflect on the king's character. As no witnesses could be called, and the truth could not be elicited by confronting the parties, it was determined to refer the decison to the judgment of God; and, by award of the court, wager of battle was joined, to be fought at Coventry on the 16th of September. On the appointed day the combatants entered the lists, in presence of the king, the committee of parliament, and an immense assemblage of people. Hereford made with solemnity the sign of the cross: Norfolk exclaimed, "God speed the right." The former, pushing forward his shield, and fixing his lance in its rest with the point towards his adversary, advanced a few paces: the latter remained motionless at his station; and the king throwing down his warder, took in the language of the age, the battle into his own hands: He could not, he said, suffer a combat, which, whatever might be the event, would involve in indelible disgrace one of two persons, who were both allied to him

Apr. 29.

Sept. 16.

(1) Ibid. 372. Nothing could exceed the solicitude of the king to give stability to all these proceedings. He had been told by the judges that he could not bind his successor. He made, however, the attempt. By his will, signed a few days before his departure for Ireland, he bequeathed the greater part of his personal property to his successor, but on the express condition that he should ratify and observe all the acts of the 21st and 22d years of his reign; otherwise it was to be retained by his executors, and to be employed by them in defence of the same proceedings, "even, if it were necessary, unto death." Rot. Parl. iii. 421.

in blood, and both bore his arms (1). The combatants were then conducted back to their seats, and awaited in anxious suspense the determination of the king, who was employed in consultation with the committee of parliament. At length the royal pleasure was announced, first to the appellant, and then to the appellee. To preserve the public tranquillity, and prevent quarrels between the two parties and their adherents, the duke of Hereford was ordered to quit the kingdom within the space of four months, and to remain in exile for the term of ten years: but at the same time it was declared that he had honourably performed his duty in prosecuting the appeal, till the king had taken the battle into his own hands. The judgment of the duke of Norfolk was more severe. He was ordered to quit the realm at the same time, to go a pilgrim to the Holy Land, and to remain in banishment for the rest of his life, in Germany, Hungary, or Bohemia: not that he had not honourably performed his duty against his adversary, but because he had, according to his own confession, endeavoured to excite dissension among the great lords, and had both publicly and privately opposed the repeal of the acts of Gloucester's parliament. Moreover, as he had been guilty of neglect in his government of Calais, and was in considerable arrears to the king, it was awarded that all his lands should be taken into the king's hand, to be applied to the payment of his debts, reserving the sum of one thousand pounds a-year for his own use. Finally, both were forbidden, under the penalty of treason, to have any communication with Thomas, late archbishop of Canterbury, or with each other, during the time of their exile (2). Before their departure they respectively obtained a few favours of the king, and in particular a permission by patent to appoint attorneys to take possession of such inheritances as might fall to them in their absence, though they could not actually perform homage or swear fealty. Hereford repaired to Paris: Norfolk, after a short residence in Germany, visited Jerusalem, and in his return died of a broken heart at Venice (3).

A. D. 1399. Sept. 29.

Richard now saw himself triumphant over all his opponents. The last of the lords appellants had been banished; and even his uncles, through affection or fear, seconded all his measures. He had attained what seems for some time to have been the great object of his policy. He had placed himself above the control of the law. By the grant of a subsidy for life he was relieved from the necessity of meeting his parliament; with the aid of his committee, the members of which proved the obsequious ministers of his will, he could issue

(1) This had been requested, and for the reasons given by Richard, by Paynel, envoy from the king of France. He was instructed to represent, that le dict duc de Herfort est fort proche de la couronne d'Angleterre, comme fils de fils de Roy, et est aussi descendu de la maison de France, et le dict duc de Nortfolc de la maison d'Angleterre. Thres. des Chart. 66.

(2) Ibid. 383, 384. I have given the sentences at greater length, because they fully explain the causes of that disparity which some modern writers have been at a loss to understand. The reasons for Norfolk's banishment are probably the real ones; those for that of Hereford do not appear so. The king sent to him at Calais a present of 1000 marks. Pell Records, 268.

(3) Ibid. 372. 385. Rym. viii. 47—52.

what new ordinances he pleased; and a former declaration by the two houses, that he was as free as any of predecessors, was conveniently interpreted to release him from the obligations of those statutes which he deemed hostile to the royal prerogative. But he had forfeited all that popularity which he had earned during the last ten years; and the security in which he indulged hurried him on to other acts of despotism, which inevitably led to his ruin. He raised money by forced loans; he compelled the judges to expound the law according to his own prejudices or caprice; he required the former adherents of Gloucester to purchase and repurchase charters of pardon; and, that he might obtain a more plentiful harvest of fines and amercements, put at once seventeen counties out of the protection of the law, under the pretence that they had favoured his enemies in the rencontre at Radcot bridge. The duke of Lancaster Feb. 3. did not survive the banishment of his son more than three months; and the exile expected to succeed by his attorneys to the ample estates of his father. But Richard now discovered that his banishment, like an outlawry, had rendered him incapable of inheriting property. At a great council, including the committee of parliament, Mar. 18. it was held, that the patents granted, both to him and his antagonist, were illegal, and therefore void; and all the members present were sworn to support that determination (1). Henry Bowet who had Apr. 23. procured the patent for the duke of Hereford, was even condemned, for that imaginary offence, to suffer the punishment of treason; though, on account of his character, his life was spared on condition that he should abjure the kingdom for ever (2). This iniquitous proceeding seems to have exhausted the patience of the nation. Henry (on the death of his father he had assumed the title of duke of Lancaster) had long been the idol of the people; and the voluntary assemblage of thousands to attend him on his last departure from London might have warned Richard of the approaching danger. The feeling of their own wrongs had awakened among them a spirit of resistance; the new injury offered to their favourite pointed him out to them as their leader. Consultations were held; plans were formed; the dispositions of the great lords were sounded; and the whole nation appeared in a ferment. Yet it was in this moment, so pregnant with danger, that the infatuated monarch determined to leave his kingdom. His cousin and heir, the earl of March, had been surprised and slain by a party of Irish; and, in his eagerness A. D. to revenge the loss of a relation, he despised the advice of his 1398. friends, and wilfully shut his eyes to the designs of his enemies.

Having appointed his uncle, the duke of York, regent, during his absence, the king assisted at a solemn mass at Windsor, chanted a

(1) Ibid. 372, 373. Here again the king appealed to the people, who signified their assent by raising up their hands. Quelle chose feust faite et assentuz par tout le poeple esteantz en presence du roy. Ibid.

(2) Ibid. 385.

collect himself, and made his offering. At the door of the church he took wine and spices with his young queen; and lifting her up in his arms, repeatedly kissed her, saying, "Adieu, madam, adieu, "till we meet again." From Windsor, accompanied by several noblemen, he proceeded to Bristol, where the report of plots and
May 29. conspiracies reached him, and was received with contempt. At Milford Haven he joined his army, and embarking in a fleet of two
May 31. hundred sail, arrived in a few days in the port of Waterford. His cousin the duke of Albemarle had been ordered to follow with a hundred more; and three weeks were consumed in waiting for that nobleman, whose delay was afterwards attributed to a secret
June 23. understanding with the king's enemies. At length Richard led his forces from Kilkenny against the Irish: several of the inferior chiefs hastened barefoot, and with halters round their necks to implore his mercy; but M'Murchad spurned the idea of submission, and boasted that he would extirpate the invaders. He dared not indeed meet them in open combat: but it was his policy to flee before them, and draw them into woods and morasses, where they could neither fight with advantage, nor procure subsistence (1) The want of provisions and the clamour of the soldiers compelled the king to give up the pursuit, and to direct his march towards Dublin; and M'Murchad, when he could no longer impede their progress solicited and obtained a parley with the earl of Gloucester, the commander of the rear guard. The chieftain was an athletic man: he came to the conference mounted on a grey charger, which had cost him four hundred head of cattle; and brandished with ease and dexterity a heavy spear in his hand. He seemed willing to become the nominal vassal of the king of England, but refused to submit to any conditions. Richard set a price on his head, proceeded to Dublin, and at the expiration of a fortnight, was joined by the duke of Albemarle with men and provisions. This seasonable supply enabled him to recommence the pursuit of M'Murchad; but while he was thus occupied with objects of inferior interest in Ireland, a revolution had occurred in England, which eventually deprived him both of his crown and his life (2).

When the king sailed to Ireland, Henry of Bolingbroke, the new duke of Lancaster, resided in Paris, where he was hospitably entertained, but at the same time narrowly watched by the French monarch. About Christmas he had offered his hand to Marie, one of the daughters of the duke of Berry. The jealousy of Richard was alarmed: the earl of Salisbury hastened to Paris to remonstrate against the marriage of a daughter of France with an English 'traitor,' and, suiting his conduct to his words, the envoy, having

(1) Three ships from Dublin arrived with wine and provisions. An eye-witness tells us that more than a thousand men were drunk that day.— "D'ivres y ot, je croy, plus d'un millier cette journée." — Archæol. xx. 304.

(2) MS. Harl. No. 1319. c. 4.

accomplished his object, returned without deigning to speak to the exile. Whilst Henry was brooding over these injuries, the late primate, or nominal bishop of St. Andrews, secretly left his house at Cologne, and in the disguise of a friar procured an interview with the duke at the hotel de Vinchester (1). The result of their meeting was a determination to return to England during the king's absence. To elude the suspicions of the French ministers, Henry procured permission to visit the duke of Bretagne; and, on his arrival at Nantes, hired three small vessels, with which he sailed from Vannes to seek his fortune in England. His whole retinue consisted only of the archbishop, the son of the late earl of Arundel, fifteen lances, and a few servants. After hovering for some days on the eastern coast, he landed at Ravenspurn in Yorkshire, and was immediately joined by the two powerful earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; before whom, in the white friars at Doncaster, he declared upon oath, that his only object was to recover the honours and estates which had belonged to his father, and bound himself not to advance any claim to the crown (2). July 4.

The duke of York, to whom the king had intrusted the government during his absence, was accurately informed of his motions, and had summoned the retainers of the crown to join the royal standard at St. Albans. There is, however, reason to believe that he was not hearty in the cause which it was his duty to support. He must have viewed with pity the unmerited misfortunes of one nephew, and have condemned the violent and thoughtless career of the other: and from the fate of his brother Gloucester, and the cruel and unjust treatment of the only son of his brother, John of Ghent, he could not draw any very flattering conclusion with respect to the stability of his own family. Whether it was from suspicion of his fidelity, or from the disinclination of the chief barons to draw the sword against one who demanded nothing more than his right, the favourites of Richard became alarmed for their own safety. The earl of Wiltshire, with Bussy and Greene, members of the committee of parliament, had been appointed to wait on the young queen at Wallingford: but they suddenly abandoned their charge, and fled with precipitation to Bristol. York himself followed with the army in the same direction. It might be that, to relieve himself from responsibility, he wished to be in readiness to deliver up the command on the expected arrival of Richard from Ireland; but at the same time he left open the road from Yorkshire to the metropolis, and allowed the adventurer to pursue his object without impediment. Henry was already on his march. The snowball increased as it rolled along, and the small number of forty followers, with whom he had landed, swelled by the time that he had reached July 12.

(1) Since called the Bicêtre.

(2) Hardyng, 350. 2.

St. Albans to sixty thousand men. He was preceded by his messengers and letters, stating not only his own wrongs, but also the grievances of the people, and affirming that the revenue of the kingdom had been let out to farm to the rapacity of Scrope, Bussy, and Greene. In all those lordships which had been the inheritance of his family he was received with enthusiasm; in London by a procession of the clergy and people, with addresses of congratulation, and presents, and offers of service. His stay in the capital was short. Having flattered the citizens, and confirmed them in their attachment to his person, he turned to the west, and entered Eve-
July 27. sham, on the same day on which York reached Berkeley. After an interchange of messages they met in the church of the castle; and, before they separated, the doom of Richard was sealed. That the regent consented to the actual deposition of his nephew, does not necessarily follow; he might only have sought his reformation by putting it out of his power to govern amiss: but he betrayed the trust which had been reposed in him, united his force with that of Henry, and commanded Sir Peter Courtenay, who held the castle of Bristol for the king, to open its gates. That officer, protesting that he acknowledged no authority in the duke of Lancaster, obeyed the mandate of the regent. The next morning the three fugitives, the earl of Wiltshire, Bussy and Greene, were executed by order of the constable and marshal of the host. The duke of York remained
Aug. 8. at Bristol: Henry with his own forces proceeded to Chester to secure that city, and awe the men of Cheshire, the most devoted adherents of the king.

We may now return to Richard in Ireland. It must appear strange, but Henry had been in England a fortnight, before the king, in consequence, it was said, of the tempestuous weather, had heard
July 18. of his landing. The intelligence appears to have provoked indignation as much as alarm. "Ha!" he exclaimed, "fair uncle of Lan-"caster, God reward your soul! Had I believed you, this man "would not have injured me. Thrice have I pardoned him; this is "his fourth offence." But he referred the matter to his council, and was advised to cross over to England immediately with the ships which had brought the reinforcement under the duke of Albemarle. That nobleman, however, insidiously, as it was afterwards pretended, diverted him from this intention. The earl of Salisbury received orders to sail immediately with his own retainers, a body of one hundred men, and to summon to the royal standard the natives of Wales: Richard promised to follow in the fleet from Waterford in the course of six days. The earl obeyed: the men of Wales and Cheshire answered the call; and a gallant host collected at Conway. But Richard appeared not according to his promise: distressing reports were circulated among the troops; and the royalists, having waited for him almost a fortnight, disbanded in

spite of the tears and entreaties of their commander. At last, on the eighteenth day, the king arrived in Milford Haven with the dukes of Albemarle, Exeter, and Surrey, the earl of Worcester, the bishops of London, Lincoln, and Carlisle, and several thousands of the troops, who had accompanied him to Ireland. With such a force, had it been faithful, he might have made a stand against his antagonist: but on the second morning when he arose, he observed from his window that the greater part had disappeared. A council was immediately summoned, and a proposal made that the king should flee by sea to Bordeaux: but the duke of Exeter objected that to quit the kingdom in such circumstances was to abdicate the throne. Let them proceed to the army at Conway. There they might bid defiance to the enemy; or at all events, as the sea would still be open, might thence set sail to Guienne. His opinion prevailed; and at nightfall the king, in the disguise of a Franciscan friar, his two brothers of Exeter and Surrey, the earl of Gloucester, the bishop of Carlisle, sir Stephen Scrope, and sir William Feriby, with eight others, stole away from the army, and directed their route towards Conway. Their flight was soon known. The royal treasure, which Richard left behind him, was plundered; Albemarle, Worcester, and most of the leaders, hastened to pay their court to Henry; the rest attempted in small bodies to make their way to their own counties, but were in most instances plundered and ill treated by the Welsh (1). Aug. 5.

The royal party with some difficulty but without any accident reached Conway, where, to their utter disappointment, instead of a numerous force, they found only the earl of Salisbury with a hundred men. In this emergency the king's brothers undertook to visit Henry at Chester, and to sound his intentions; and during their absence Richard, with the earl of Salisbury, examined the castles of Beaumaris and Carnarvon; but finding them without garrisons or provisions, the disconsolate wanderers returned to their former quarters. Aug. 9.

When the two dukes were admitted into the presence of Henry, they bent the knee, and acquainted him with their message from the king. He took little notice of Surrey, whom he afterwards confined in the castle; but leading Exeter aside, spoke with him in private, and gave him, instead of the hart, the king's livery, his own badge of the rose. But no entreaties could induce him to allow them to return. Exeter was observed to drop a tear; when the duke

(1) We have two relations of the capture of Richard, both written by persons in his suite. The one belongs to the library of the king of France, No. 8448; and an abridgment of it has been published by Gaillard. Accounts and Extracts of MSS. ii. p. 189. The other is in the British Museum, Harleian MSS. No. 1319. It has been frequently consulted by Stow, 319—322, and Mr. Turner, ii. 241; and has lately been published with a translation, and copious and interesting notes by the Rev. J. Webb, in the twentieth vol. of the Archæologia. To this publication I am greatly indebted.

of Albemarle sent it him touchingly. "Fear comes, be not angry. "If it please God, things shall go well."

The immediate object of Henry was to secure the royal person. He was gratified to learn from the envoys the place of Richard's retreat, and detained them at Chester, that the king, instead of making his escape, might await their return. His first care was to take possession of the treasure which the king had deposited in the strong castle of Hadi: his next to despatch the earl of Northumberland at the head of four hundred men at arms and a thousand archers to Conway, with instructions not to display his force, lest the king should put to sea, but by artful speeches and promises to draw him out of the fortress, and then make him prisoner. The earl took possession in his journey of the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan; and a few miles beyond the latter, placing his men in concealment
Aug. 15 under a rock, rode forward with only five attendants to Conway. He was readily admitted: and to the king's anxious inquiries about his brothers, replied, that he had left them well at Chester, and had brought a letter from the duke of Exeter. In it that nobleman said, or rather was made to say, that full credit might be given to the offers of the bearer. These offers were, that Richard should promise to govern and judge his people by law; that the dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle, and Maudelin, the king's chaplain, should submit to a trial in parliament, on the charge of having advised the assassination of Gloucester; that Henry should be made grand justiciary of the kingdom, as his ancestors had been for one hundred years; and that, on the concession of these terms, the duke should come to Flint, ask the king's pardon on his knees, and accompany or follow him to London. Richard consulted his friends apart. He expressed his approbation of the articles; but bade them secretly be assured that no consideration should induce him to abandon them on their trial, and that he would grasp the first opportunity of being revenged on his and their enemies: "for there were some among them whom "he would flay alive; whom he would never spare for all the gold "in the land." Northumberland was then sworn to the observance of the conditions. He took his oath on the host; and, "like "Judas," says the writer, "perjured himself on the body of our "Lord."

As Northumberland departed to make arrangements for the interview at Flint, the king said to him: "I rely, my lord, on your "faith. Remember your oath, and the God who heard it." Soon afterwards he followed with his friends and their servants, to the number of twenty-two. They came to a steep declivity, to the left of which was the sea, and on the right a lofty rock overhanging the road. The king dismounted, and was descending on foot, when he suddenly exclaimed, "I am betrayed. God of Paradise, assist me!

"Do you not see banners and pennons in the valley?" Northumberland with eleven others met them at the moment, and affected to be ignorant of the circumstance. "Earl of Northumberland," said the king, "if I thought you capable of betraying me, it is not too "late to return."—"You cannot return," the earl replied, seizing the king's bridle; "I have promised to conduct you to the duke of "Lancaster." By this time he was joined by a hundred lances, and two hundred archers on horseback: and Richard, seeing it impossible to escape, exclaimed: "May the God, on whom you laid your "hand, reward you and your accomplices at the last day!" and then turning to his friends, added: "We are betrayed: but re- "member that our Lord was also sold, and delivered into the hands "of his enemies."

They dined at Rhuddlan, and reached Flint in the evening. The king, as soon as he was left with his friends, abandoned himself to the reflections which his melancholy situation inspired. He frequently upbraided himself with his past indulgence to his present opponent: "Fool that I was!" he exclaimed: "thrice did I save "the life of this Henry of Lancaster. Once my dear uncle his "father, on whom the Lord have mercy! would have put him to "death for his treason and villany. God of Paradise! I rode all "night to save him; and his father delivered him to me, to do with "him as I pleased. How true is the saying, that we have no greater "enemy than the man whom we have preserved from the gallows! "Another time he drew his sword on me, in the chamber of the "queen, on whom God have mercy! He was also the accomplice "of the duke of Gloucester, and the earl of Arundel: he consented "to my murder, to that of his father, and of all my council. By "St. John, I forgave him all; nor would I believe his father, who "more than once pronounced him deserving of death."

The unfortunate king rose after a sleepless night, heard mass, Aug. 19. and ascended the tower to watch the arrival of his opponent. At length he saw the army, amounting to eighty thousand men (1), winding along the beach till it reached the castle, and surrounded it from sea to sea. He shuddered and wept, and cursed the earl of Northumberland, but was called down by the arrival of archbishop Arundel, the duke of Albemarle, and the earl of Worcester. They knelt to Richard, who drawing the prelate apart, held a long conversation with him. After their departure he again mounted the tower, and surveying the host of his enemies, exclaimed: "Good "Lord God! I commend myself into thy holy keeping, and cry thee "mercy, that thou wouldst pardon all my sins. If they put me to "death I will take it patiently, as thou didst for us all." Northumberland had ordered dinner; and the earl of Salisbury, the bishop,

(1) I have adopted the smaller number. The Harleian MS. swells it to 100,000 men.

and the two knights, sir Stephen Scrope, and sir William Feriby, sate with the king at the same table by his order; for since they were all companions in misfortune, he would allow no distinction among them. While he was eating, unknown persons entered the hall, insulting him with sarcasms and threats: as soon as he rose, he was summoned into the court to receive the duke of Lancaster. Henry came forward in complete armour, with the exception of his helmet. As soon as he saw the king, he bent his knee, and advancing a few paces, he repeated his obeisance with his cap in his hand.

"Fair cousin of Lancaster," said Richard, uncovering himself, "you are right welcome."—"My Lord,"—answered the duke, "I am come before my time. But I will show you the reason. "Your people complain that for the space of twenty, or two-and-"twenty years you have ruled them rigorously; but, if it please "God, I will help you to govern better." The king replied: "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth us well." Henry then addressed himself successively to the bishop and the knights, but refused to notice the earl. The king's horses were immediately ordered; and two lean and miserable animals were brought out, on which Richard and Salisbury mounted, and amidst the flourish of trumpets and shouts of triumph followed the duke into Chester.

At Chester writs were issued in the king's name for the meeting of parliament, and the preservation of the peace (1). Henry dismissed the greater part of his army, and prepared to conduct his prisoner to the capital. At Lichfield Richard seized a favourable
Aug. 24. moment to let himself down from his window, but was retaken in the garden, and from that moment was constantly guarded by ten or twelve armed men. In the neighbourhood of London they se-
Aug. 30. parated. Henry, accompanied by the mayor and principal citizens, proceeded to St. Paul's, prayed before the high altar, and wept a few minutes over the tomb of his father: the king was sent to Westminster, and thence on the following day to the Tower, and as he went along, was greeted with curses, and the appellation of "the
Aug. 31. "bastard," a word of ominous import, and prophetic of his approaching degradation (2).

When the duke first landed in England, he had sworn on the gospels that his only object was to vindicate his right to the honours and possessions of the house of Lancaster. If this was the truth, his ambition had grown with his good fortune. He now aspired to exchange the coronet of a duke for the crown of a king. Can we believe that he would meet with opposition from his associates, the Percies? yet, so we are assured. They, however, by their perfidy, had given themselves a master. Their retainers had been already

(1) Rym. viii. 84. Brady, iii. 419.
(2) This alluded to a report which had been spread that he was not the son of the Black Prince, but of a canon of Bordeaux.

dismissed; and the friends of Richard abhorred them as the worst of traitors. They had therefore no resource but to submit, and to second the design of Lancaster (1). After several consultations it was resolved to combine a solemn renunciation of the royal authority on the part of Richard, with an act of deposition on the part of the two houses of parliament, in the hope that those whose scruples should not be satisfied with the one, might acquiesce in the other. To obtain the first, the royal captive was assailed with promises and threats. Generally he abandoned himself to lamentation and despair: occasionally he exerted that spirit which he had formerly displayed. "Why am I thus guarded?" he asked one day. "Am I your king "or your prisoner?"—"You are my king, sir," replied the duke with coolness; "but the council of your realm has thought proper "to place a guard about you." On the day before the meeting of Sept. 29. parliament a deputation of prelates, barons, knights, and lawyers, waited on the captive in the Tower, and reminded him, that in the castle of Conway, while he was perfectly his own master, he had promised to resign the crown on account of his own incompetency to govern. On his reply that he was ready to perform his promise, a paper was given him to read, in which he was made to absolve all his subjects from their fealty and allegiance, to renounce of his own accord all kingly authority, to acknowledge himself incapable of reigning, and worthy for his past demerits to be deposed, and to swear by the holy gospels that he would never act, nor, as far as in him lay, suffer any other person to act, in opposition to this resignation. He then added, as from himself, that if it were in his power to name his successor, he would choose his cousin of Lancaster, who was present, and to whom he gave his ring, which he took from his own finger (2).

Such is the account of this transaction inserted by the order of Henry in the rolls of parliament; an account, the accuracy of which is liable to strong suspicion. It is difficult to believe that Richard had so much command over his feelings, as to behave with that cheerfulness which is repeatedly noticed in the record; and the assertion that he had promised to resign the crown, when he saw Northumberland in the castle of Conway, is not only contradictory to the statement of the two eye-witnesses; but also in itself highly improbable. From the fate of Edward II., with which he had so often been threatened, he must have known that it was better to flee to his transmarine dominions, which were still open to him, than to resign his crown, and remain a prisoner in the custody of his successor.

The next day the two houses met amidst a great concourse of Sept. 30.

(1) Hardyng by Ellis, 351—6. He was partial to the Percies; but he tells us what he saw, and what he heard from the earl himself.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 416, 417.

people in Westminster hall. The duke occupied his usual seat near the throne, which was empty, and covered with cloth of gold. The resignation of the king was read; each member standing in his place signified his acceptance of it aloud; and the people with repeated shouts expressed their approbation. Henry now proceeded to the second part of his plan, the act of deposition. For this purpose the coronation oath was first read; thirty-three articles of impeachment followed, in which it was contended that Richard had violated that oath; and thence it was concluded that he had by his misconduct forfeited his title to the throne. Of the articles, those which bear the hardest on the king are, the part which he was supposed to have had in the death of the duke of Gloucester, his revocation of the pardons formerly granted to that prince and his adherents, and his despotic conduct since the dissolution of parliament. Of the remainder, some are frivolous; many might, with equal reason, have been objected to each of his predecessors; and the others rest on the unsupported assertion of men, whose interest it was to paint him in the blackest colours. No opposition had been anticipated, nor is any mentioned on the rolls: but we are told that the bishop of Carlisle, to the astonishment of the Lancastrians, rose, and demanded for Richard what ought not to be refused to the meanest criminal, the right of being confronted with his accusers: and for parliament what it might justly claim, the opportunity of learning from the king's own mouth, whether the resignation of the crown, which had been attributed to him, were his own spontaneous act (1). If Merks actually made such a speech, he must have stood alone: no one was found to second it: the house voted the deposition of Richard; and eight commissioners ascending a tribunal erected before the throne, pronounced him degraded from the state and authority of king, on the ground that he notoriously deserved such punishment, and had acknowledged it under his hand and seal on the preceding day. Sir William Thirnyng, chief justice, was appointed to notify the sentence to the captive, who meekly replied, that he looked not after the royal authority, but hoped his cousin would be good lord to him (2).

The rightful possessor was now removed from the throne. But, supposing it to be vacant, what pretensions could Henry of Lancaster advance to it? By the law of succession it belonged to the descendants of Lionel, the third son of Edward III.; and their

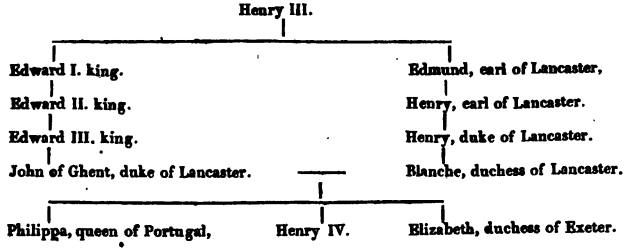
(1) Rot. Parl. 417—422. This fact was first called in question by Kennet on the ground that it is not supported by contemporary authority. Of the two contemporary French writers one records the bishop's speech; the other does not. Both, however, make so many mistakes in their narratives after the capture of Richard, that no inference can be safely drawn from the testimony of the one or the silence of the other. One thing after all is certain, that if Merks did not make the speech attributed to him, he had done something which gave great offence to Lancaster; for he was placed about this time in confinement in the abbey of St. Albans, and brought before parliament as a prisoner on the 28th of October. Nor am I sure that there is not some allusion to his imprisonment or its cause in the metrical French history, where it is said of the bishop,

Ne pour parole
Quon liu en dist, oncques nen changea role.
Arch. xx. 322.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 423, 424.

claim, it is said, had been formally recognised in parliament. All waited in anxious suspense, till the duke rising from his seat, and forming with great solemnity the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast, pronounced the following words: "In the name of the "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge "this realm of England, and the crown, with all the members and "appurtenances, as that I am descended by right line of blood, "coming from the good lord, king Henry III., and through that "right that God, of his grace, hath sent me with help of my kin "and of my friends to recover it: the which realm was in point to "be undone for default of governance, and undoing of good laws." In these extraordinary terms did Lancaster advance his pretensions, artfully intermixing an undefined claim of inheritance (1) with those of conquest and expediency; and rather hinting at each, than insisting on either. But, however difficult it might be to understand the ground, the object of his challenge was perfectly intelligible. Both houses admitted it unanimously; and, as a confirmation, Henry produced the ring and seal which Richard had previously delivered to him. The archbishop of Canterbury now took him by the hand, and led him to the throne. He knelt for a few minutes in prayer on the steps, arose, and was seated in it by the two archbishops. As soon as the acclamations had subsided, the primate stepping forward, made a short harangue, in which he undertook to prove that a monarch in the vigour of manhood was a blessing, a young and inexperienced prince was a curse to a people. At the conclusion the king rose:—"Sirs," said he, "I thank God, and "you, spiritual and temporal, and all estates of the land: and do "you to wit, it is not my will that no man think that by way of "conquest I would disinherit any man of his heritage, franchises, "or other rights that him ought to have, nor put him out of that "that he has, and has had by the good laws and customs of the

(1) He descended from Henry III. both by father and mother.



But he could not claim by the father's side, because the young earl of March was sprung from the duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Ghent; nor by the mother's side, because she was sprung from Edmund of Lancaster, a younger brother of Edward I. It was pretended that Edmund was the elder brother, but deformed in body, and therefore set aside with his own consent. If we may believe Hardyng, Henry on the 21st of September produced in council a document to prove the seniority of Edmund over Edward, but that the contrary was shown by a number of unanswerable authorities. Hardyng, 353.

"realm; except those persons that has been against the good pur-"pose, and the common profit of the realm (1)."

With the authority of Richard had expired that of the parlia-
Oct. 6. ment, and of the royal officers, Henry immediately summoned the same parliament, to meet again in six days, appointed new officers of the crown, and as soon as he had received their oaths, retired in state to the royal apartments. Thus ended this eventful day, with the deposition of Richard of Bordeaux, and the succession of his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke.

The features of Richard were handsome, but feminine; his manners abrupt; his utterance embarrassed. He possessed some taste for literature, and occasionally gave indications of resolution and spirit. But he was passionately fond of parade and pleasure; and the loss of his crown has been sometimes attributed to his extravagance and pecuniary exactions. It would, however, be difficult to prove that his expenses were greater than those of his predecessors: it is certain that his demands on the purses of his subjects were considerably less. "What concern have you," he once observed to the commons, "with the establishment of my household as long as I "maintain it without asking you for assistance (2)?" His misfortunes may be more correctly traced to the early age at which he mounted the throne, and to the precautions taken by his mother and her friends to defeat the supposed designs of his uncles. By these he was estranged from the princes of his blood, whose pride refused to pay court to a boy; and whose neglect compelled him to fix his affections on his ministers and companions (3). Jealousies and rivalry ensued, which ended in the celebrated commission of government, and the ruin, perhaps originally undeserved, of the royal favourites. When the king had recovered the exercise of his authority, he reigned in comparative tranquillity for a long period; but his conduct in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of his reign betrayed such a thirst for revenge, and habit of dissimulation, such despotic notions of government, and so fixed a purpose of ruling without control, that no reader can be surprised at the catastrophe which followed. We may, indeed, abhor the wiles by which he was ensnared; may sympathise with him in his prison; and may condemn the policy which afterwards bereaved him of life; but at the same time we must acknowledge that he deserved to be abandoned by the people, on whose liberties he had trampled, and to forfeit that authority which he sought to exalt above the laws and constitution of his country.

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 422, 423.

(2) Rot. Parl. 339. Richard appears from his will to have placed several sums, his own property, in different places of security, to the amount of 91,000 marks. Rym. viii. 77.

(3) "Qil plese au Roy attrere a li gentz destat et de bien et de honeur, et comuner ovesqes eux et eschuire la compaignie dautres." Advice to him from his council. Acts of Coun. i. 86.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY IV.

SURNAMED OF BOLINGBROKE.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Germ.	*Kings of Scotland.*	*King of France.*	*King of Spain.*
Winceslaus..... 1400 Robert..... 1410 Sigismund.	Robert III..... 1405 James I.	Charles VI.	Henry III.

Popes.

Boniface IX. 1404. Innocent VII. 1406. Gregory XII. 1409. Alexander V. 1410. John XXIII.

Coronation of the new King—Insurrection—Death of Richard—War against the Scots—Rebellion of the Percies—Insurrection in Yorkshire—Rebellion of Owen Glendower—Transactions with France—Settlement of the Crown—Death of the King—Privileges and Authority of the House of Commons—Statutes against the Lollards.

THE new king assumed the name of Henry IV., and was crowned within a fortnight after the deposition of his predecessor, on the anniversary of the day on which he went into banishment. The ceremony was performed after the usual manner, but with this addition, that the sword, which he wore when he landed at Ravenspurn, was borne naked, on his left hand, by the earl of Northumberland, during the procession (1). A. D. 1399. Oct. 13.

The new parliament had already assembled; and, as the members were the same individuals who sate in the last, they displayed an equal obsequiousness to the will of the monarch. All the vindictive acts of the twenty-first years of the late reign were repealed; the proceedings of the eleventh year against the favourites of Richard were recalled into force; and the attainders of the earls of Arundel and Warwick were reversed. The introduction of an act of settlement would have supposed the possibility of a doubt as to the king's title to the crown. This was therefore avoided: but his eldest son was created prince of Wales, duke of Guienne, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and earl of Chester; and was declared in parliament the apparent heir to the throne. The name of the earl of March, the rightful heir, was never mentioned. His friends wisely withheld his right from discussion; and the king was satisfied with keeping him and his brother (the eldest was only in his Oct. 6. Oct. 15.

(1) The earl received the Isle of Man, which had belonged to sir William le Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, in fee "for himself and his heirs for "the service of carrying this sword at the present and all future coronations." Rym. viii. 89. 91. 95.

seventh year) in honourable confinement at the royal castle of Windsor (1).

The lords, who had formerly appealed the duke of Gloucester and his associates of treason, were now summoned to justify their conduct. They all made the same defence, that they had neither advised nor framed the appeal; that they were compelled to put their seals to it by the threats of Richard; and that in prosecuting it they were no more guilty than the other lords, who had condemned the appellees. The discussion of this subject revived all the animosities of the last reign; and the opprobrious terms of liar and traitor were bandied about from one side of the house to
Oct. 19. the other. On one occasion, when the lord Fitzwalter made the charge against the duke of Albemarle, twenty other lords rose, and cast with him their hoods as pledges of battle on the floor. The accused in return threw down his hood; and all were gathered up, and given into the custody of the earl constable and earl marshal.
Oct. 29. On another day the lord Morley charged the earl of Salisbury with falsehood to the duke of Gloucester, whose secrets he had betrayed to the late king; Salisbury met him with a flat denial, and both cast their gloves on the floor. In conclusion, however, Henry by his authority silenced these passionate disputants, and a compromise was effected by which the lords appellants forfeited the honours and the estates which they had obtained from Richard in reward of their appeal. The dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter, the marquess of Dorset, and the earl of Gloucester, descended to the inferior rank from which they had been raised, and became again earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, and Somerset, and lord le Despenser (2).

To prevent the recurrence of those vindictive proceedings which had twice disgraced the last, and from the temper of the lords, threatened to disgrace the present reign, several useful statutes were enacted. One confined the guilt of treason to the offences enumerated in the celebrated act of Edward III.; another abolished appeals of treason in parliament, and sent the accuser to the established courts of law; a third declared that the authority of parliament should never more be delegated to a committee of lords and commons; and a fourth forbade, under the heaviest penalties, any person besides the king to give liveries to his retainers. These badges had long been one of the principal expedients by which the great lords were enabled to increase their power, and to maintain their quarrels. Whoever wore the livery was bound in honour to espouse the cause of the donor; and it was worn not only by those

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 425—428. 434. 436. Rym. viii. 91—94.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 449—452. Archæol. xx. 275—281. It is singular that though the king had testified such a dislike to the earl of Salisbury, and had called upon him for his defence, he was unnoticed in the judgment. The duel between him and the lord Morley was appointed to be fought at Newcastle: for on the Issue Roll of 1 Hen. IV., Feb. 17, is a payment to John Vaux sent by the constable to that town to superintend the trial.

who received fees, or were engaged in actual service, but by as many as were willing to accept it as an honour, or in token of friendship, or with a view to future emolument (1).

Before the close of the session the lords spiritual and temporal were charged by the archbishop of Canterbury, on the part of the king, to keep the resolution that they were about to make an inviolable secret; and then the earl of Northumberland delivered to them a message, asking their advice respecting the future treatment of the deposed monarch, whose life the king was resolved to preserve at all events. They answered that he should be conducted secretly to some castle, where no concourse of people could assemble; should be placed under the custody of trusty officers; and should be excluded from all communication with those who had formerly been in his service. Four days later the king came to the house, adjudged the unfortunate Richard to imprisonment for life, and ordered him to be guarded in the manner suggested by the lords (2). Oct. 23. Oct. 27.

Henry was now in possession of the grand object of his ambition: but he soon learned that it was more easy to win the crown than to retain it. The hostility of foreign princes, who continued to treat him as an usurper, and the wavering fidelity of his own subjects, of whom some panted to revenge the wrongs of the late king, and others were discontented that their services had not been more amply rewarded, kept him in a state of perpetual alarm. During the lapse of nine years he was constantly harassed, sometimes by secret attempts on his life, sometimes by overt acts of rebellion, on one occasion by the inroads of the Scots, and on another by the descents of the French; but his powers seemed to grow with his difficulties, and by his vigilance, temper, and activity, he not only succeeded in keeping the crown on his own head, but peaceably transmitted it to his posterity. The first attempt against him was made by five of the lords appellants, who had so narrowly escaped with their lives in the last parliament. Within a month after its dissolution they agreed to hold a tournament at

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 428. 442. Stat. 1 Hen. IV. c. 10. 14. In the summer of this year a sect of fanatics suddenly appeared in Italy, called Bianchi and Albati, because they wore a long white gown, and covered their faces with a white veil, that they might not be known. To the amount of some thousands they assembled in different places, and undertook pilgrimages of eight or ten days; during which they walked in procession from town to town, following a large crucifix, chanting hymns, and fasting on bread and water. They were opposed by the pope, and severely forbidden in France. Henry in this parliament issued a proclamation with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, ordering that if any of them arrived in an English harbour, they should not be permitted to land. Rot. Parl. iii. 428. It is singular that some Italian and contemporary writers should say, that the founders of the sect came from England or Scotland (see Spondanus, i. 671); and that the description of them in the proclamation should be nearly the same as that of the itinerant priests in the 5th of Richard II. In the first the Bianchi are called, gentz vestuz de blanche vesture, et soi pretendantz de grande saintete: in the other the preachers are termed, persones eu certains habitz souz dissimulation de grant saintee. Rot. Parl. iii. 124.

(2) Rot. Parl. 426, 427. It should be observed that the members of this house of commons were in reality elected by the king. They had been chosen by writs issued in the name of Richard: but though the existence of the parliament was acknowledged to have expired at his deposition, and on that account Henry summoned a new parliament; yet the same representatives of the commons were ordered to attend, without having been again returned by their constituents.

Oxford, and employ that opportunity to seize the person of the king, and subsequently to proclaim and liberate Richard. During the Christmas holidays they assembled: but one of their number was wanting; and he, unknown to them, had proved a traitor. It is said that the earl of Rutland received a letter from some of his associates at table; that his father, the duke of York, insisted on learning its contents; and that the son, finding it impossible to conceal his secret, hastened to reveal it to Henry. However that may be, on the evening of the day appointed, the conspirators with five hundred horse, surprised the castle of Windsor: but Henry, warned by Rutland, had left it in the morning, and was already in London; where he issued writs for their apprehension as traitors (1); and was employed in levying troops to march against them. Alarmed and disconcerted they resolved to retire into the west; proclaimed Richard in all the towns and villages on their route, and the next evening took up their quarters in Cirencester (2). The mayor, who had already received the king's writ, summoned the burghers, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and at midnight made an attack on the quarters of the earls of Kent and Salisbury. Every attempt to escape was repelled by the archers posted in the street; and after a defence of six hours these unfortunate noblemen were compelled to surrender. They were conducted into the abbey: but a fire which burst out the next evening was attributed to their partisans; and in the middle of the night they were brought forth and beheaded by the populace (3). The lords Lumley and Despenser had proceeded forward, but met with a similar fate from the citizens of Bristol. The earl of Huntingdon was taken in the neighbourhood of London, and put to death at Pleshy by the tenants of the late duke of Gloucester at the suggestion of the Countess of Hereford, the eldest of Gloucester's daughters (4). Sir Thomas Blount, Sir Bennet Shelley, and eighteen others, suffered in the Greenditch at Oxford, Feriby and Maudelin, the chaplains of Richard, in London (5). Besides the latter two

A. D. 1400. Jan. 4. Jan. 5. Jan. 6. Jan. 7. Jan. 9.

(1) Rym. viii. 120.

(2) Rym. viii. 165.

(3) Rot. Part. iv. 18. Wals. 363. The women appear to have been very active in the king's cause, who, to reward the inhabitants of Cirencester, made an annual grant of four does and a hogshead of wine to the men, and of six bucks and a hogshead of wine to the women of that town. Rym. viii. 250.

(4) It has been doubted whether he was put to death at Plesby, because there is an order to the constable of the Tower to receive him as a prisoner on the tenth (Rym. viii. 120). But it is probable that he was murdered by the people before the order was executed. According to Walsingham, he was put into the gate-house at Pleshy, and taken thence to die. Wals. 363.

(5) That the reader may form a notion of the barbarous manner in which executions for treason were conducted, I will relate that of sir Thomas Blount in the words a of contemporary writer:—"He was hanged; but the halter was "soon cut, and he was made to sit on a bench "before a great fire, and the executioner came "with a razor in his hand, and knelt before sir "Thomas, whose hands were tied, begging him "to pardon his death, as he must do his office. "Sir Thomas asked: 'Are you the person ap"pointed to deliver me from this world?' The "executioner answered, 'Yes, sir, I pray you "pardon me.' And sir Thomas kissed him, and "pardoned him his death. The executioner knelt "down, and opened his belly, and cut out his "bowels strait from below the stomach, and tied "them with a string that the wind of the heart "should not escape, and threw the bowels into "the fire. Then sir Thomas was sitting before "the fire, his belly open, and his bowels burn"ing before him. Sir Thomas Erpyngham, the "king's chamberlain, insulting Blount, said to "him in derision, 'Go, seek a master that can "cure you.' Blount only answered: 'Te Deum

other clergymen of higher rank, Walden and Merks, had been selected for victims. Walden the successor, as the reader will recollect, of archbisop Arundel, had descended from his station on the recall of that prelate, and remained a bishop without a bishopric (1). Merks, the bishop of Carlisle, whom we left in confinement at St. Albans, had been liberated at the solicitation of the pontiff. Both prelates were now arrested as accomplices of the late conspirators, and were committed to the Tower. Walden had the good fortune to satisfy the king of his innocence: and not only obtained his freedom, but was advanced, on the recommendation of the primate, to the see of London. But Merks had offended too grievously before, to hope for mercy, or perhaps justice, now. He was tried, convicted, and condemned to suffer the death of a traitor. The pope, to release him from the gripe of his persecutor, had already translated him to the distant bishopric of Cephalonia in the isle of Samos. But Henry refused to forego the gratification of his revenge, and insisted that the prelate should be degraded from his orders preparatory to his execution. This demand fortunately caused a temporary respite; the pope demurred; the king's passion gradually cooled; and at last, to gratify the pontiff, Henry signed the pardon of the bishop. Merks eventually obtained the favour both of the primate and the monarch. By the first he was appointed his commissary, from the other he obtained preferment. He died rector of Todenham in Gloucestershire, in 1409 (2).

Jan. 10.

Jan. 28.

Mar. 15.

Nov. 28.

Such was the result of this premature and ill concerted conspiracy: it strengthened the throne of the new king. But he had still reason to fear the hostility of a dangerous adversary, the king of France, who had been deeply offended by the deception practised upon him by Henry at his departure from Paris, and who deemed himself called upon by honour, as well as affection, to espouse the cause of his own daughter and of his son-in-law. At first he had an intention of sending ambassadors to the parliament (3): but this design was soon abandoned; the voice of his people pronounced in favour of war: offers of military service were made (4), and bodies of armed men marched towards the coast. To avert the threatened storm, Henry appointed commissioners to treat with Charles for a con-

A. D. 1399. Oct. 31.

Nov. 29.

"laudamus. Blessed be the day on which I was "born, and blessed be this day, for I shall die in "the service of my sovereign lord, the noble "king Richard.' The executioner knelt down "before him, kissed him in an humble manner, "and soon after, his head was cut off, and he "was quartered." Relation, etc. MS. p. 232. The heads of the lords and others then executed were sent to the capital, and fixed on London bridge. Fabyan, 568.

(1) The pope had pronounced Arundel's translation to St. Andrews void, because it was without Arundel's consent. Acts of Coun. i. 115.

(2) Rym. iii. 124. Acts of Coun. i. 116., and Kennet's Third Letter to the bishop of Carlisle, 1713.

(3) So I conclude from the letter of safe conduct signed by Henry on the 31st of October, for four individuals therein named, whom *he understood* that his dear cousin of France intended to send on an embassy to him. It is plain that this safe conduct had not been formally asked for: yet a hint must have been given to him that it would probably be accepted: otherwise he would not have inserted the very names of the intended envoys. See Rym. viii. 98.

(4) In the Thresor des Chartres is the promise of the cities and towns of Normandy to maintain for ten weeks four thousand men at arms, and twenty thousand footmen; and similar promises from the noblemen, knights and esquires of the same province. Thres. p. 258.

firmation of the existing truce, and for intermarriages between individuals of his family and of the royal family of France (1). They proceeded to Calais; and a herald hastened to the capital to solicit a safe conduct for the ambassadors of the king of England; but Charles returned a peremptory refusal—he knew no king of England but Richard, his son-in-law. Henry now anticipated nothing but war; and, unwilling to risk his popularity by demanding an aid from the nation, summoned a great council of peers, exposed to them the
A. D. 1400. Feb. 9. proofs of the hostile disposition shown by the French monarch, and procured from them an engagement, by which the lords spiritual granted to him a tenth of their movables for the war, and the lords temporal their personal service at their own cost with a certain number of retainers for three months (2). These precautions, however, proved unnecessary; for Charles in the mean while had received intelligence, which left no doubt on his mind that Richard
Jan. 29. was dead. All thought of war was instantly abandoned: he had now nothing to fight for; and on this account he signed an instrument stating that he should not disturb the truce which had been concluded during the lifetime of his dear son Richard king of England, on whose soul he prayed God to have mercy; despatched Blanchet, maistre des requestes, to demand at Calais the restoration of his daughter Isabella with her dower and her jewels; and appointed commissioners to treat, but on that subject only, with the English
Feb. 19. commissioners somewhere between Boulogne and Calais (3). Henry immediately renewed the powers of his envoys at Calais for the same objects as before, but with this difference, that Charles, who was in the former instrument his most dear cousin, is now "his adversary of France (4)."

Hitherto, from the day on which Richard had been consigned to secret and perpetual confinement by advice of the lords, all trace of him seemed to be lost. No man in England pretended to know where he was, or in what manner he was treated. But after the public statement of his death by the king of France, the secret could be no longer kept. It became necessary to acknowledge his death, or to show that he was still alive. One day, when the council assembled, the first article on the paper of subjects for deliberation (by whose order the entry was made we know not) regarded the manner in which Richard the late king, if *he were still alive*, as it was supposed that he was, should be well and safely kept for the preservation of the estate of the king and kingdom. The answer betrays a real or affected ignorance, but at the same time a strong suspicion on the part of the lords. "It seemeth," they say, "expedient to the council to speak to the king that, in case Richard,

(1) Rym. viii. 108.
(2) Acts of Coun. i. 102—6.
(3) Thres. des Chart. 66. They were ordered not to call Henry king of England, but in speaking to the English envoys, "le seigneur qui vous "a envoyez;" in writing, "la partie d'Angle-"terre." Ibid. 67.
(4) Rym. viii. 128.

"lately king, etc., be still alive, he be put into safe keeping in con-"formity with the advice of the lords; but, if he be departed this "life, that then he be *shown openly to the people*, that they may "have knowledge of it(1)." Only a short time passed, and the dead body of the dethroned prince was conveyed with funeral pomp from the castle of Pontefract to the capital, and then, during two days on which it lay in St. Paul's *was shown openly to the people;* that is, Mar. 12. was exposed with the face bare from the eyebrows to the chin, to the gaze of the spectators, who amounted, we are told, to twenty thousand persons. Henry himself attended the obsequies—with what feelings must be left to the imagination of the reader. After the mass on the second day the corpse was removed to the Abbey church of Westminster; a dirge was chanted; and the procession moved forward to Richard's once favourite residence at Langley. There it was interred: the king perhaps feared the recollections which his tomb might sometimes awaken, if he had been buried at Westminster (2).

But how, the reader will inquire, did the unfortunate prince come by his death? It is seldom that the secrets of the prison-house are suffered to transpire: in the present instance we are left entirely to conjecture. Richard may possibly have died of disease in his bed: the events immediately preceding will provoke a suspicion that he owed the loss of his life to the order of the man who had already bereaved him of his crown. No time could be more opportune for the commission of such a crime. Who in England, whilst the heads of Richard's adherents were still mouldering on London bridge, would venture to charge Henry with the murder? and the death of the captive would at once relieve him from the apprehension of that war, with which he was threatened by the king of France. But, however that may have been, several tales were soon current respecting the manner of Richard's death. By some it was said that, on the eighth day after Henry's departure from Windsor, Sir Piers Exton with seven assassins entered the cell; that Richard, aware of their object, wrested a battle-axe from one of the number, and laid several at his feet; but that Exton with one blow brought him to the floor, and with another deprived him of life. This story, which from its minuteness of detail might be thought to have some foundation in fact, was believed on the continent; but is in reality undeserving of credit, because it was unknown in England to those whose interest

(1) Si.... soit encore vivant, a ce que len suppose quil est.... sil soit alez de vie a trespassement, quadonqes soit monstrez overtement au people. Acts of Coun. 107. 111. For this important document we are indebted to the research of Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, who justly remarks that it refers to some day between the 2nd and the 24th of February. In the Issue Rolls of 1. Henry IV. is a payment to a person sent about this time to Pontefract upon the king's secret affairs, another to one coming thence to announce something to his advantage, and of 100 marks to the keeper of the wardrobe for the conveyance of Richard's body to London. If the date of the last, Feb. 17, be correct, the council was held in the early part of the month.

(2) Wals. 405. Otterb. 288. Froissart. Hardyng, 357.

it was to discover and to publish the truth (1). The more general belief was that the captive died of starvation; voluntary starvation, if we may give credit to the friends of Henry, in consequence of Richard's grief for the fate of his adherents; compulsory starvation, if we listen to the opposite party, in consequence of orders given by him who hoped to profit by his death. But of this there is no proof; and the story itself, as far as regards the manner of death, had probably no other foundation than the emaciated state of the face, when it was exhibited at St. Paul's (2).

Henry very prudently abstained from taking any notice of these rumours. It was enough for him that he had proved the death of Richard: to have gone into any explanation of the cause of that death might have been construed into consciousness of guilt. But his silence encouraged the friends of the deposed monarch to persuade themselves that the object of their devotion was still alive. It was not, they maintained, his body, but the body of Maudelin, that had been shown at St. Paul's; of Maudelin, a man so like in feature to Richard, that, to deceive the people, he had been adorned in princely vesture during the insurrection, and had voluntarily personified the royal captive. But it is plain that the men, who gave credit to this tale, had suffered their feelings to blind their judgment (3). No benefit, which Henry could have derived from such a fraud could be worth the risk of detection, either by the thousands of spectators well acquainted with the features of Richard, or by the possible reappearance of that prince himself on some future occasion; a detection which would have convicted the new king in the eyes of the whole world, not only of imposture, but also of sacrilege.

His great object after the funeral of his victim was to elude the demand, made by the French king, of two hundred thousand franks
A. D. 1400. of gold, the marriage portion of Isabella. He could not spare so
Feb. 19. large a sum from his own coffers, he dared not ask it from his subjects. His first expedient was to propose a marriage between the

(1) I should add, that when Richard's tomb was opened, and the skull examined, there was no appearance of any wound, unless the opening of the suture above the os temporis might have been caused by a blow. Arch. vi. 316. The os temporis was probably concealed by the bandage when the face was exposed.

(2) Much reliance has been placed on the following testimony of archbishop Scrope. Ubi eum breviter, (ut vulgariter dicitur quindecim dies et totidem noctes,) in fame, siti et frigore vexaverunt et crucifixerunt; et tandem morte turpissima, adhuc regno nostro Angliæ penitus incognita, sed gratia divina diutius non celanda, interimerunt et occiderunt. Ang. Sac. ii. 365. But in my opinion this passage will bear a very different interpretation. It states that for fifteen days they tormented him with hunger, thirst, cold and ill treatment, and then (tandem) put him to death after a manner, which had hitherto continued unknown, but which God's providence would not permit to be much longer concealed. Most assuredly, then, Scrope had not been able to discover the manner of Richard's death.

(3) Of this we have an instance in the French poet, the devoted admirer of Richard, who wrote before the end of 1401. Some said that Richard died of grief; but, says he,

vrayement
Je ne le croy pas aisement;
Car aucuns dient pour certain
Quil est, encore vif et sain
Enferme dedens leur prison.

Of course, the dead body exhibited was that of some one else.

Pas ne croy
Que ce fust le roy ancien,
Ains croy que c'estoit Madelien.

But in conclusion he owns that he knows not but that Richard is dead.

Et se cestoit il, main et tart
Prie je de vray cuer a Dieu
Qui est misericors et pieu,
Quil veuille es sains cieulx
Avoir lame
De ly. Arch. xx. 408, 9.

princess and his eldest son : his second to consult the universities, whether the personal obligations of Richard had descended to his successor. The offer of marriage was refused by Charles (1), and the answer of the universities was unfavourable. But the French monarch, with the natural solicitude of a parent, consented to receive back his daughter with her jewels, and to reserve the restoration of the money for subsequent discussion. Isabella returned to her parents; and the next demand of her dower was met with an opposite claim for one million five hundred thousand crowns still remaining unpaid of the ransom of king John, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Poitiers. The French rejoined that England had never complied with the provisions of the subsequent treaty of Bretigni. Thus was opened a new field of endless litigation, from which Charles at length withdrew; but, instead of surrendering his claim, he transferred it to his daughter on her marriage with his nephew Charles, count of Angoulême (2).

Nov. 12. A. D. 1401 May 27. Aug. 1. A. D. 1404. June 9.

One of the charges against the late unfortunate monarch was, that he had degenerated from the military virtues of his family. Anxious to escape a similar reproach, the new king determined to signalise the commencement of his reign by an expedition into Scotland. He hinted the design to his parliament: but it was thought imprudent to hazard discontent by the imposition of new taxes; and in a great council of the spiritual and temporal peers, it was agreed, that the former should give to the king a tenth of their incomes, and the latter should serve in the army, with a certain number of men, for a limited period, at their own charges (3). Henry summoned all persons possessed of fees, wages, or annuities, granted by Edward III., the Black Prince, Richard II., or the duke of Lancaster, to meet him at York under the penalty of forfeiture; and from the banks of the Tyne despatched heralds to king Robert, and the barons of Scotland, commanding them to appear before him in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 23rd of August, and to do him homage for the Scottish crown and their several fiefs. He marched to Leith without opposition: but the castle of Edinburgh was in the hands of the duke of Rothsay, the eldest son of the

Feb. 9. June 9. June 15. Aug. 6.

(1) If we believe that Henry proposed to marry his eldest son to Isabella, we must conclude that Richard was undoubtedly dead. To marry him to the wife of another man, pending that man's life, would have been to deprive his heirs of the succession. Now that he did make the proposal is asserted by the contemporary French writer last mentioned, whose testimony is supported by original documents; in Rymer viii. 128, where the commissioners are instructed to treat of the marriage of the prince of Wales with a French princess, in Acts of Coun. i. 118, where the council advises the marriage of Isabella as a means to avoid the restoration both of her and her property; and in the Thresor des Chart., where the French commissioners are ordered to reply to any such proposal that, while she is in the hands of the English, the king cannot in honour give any answer; and a messenger is moreover sent to Isabella to forbid her privately to give her consent to any marriage without the previous permission of her father. Thres. 67. 69. The same reasoning will apply, as Sir James Mackintosh has remarked, to the subsequent marriage of Isabella with her cousin, the eldest son of the duke of Orleans. At that time it was well known that Richard was said to be alive and at Stirling in Scotland. Would the king and the duke neglect to ascertain the truth before they signed the contract, especially as the Orleans branch was the next in succession to the crown of France?

(2) For these particulars see Rym. viii. 108, 9, 28. 42. 52. 69. 86. 94. 203. 17. 15. Acts of Coun, i. 130—142. Thres. des Chart. 66. 67. 299.

(3) Rym. viii. 125. Acts of Council, i. 194.

king, who derided the pompous claim of his adversary, and offered
Aug. 22. to decide the quarrel in equal combat with one, two, or three hundred Scottish, against the same number of English knights (1). Henry received the proposal with contempt, and waited several days for the arrival of the Scottish army, under the duke of Albany, who acted as regent during the infirmity of the king. But the duke was too prudent to attack an enemy, who was already defeated by famine; and the English, having consumed their provisions, retired in haste within their own borders. It was a useless and inglorious expedition; but it afforded the king an occasion to exhibit, to his followers and the enemy, a moderation unknown in the annals of Scottish warfare. From humanity, or policy, he laboured to mitigate the horrors of invasion; his protection was instantly afforded to all who asked it; and the royal banner displayed from the steeple of a church, or the turret of a castle, secured the village and its inhabitants from the violence and rapacity of the soldiers (2).

But from Scotland the king's attention was suddenly diverted to the principality of Wales, where, during his absence, the standard of independence had been raised by Owen, commonly styled Owen Glendower, or of Glendowrdy. This adventurer had been educated "an apprentice of the law;" had afterwards waited as esquire on the earl of Arundel; and from the family of that nobleman had passed to the service of the late king, during the campaign in Ireland (3). At a later period he pretended to trace his descent in a direct line from the ancient princes of Wales: if he aspired now to a higher station than that which his fortune seemed to assign to him, it was that injustice provoked his resentment, and the gratification of resentment opened a new and inviting prospect to his ambition. It happened that a powerful and wealthy neighbour, the lord Grey of Ruthyn, appropriated to himself without ceremony a considerable portion of Owen's patrimony; and the injured Welshman petitioned the king in parliament for redress. It was not very probable that a poor partisan of Richard would prevail over his potent and favoured adversary: but the sting of disappointment was irritated by the scornful and insulting language in which the refusal was conveyed (4). Owen was not a man to sit down inactive under an affront. Whether he actually awakened the vengeful spirit of his countrymen, or only improved the opportunity offered to him by a previous insurrection, is not easily determined; but the na-
Sept. 20. tives burst suddenly into the English marches, and in a few days Owen appeared at their head. The king pronounced him a traitor, and gave his lands in forfeiture to the earl of Somerset: but the

(1) Rym. 146. 155. 157.
(2) Fordun, xv. 11.
(3) Otterb. 230. Lel. Collec. ii. 310. Wals. 364.
(4) "Scurri nudipedes." Lel. ibid.

Welshman returned to his sovereign a message of defiance, and declared himself the rightful prince of Wales. The experiment proved that the spirit of freedom still lived within the breasts of the natives. They instantly, and without inquiry, admitted the claim of Glendower; adventurers hastened from the capital, the universities and the most distant parts of the kingdom, to fight under his standard; and the Welsh indulged the flattering hope of being able to re-establish, like the Scots, the independence of their country (1). To the pretender Henry opposed with the title of his lieutenant his own son, the legal prince of Wales. The youthful warrior penetrated into the valley, and gave to the flames the house of Glendowerdy: whilst Owen from the hills watched with coolness the steps of his impetuous adversary, and, the moment he was gone, poured his followers into the marches, and took ample and satisfactory revenge for the injuries which the prince had inflicted. Thrice within two years did Henry lead a numerous force against the insurgents, and thrice was he baffled by the conduct rather than the arms of his opponent; who, retiring among the mountains, left the invaders to contend with the inclemency of the season and the asperities of the country. By degrees Glendower assumed a bolder attitude. His original adversary, the lord Grey, was defeated by him and made prisoner on the banks of the Varnway; and sir Edmund Mortimer experienced a similar fate in a battle near Knyghton in Radnorshire. Impatient to repair these losses, Henry collected his retainers at Shrewsbury; divided them into three armies, under himself, his eldest son, and the earl of Arundel; and thus invaded Wales at the same time from three different quarters. Still both force and policy proved unavailing. No enemy was to be discovered in the field: the heavens fought in favour of the natives; the valleys were deluged with rain; the king's tent was torn from its fastenings; and borne away in a storm; and the monarch, convinced that it was fruitless to contend with a man, who could call to his aid spirits from the vasty deep, returned with disgrace into England (2).

Nov. 8. A. D. 1402 June 12. Aug. 27.

In the mean while Henry had committed the charge of the Scottish war to the earl of Northumberland, and his son, sir Henry Percy or "Hotspur," the wardens of the western and eastern marches. By them he was informed that an unknown Englishman had lately been received at the Scottish court under the designation of Richard Plantagenet, king of England. In a short time letters from that very individual were conveyed to the principal friends of the deposed monarch, with an assurance that Richard himself would pass the border at the head of a Scottish army on the feast of St. John the baptist. The vigilance of the king was excited by this

May 9.

(1) Rolls, iii. 457. Rym. viii. 472, 3. 6.
(2) Lel. Coll. ii. 310, 311. Otterb. 230 1. 4. Rym. viii. 156. 167. 181. 225. Vita Ric. ii. 172 —6. The indignities, almost incredible, offered to the bodies of the slain by the Welsh women, may be seen in Walsingham, 365.

June 5—15. intelligence. He published proclamation after proclamation against the authors and propagators of false reports; and ordered a statement of the late monarch's tyranny, and of his own determination to govern according to law, to be made to the freeholders of every shire at the next county court. Arrests and executions followed: Sir Roger Clarendon, a natural son of the Black Prince, nine Franciscan friars, whose order Richard had always patronised, and several other persons in different parts, suffered the barbarous punishment of treason. By these severities Henry intimidated his opponents; but the proclamations produced so ample a harvest of charges and prosecutions, that to restore domestic tranquillity, he found himself compelled to recall his previous directions, and to confine the offence to words actually exciting to rebellion (1).

But who was the individual that had thus undertaken to personate the dethroned monarch? The Scottish historian narrates a romantic tale of an English vagrant, who strolled into the kitchen of Donald, Lord of the Isles, was there recognised as king Richard by the fool or jester of that nobleman, and was in consequence of the discovery forwarded to the Scottish court (2). Little credit seems due to this statement: it is, however, certain that the duke of Albany, who held the reins of government in the name of his weak and easy brother, delivered, about this time, an Englishman to the care of the governor of Stirling castle, with orders to keep him in honourable custody. There was a mystery about the stranger, with the secret of which few were acquainted. The most curious could ascertain nothing more than that he called himself king Richard; and that his manner betrayed, in the opinion of those who watched him, indications of fatuity or derangement (3).

To Henry it was of the first importance to discover the true history of this adventurer: and after some time he was enabled to announce, that the man was an idiot, by name Thomas Ward of Trumpington, and that the letters under his seal had been composed and forwarded by Serle, chamberlain to the late king (4). A messenger, probably Donet, who had been intrusted with the care of these letters, fell into the hands of the king, and subsequently Serle himself was decoyed into the snare by Sir William Clifford. From these men it was said that Henry obtained all the particulars of the

(1) Rym. viii. 255. 261—3. 268. Otterb. 234.

(2) Hearne's Fordun, 1133. Goodall's, ii. 427.

(3) So we are told by a more ancient, and an unexceptionable witness, Wyntown, in his "Chronykel:"

"Quether he had ben king or nane,
Ther wis but few that wyst certane—
As he bare him, like was he
Oft half wod or wyld to be."
Wynt. ii. 389.

"Ye qwhilk deit a beggar and out of his "mund, and was erdit i ye blak frers of Stri- "viling." Ye Yngliss Cronikle, in Archæol. ix.

427. not. Albany charged for his expenses 100 marks a year, which however were not allowed. The sum was not large for a king of England. Eighteen marks of Scotland made a pound sterling.

(4) Thomas Warde de Trumpington, qui se pretende et feigne d'estre Roy Richard. Stat. of Realm, ii. 148. Rym. viii. 353. Whenever he is mentioned by the English authorities, in the Rolls, by Henry V., by archbishop Arundel, it is in terms like those of Wyntown: the idiot in Scotland, the "mawmet, le fol, fatuus, famulus "infatuatus." See Rolls iii. 584. 605. iv. 65. Archæol. xxiii. 297. Ellis, Sec. Series, i. 25, 26.

plot. Serle, however, did not save his life by the discovery: he was sent to London to suffer; and for greater notoriety was drawn on a sledge through all the towns in his way to the capital (1).

The seclusion in which the pretender lived, gradually extinguished the hopes which his appearance had raised in the breasts of Richard's partisans. If he were the real Richard, why did he not accompany the Scottish armies in their subsequent inroads, and summon the adherents of the house of York to his standard? The answer was obvious. The late king was too well known in those parts to allow of an impostor to personate him without detection: and therefore Albany, instead of bringing the pretender forward in public, or of openly advocating his claim, very prudently kept him a close inmate of Stirling castle, where he lived for seventeen years in utter seclusion till his death in 1419 (2). But if the Scot- Oct. 13.
tish regent hoped by this artifice to weaken the allegiance of Henry's English subjects, Henry on the other hand obtained the powerful aid of a Scottish nobleman, Dunbar, earl of March, who, on account of an affront offered to his daughter (3), had given back his fealty to his own sovereign, and done homage to the English king. Dunbar made common cause with the Percies, and directed their inroads into Scotland, whilst the earl Douglas, who had received the forfeiture of the rebel, retaliated by similar incursions into England. It was agreed between the earls of March and Northumberland that each chieftain should hold the command in rotation: and in the second inroad by the Scots the invaders were intercepted by the former on Nesbit moor; their commander, Hepburn of Hales, with many of his companions, perished; and the June 22.
remainder, the flower of the Lothian chivalry, were made prisoners (4). The earl Douglas, to revenge this loss, solicited and obtained the aid of the duke of Albany. At the head of ten thousand chosen troops, he burst through the marches, and spread the havoc of war along each bank of the Tyne. But the earl of Northumber- Sept. 14
land, his son Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, and the earl of March, assembled an army in the rear of the plunderers, and at Milfield, near Wooler, awaited their return. On Holyrood day was fought a great and decisive battle. The Scots occupied the hill of Homildon; the English the opposite eminence. Percy ordered

(1) Rym. viii. 262. Otterb. 248. 9. Wals. 370. 1. Graft. 429.

(2) He was buried in the church of the Blackfriars in Stirling; and much importance has been attached to an inscription on the wall over his grave, in which he was styled king of England. But that inscription is of no authority. It was not contemporary, but must have been composed at a much later period by a partisan of the house of York; for it makes allusion to the dethronement of Henry VI. and to the misfortunes of his family, as a punishment for the injury done to Richard by their progenitor:

Supplicium luit hinc ipsius omne genus.

(3) The affront is thus described by himself in a letter to Henry. "The duc of Rothesay spousit "my douchter; and now agayn his oblising to "me made by his lettre and his seal, and agaynes "the law of halikirk, spouses ane other wife." MS. Vesp. F. vii. 22. Henry granted to him and his heirs, lands of the value of 500 marks a year. Rym. viii. 153.

(4) Ford. xv. 13. Act of Coun. i. 187.

his archers to descend into the valley, from which they discharged their arrows with such force and precision, that they provoked Douglas with his men at arms to advance and attempt to disperse them. The archers retired slowly; and, halting at intervals, with repeated volleys arrested the progress of the enemy. Douglas was pierced with six wounds, and fell from his horse; the foremost and bravest of his companions experienced a similar fate; and the rest, disheartened and in confusion, fled towards the Tweed. Many were lost in attempting to cross that river: eight hundred were left on the field of battle. Among the wounded and captives were Douglas himself, Murdac Stewart, the son and heir of the regent, the earls of Moray and Angus, two barons, eighty French and Scottish knights, and many gentlemen of the first families in Scotland. It is remarkable, that in this battle the English men at arms never drew the sword. It was won by the archers alone, whose superior strength and dexterity had long been acknowledged by all the nations of Europe (1).

The earl of Northumberland attended the next parliament with his prisoner Murdac Stewart, and six other captives, three Scottish,
Oct. 20. and three French knights. They were introduced to Henry in his palace at Westminster. They knelt thrice, at the entrance of the hall, in the middle, and at the foot of the throne; where sir Adam Forster, by the command of Murdac, thus addressed the king: "Most excellent and dread prince, my lord, who is here "present, has directed me to request, both for himself and his "companions, that you would treat them honourably and gra- "ciously, according to the law of arms." Henry coldly replied, that they were welcome: and Forster proceeded to exhort him to spare the further effusion of Christian blood, and to treat of peace with his lord, who had been furnished with full powers for that purpose. But the king upbraided the speaker with his former cunning and duplicity, alleging, that had it not been for the fair but deceitful promises of Forster, he should not have retired from Edinburgh in his last campaign. Turning, however, to Murdac, he exhorted him to bear his captivity with resignation, and to recollect that he had been taken like a true knight on the field of battle. He then bade them rise, and invited them to dine at his table (2).

The next year was signalised by a most extraordinary attempt. The reader will recollect that the lord Grey and sir Edmund Mortimer were prisoners of war in the possession of Owen Glendower. The first with the royal permission purchased his liberty by the payment of ten thousand marks: the second, when he solicited a similar favour from the king, met with a peremptory refusal.

(1) Otterb. 237. Ford. xv. 14. Rym. ix. 26. (2) Rot. Parl. iii. 487.

The reason of this difference could not be concealed. From the pretensions of Grey, Henry had nothing to apprehend; but Mortimer, as the uncle, and therefore the natural protector of the young earl of March, was an object of distrust. Henry Percy, who had married Mortimer's sister, repeated the request. But the king was inexorable: he is reported to have answered, that Mortimer had gone of his own choice to Glendower, and therefore no loyal subject would wish him to come back; an insinuation which the stomach of a Percy could not brook. But the friendship between the king and that powerful family had long been on the wane. *They* believed that he owed his crown to the aid which they had administered to him in his distress: he had not forgotten that they would, if they had dared, have opposed his succession to the throne: *they* were incessantly calling for large sums of money due to them for the custody of the marches, and the expenses of the Scottish war; *he*, whether he were unable or unwilling, paid them but seldom, and then only by small and tardy instalments (1). How their discontent gradually ripened into rebellion, we know not. But their anxiety to effect the liberation of Mortimer gave occasion to several messages, and led to one personal interview, between Glendower and Hotspur: an intercourse which Henry watched with jealousy, and not, as the sequel will show, without reason. The first indication of the meditated Nov. 30. mischief was furnished by Mortimer, who, to free himself from his fetters and his dungeon, married the daughter of Glendower, and informed the more trusty of his retainers that he had joined the Welshman in his righteous quarrel, with the view of winning Dec. 13. the crown for king Richard, if Richard was still alive: or, if he was dead, for the earl of March, the lawful heir (2). He had, however, confederates who were yet unknown, the three Percies, the earl of Northumberland, his son Henry, and his brother Thomas, earl of Worcester; Scrope, the archbishop of York, who had given his sanction to the attempt, and Douglas, who in lieu of ransom had promised the services of himself and of a certain number of Scottish knights (3). It was probably to conceal their real object from the eyes of Henry that the Percies, during a foray A. D. 1403. into Teviotdale, appointed to meet in battle the chivalry of Scotland May.

(1) Acts of Coun. i. 150—3. 203. 4. ii. 57. I have not noticed with several writers the prohibition to ransom the prisoners made at the battle of Homildon hill. Such prohibitions were common, and Henry expressly saved the rights of the captors. Rym. viii. 278.

(2) Ellis, Sec. Series, i. 24. 5. Hardyng, 359. Edmund, the great-grandson of the Mortimer put to death by Edward III. in 1330, married Philippa, the daughter and heiress of Lionel, the third son of the same monarch. Their eldest son Roger died in 1398, leaving two sons, Edmund about six, and Roger about five years old.

(3) Sir Henry Ellis has published (Sec. Ser. i. 27.) from an ancient chronicle a tripartite treaty for the division of the kingdom among Glendower, Northumberland, and Sir Edmund Mortimer, "if "they should find reason to conclude that they "were the persons foretold in the prophecies of "Merlin." It is difficult to believe that men of sense could entertain notions so strange and hopes so unreasonable; but this was an age in which full credit was given to such pretended prophecies, and the conduct of men was often guided by their interpretation of them.

on the first of August, and that, on the other hand, the governor of Cocklaw castle gave hostages for the surrender of the fortress, if it were not relieved by his countrymen, before the evening of that day. The greatest publicity was given by the earl and his son to this expected field of arms: they solicited military assistance from their friends and retainers, and they demanded of Henry the arrears due to them, a sum of more than
June 28. twenty thousand pounds, that they might be able to maintain their own honour and the honour of the nation (1). Henry made promises, though he appears not to have parted with his money; he even proposed to join his faithful Percies, and to share with
July. them the danger and the glory of the day. It may have been that some dark intimation of the plot had already reached him; but at the very time when he set out for the borders with a select body of knights, Hotspur hastened from the same borders to North Wales, where, from his offices of lieutenant and justiciary, he possessed considerable influence. He was accompanied by Douglas and his Scottish knights: his uncle of Worcester, the lieutenant of South Wales, joined him with all the force which he could raise; and the archers of Cheshire, a race of men devotedly attached to the late king, answered his summons, calling on them to fight with him for Richard, who was still alive, against Henry of Lancaster, the mortal foe of that monarch (2). The king had not reached
July 16. Burton-upon-Trent when he heard of these proceedings. Not a moment was lost. He turned to the west, directed by messengers all his faithful subjects to join him on his march, and entered Shrewsbury at the moment when the insurgents were first descried from the walls. Hotspur was disappointed but not discouraged: he retired to Haytleyfield at a small distance; and, though Owen with his Welshmen had not yet joined him, made preparations
July 20. for battle (3).

In accordance with the laws of chivalry, the confederates sent to the king a defiance, which has been preserved by Hardyng, who was at that time in the service of Hotspur, and accompanied him the next day to the field of battle. In this instrument the Percies pronounce Henry false and perjured. 1°. Because on his return to England he had sworn before them at Doncaster, that he would claim nothing more than his own inheritance and that of his wife; and yet he had imprisoned Richard his sovereign, had compelled him by threats to resign the crown, and under colour of that resignation had taken upon himself the style and au-

(1) Acts of Coun. i. 203. 4. One of these letters from the earl has the signature of "Vre Mathathias," a name probably given to him by the king, or assumed by himself in allusion to a character with that name in some prophecy or romance.

(2) Acts of Coun. i. 206. 208. The men of Cheshire had already risen in the support of Richard, when the earls espoused his cause in the first year of this king's reign. Henry deemed it more prudent to win them by forbearance, than to exasperate them by punishment. Acts of Coun. ii. 42.

(3) Rym. viii. 313. Wals. 368. Otter. 239.

thority of king: 2°. Because at the same time he had sworn that he would never consent to the imposition of any taxes without the previous consent of the parliament; and yet he had frequently caused tenths and fifteenths to be levied by his own power and the dread which he inspired: 3°. Because he had also sworn that Richard, as long as he lived, should enjoy every royal prerogative; and yet had caused the same prince in the castle of Pontefract, after fifteen days, to die of hunger, thirst, and cold, and to be murdered: 4°. Because at the death of Richard he had kept possession of the crown, which then belonged to the young earl of March, the next and direct heir: 5°. Because, though he had sworn to govern according to law, he had treacherously and against the law destroyed the freedom of election, and caused his own creatures to be returned representatives of the counties in parliament, so that justice could not be had; and lastly, because he had refused to permit the liberation of sir Edmund Mortimer, who had been taken fighting for him, and was kept in chains in prison; and had looked on the Percies as traitors, because they had negotiated with Owen Glendower in behalf of the captive. They then conclude thus: "For these reasons we do mortally "defy thee, and thy accomplices and adherents, as traitors, and "subverters of the commonwealth and kingdom, and invaders, "oppressors, and usurpers of the rights of the true and direct "heir of England and France; and we intend to prove it this day "by force of arms with the aid of Almighty God (1)."

When Henry had perused the defiance, he replied, that he had no time to lose in writing an answer: that he would prove by the sword that the quarrel of the Percies was false and feigned; and that he had no doubt but God would give him the victory over perjured traitors (2). The next morning was fought one of the most obstinate and bloody battles recorded in English history.

The two armies were nearly equal, consisting severally of about fourteen thousand men of approved valour (3). As soon as they were arrayed in front of each other, the king, apprehensive of the result, sent the abbot of Shrewsbury to his opponents, with proposals of peace, which, after a long hesitation, were rejected by the advice of the earl of Worcester. "Then, banner, advance," cried Henry. The air resounded with the adverse shouts of "St. July 21.

(1) This defiance is printed at length from the Harleian MS. 42. f. 152, in "The Hereditary Right of the Crown," p. 82—84, by Mr. Ellis in his edition of Hardyng, 352, and in Hall, f. 21; but the latter, of his own authority, has made Edmund Mortimer the earl of March. The reader will observe the awkward and ambiguous language in which the Percies state the death of Richard, as if they had no certain knowledge of the manner of that death; and will also notice in the last charge, that the custom still existed of torturing prisoners of war, to procure from them a larger ransom. "In prisona et ferreis vinculis crudeliter tentus." Hardyng mentions the same of Mortimer,

"Wherfore he laye in fetters and sore prysone,
For none payment of his great raunsone."
Hardyng, 359.

(2) Hall, f. 22.

(3) Hotspur's force consisted of 9000 knights, squires, yeomen, and archers, "withouten raskaldry." Hard. Pref. iii. According to Walsingham the insurgents gave out that Richard was alive and with them. Wals. 368.

"George." and "Esperance, Percy;" and the archers on both sides discharged their arrows with the most murderous effect. Percy and Douglas, who had long been rivals for glory, and were esteemed two of the most valorous knights in christendom, rushed with thirty attendants into the centre of the enemy. Every thing yielded before them. The king's guards were dispersed; the earl of Stafford, sir Walter Blount, and two others, who, to deceive the enemy, wore the royal arms, were slain; the standard was beaten to the ground; and the prince of Wales received a wound in his face. Their object had been to kill or secure the person of Henry; but he, by the advice of the Scottish earl of March, had changed his armour; and was performing the duty of a valiant warrior in a distant part of the field. The two chiefs, disappointed in their expectation, determined to cut back their way through the enemy, who had closed behind them; and they had nearly effected their purpose, when the Northumbrian fell by an arrow, which seems to have been shot at random, and pierced his brain. With him fell the courage and the confidence of his followers, who, as soon as the loss of their leader was ascertained, fled in every direction. The battle had continued three hours: the killed and wounded on the part of the king amounted almost to five thousand, on that of the insurgents to a much greater number. Among the prisoners were the earl Douglas, the earl of Worcester, the baron of Kinderton, and sir Richard Vernon. The first received from the conqueror all that courtesy which was usually shown to foreign prisoners
July 23. of high rank: the other three suffered the punishment of traitors (1).

The morning after this victory the king despatched orders to the earl of Westmoreland and Robert Waterton, to oppose the progress of the earl of Northumberland, who had recovered from his indisposition, and was marching at the head of his retainers through the county of Durham. But he soon received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his son and his brother, and of the destruction of their party; and returning by Newcastle, which shut its gates against him, retired to his castle of Warkworth, and disbanded his forces. At the command of the conqueror he repaired with a small
Aug. 11. retinue to York, where he was received with evident marks of dissatisfaction. His protestations that Hotspur had acted in disobedience to his commands, and that the troops which he had raised himself were intended to join the royal army, were neither admitted nor rejected; but the earl was detained in safe though honourable custody, to plead his cause in the next parliament. Meanwhile Henry

(1) Otterb. 242—244. Ypodig. Neust. 560. Hall, f. 22. Rym. viii. 320. If we may believe a manifesto by the Yorkshire insurgents, after the body of Henry Percy had been solemnly buried, the king ordered it to be dug up, placed on the pillory, beheaded, and quartered. Ang. Sac. ii. 366. The origin of this story, as is remarked by the editor of the Acts of the Council, may be found in the chronicle of London (88), from which we learn that the body was taken out of the grave, to refute the report that Percy was still alive.

issued orders for the arrest of the lady Elizabeth, the widow of Hotspur; compelled the Northumbrian knights to swear fealty to him against their earl; and promised pardon to all who should throw themselves on his mercy (1). Oct. 8. Nov. 22.

When the parliament assembled, the earl presented to the king his petition, acknowledging that he had broken the law by the giving of liveries and the gathering of his retainers: but reminding Henry that he had in obedience to his command surrendered himself at York, and had received from him an assurance that "all "graceless he should not go." The king had commissioned the judges to decide on the nature of the offences which the earl had confessed: but the lords, many of whom had been secretly leagued with him, declaring that the judgment belonged to them, pronounced that he had not been guilty either of treason or of felony, but only of trespasses, for which he was bound to pay a fine at the king's pleasure. He then swore fealty to Henry, to the prince of Wales, to the other sons of the king and their issue; and in return obtained a full remission of all fines and penalties. As report had included several prelates and lords among the conspirators, he solemnly declared that he knew nothing to the prejudice of the duke of York, or of the archbishop of Canterbury, or of any other person generally suspected, but that he held them all to be, and to have been, true and faithful subjects to their sovereign (2). A. D. 1404. Feb. 7.

The unsuccessful issue of these insurrections, however it might disappoint, did not extinguish the hopes of the king's enemies. The families of the slain still thirsted for revenge; and the annual taxes which Henry was compelled to demand augmented the discontent of the people. To relieve his poverty he had made an attempt, with the aid of the commons, to resume the grants of the crown, and to seize on some portion of the property of the church; and this attempt, though it proved unsuccessful, served to exasperate the minds of the most considerable among the laity and clergy (3). In the beginning of the year a woman, the relict of the lord Spenser who had been executed at Bristol, undertook to liberate from the king's custody the young earl of March and his brother. By means of false keys she procured access to their apartment, conducted them out of the castle of Windsor, and hurried them away towards the frontiers of Wales. But Henry's good fortune never deserted him. The alarm had been given: the fugitives were quickly pursued, and retaken; and the lady on her examination before the council, perhaps to soothe the king's resentment, perhaps to excite his alarm, accused her brother the duke of York of being privy not only to her attempt, but to several other conspiracies against him. Oct. 7. A. D. 1405. Feb. 15. Feb. 17.

(1) Rym. viii. 322. 333. 338.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 524—526. The duke of York who had fallen under suspicion was Edward, the former earl of Rutland. He had lately succeeded to the honours and estates of his father. Rot. Parl. iii. 533.

(3) Wals. 371. Rot. Parl. iii. 547—549.

Henry, who could not but recollect how often that prince, under the titles of duke of Albemarle and earl of Rutland, had proved faithless to his associates, ordered him to be immediately arrested. If we may believe the suspicious language of the royal writs, he confessed his guilt: in his own petition he appears confident of proving his innocence. All his estates were seized for the king's
Mar. 6. profit; and the duke himself was confined in the castle of Pevensey. At the end of three months he was released, admitted to favour, and recovered his lands (1).

The king had assembled two great councils of barons and prelates at London and St. Albans, and to his disappointment, found in them a general disinclination to approve of the measures which he proposed (2). Among the more violent opponents of the govern-
May 6. ment was the lord Bardolf, who from St. Albans repaired to the
A. D. earl of Northumberland. That nobleman, though he had been
1404. restored to his estates, had been deprived of the offices of constable
Aug. 27. and warden of the marches, and had been compelled to sign an obligation to deliver into the king's hand, within a certain period, the castles of Berwick and Jedburgh, with their appurtenances, in exchange for other lands of the same value (3). He readily listened to the counsel of Bardolf, and determined to make another attempt in opposition to Henry. He found a willing associate in Thomas, the eldest son of the late banished duke of Norfolk. Though his father had not been attainted, he abstained from assuming the title that he might not provoke the jealousy of the king; and was commonly known by the name of lord Mowbray or earl marshal: but when Henry bestowed the office of marshal (it had been made hereditary in the family of the Mowbrays) on the earl of Westmoreland, his prudence was subdued by his resentment; and he communicated his wrongs and projects to Scrope, the archbishop of York, an enthusiastic defender of the claim of the earl of March. This prelate was brother to the faithful and favourite minister of Richard, the earl of Wiltshire, whom Henry had ordered to be executed at Bristol. He had long enjoyed the love and the veneration of the people; and the influence naturally attached to his station was increased by the affability of his manners, the fame of his learning, and the sanctity of his life. He had already exhorted Henry to repent of his perjury and treason to Richard; and to a question from the earl of Northumberland had replied, that all who had contributed to place the present king on the throne were bound, in justice to the real heir, to drive the usurper from it. It was not difficult for the discontented to draw a prelate of these sentiments into their party; thought it is probable that he was not admitted into all their secrets.

(1) Acts of Coun. i. 270—5. Rym. viii. 386. 388. Wals. 372. Otterb. 250. The lady Spenser in proof of her assertion produced her champion, William Maidstone, and offered to be burnt, if he should be vanquished. The duke accepted the challenge, but Henry imprisoned him. Otter. ibid.
(2) Wals. 373.
(3) Rym. viii. 364.

His object, he always asserted, was the reformation of grievances, and the restoration of harmony among the principal lords. The first who appeared in arms was sir John Falconberg, and three other knights in Cleveland: but they were immediately attacked, and dispersed by prince John, Henry's third son, and the earl of Westmoreland (1). At the same time an instrument, divided into ten articles of accusation against the king, was fixed on the doors of the churches in York and the neighbourhood. It ran in the names of A. B. C. D. proctors of the commonwealth of England; and charged Henry with perjury, rebellion, usurpation, the murder of his sovereign, irreligion, extortion, and the illegal execution of many clergymen and gentlemen (2). Eight thousand men assembled at Shipton on the moor, a few miles from York, and were joined by the archbishop and the earl marshal. To disperse them, the prince, with the earl of Westmoreland, hastened to the forest of Galtres. The latter requested and obtained a conference with the opposite leaders, in the open space between the two armies. The archbishop declared that he had come, not to make war but peace, and particularised the different grievances which he thought it necessary to redress for the prosperity of the kingdom. By some it is said, that Westmoreland deceived the simplicity of the aged prelate, by assenting to all his proposals: by others, that he persuaded him to disband his followers, as the only means of appeasing the king, and procuring a favourable answer to his petitions. However that may be, both the archbishop and the earl were unexpectedly and forcibly conducted to the army of the royalists; and the insurgents, learning the captivity of their leaders, retired to their homes (3). Henry, at the first rumour of these commotions, had marched towards the north: at Pontefract the two captives were presented to him, and ordered to follow the court to Bishopsthorpe, a palace belonging to the primate. There the king commanded the chief-justice Gascoigne to pronounce on them the sentence of death: but that inflexible judge refused, on the plea that the laws gave him no jurisdiction over the life of the prelate; who together with the earl marshal, had a right to be tried by their peers. A more obsequious agent was found in a knight of the name of Fulthorpe, who by the king's order called them both before him, and without indictment or trial condemned them to be beheaded. Scrope immediately exclaimed: "The just and true God knows that I never intended evil against "the person of king Henry; and I beg you to pray, that my death "may not be revenged upon him or his friends." The judgment was immediately carried into execution. The archbishop suffered with the constancy, and acquired among the people the reputation,

A. D. 1405. May.

May 29.

May 8.

June 9.

(1) Rot. Parl. viii. 604.
(2) Ang. Sac. 362.
(3) Rot. Parl. viii. 605. Otterb. 255, 256. Wals. 373. The fugitives were pursued; but such as were taken were not put to death, but "stripped "and severely scourged." Holins. ii. 510.

of a martyr. To the body of the earl was allotted a grave in the cathedral: his head was placed on a pike, and fixed upon the walls (1). It is remarkable, that when the king, in parliament, required the temporal peers to declare the archbishop and the earl traitors, they replied, that according to the representation given by John, the king's son, their offence seemed to be treason; but that they were unwilling to decide without more deliberation, and desired that the question might be postponed till the next parliament, when every peer should be compelled to attend, and to give his opinion (2). Henry had the prudence to acquiesce; and the matter was never afterwards mentioned. Hence it may be fairly inferred that the peers believed the assertions of the archbishop, and did not conceive him guilty of levying war against his sovereign (3).

From York, which he deprived of its franchises, Henry advanced with thirty thousand men against the earl of Northumberland. That nobleman, sensible of his inability to resist so overwhelming a force, had concluded a treaty with the regent of Scotland, and endeavoured by a letter to the duke of Orleans to interest the French court in his favour (4). He had delivered the town of Berwick to the Scots, who, on the approach of the royal forces, set it on fire, and retired beyond the borders. The earl and lord Bardolf ac-
July. companied them. The castle made a show of resistance: but a shot from an enormous piece of ordnance, shattered one of the towers; the garrison in dismay threw open the gates; and the son of the baron of Graystock, with the six principal officers, was immediately executed. Henry successively reduced the other castles belonging to his enemies, and returned in triumph into the south.

But, though the king, at the head of a victorious army, might despise the murmurs of his subjects, who condemned the execution of the archbishop, he found it expedient to palliate or justify his conduct to pope Gregory XII., whose predecessor, Innocent VII., had published a provisionary sentence of excommunication against all who had had been concerned in the death of that prelate. Henry alleged in his own defence that Scrope had levied war against his sovereign, a crime which the laws of England punished with death; that he was made prisoner after a battle in which his followers, amounting to eight thousand men, had been defeated; that the

(1) Ang. Sac. ii. 370.
(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 606.
(3) On this account, and on account of the style of the instrument, I have great doubt, whether the "articles" before mentioned could be traced to the archbishop.
(4) Rot. Parl. iii. 605. From this letter it appears that the death of Richard was still considered by some as doubtful. The earl, probably to anticipate any objection on that head, says that "he has levied war against Henry of Lancaster, "the ruler of England, to support the quarrel "of his sovereign lord the king Richard, if he is "alive, and to revenge his death, if he be dead: "and also to support the right quarrel, which his "dread lady the queen of England may reasonably have to the kingdom of England." Carte has given to these words a meaning which they cannot bear: "to obtain justice for the queen in "point of her jointure." (Carte, p. 667.) Perhaps it may have some allusion to the protestation made by her, "that she did not acknowledge Henry, duke of Lancaster, as king of England." Thres. des Chart. 127.

royalists clamorously demanded his punishment, and threatened to join the rebels, if he were spared; and that the king reluctantly gave his consent, to prevent the evils which must have ensued, if his armed followers had taken the execution of justice into their own hands (1). What impression this answer made on the mind of Gregory is uncertain; but he ordered the excommunication to be removed from all who declared themselves sorry for the part which they had acted in the death of the archbishop (2).

For more than two years, Northumberland with his companion in exile wandered from place to place, sometimes requesting aid from the Scots, sometimes consulting the insurgents in Wales. Henry employed every artifice to obtain possession of their persons; they with equal vigilance defeated all his schemes, and sought the opportunity of inflicting some signal vengeance on their antagonist. On one occasion they obtained permission to visit, in company with two bishops and the abbot of Welbeck, the pretended Richard in Stirling castle, that they might ascertain whether he was in reality the deposed monarch, and, in that case, might arrange with him a plan of future operations. But the attempt was fruitless. They were told that he refused to see them, and that no solicitations, not even those of the regent, could extort his consent (3). Their hopes, however, were awakened by the contests in the parliament of 1407, and by the discontents created by the heavy subsidies which the king demanded of his people (4). A correspondence was opened with sir Thomas Rokeby: but the report that they were deceived by the artifice of that officer rests on the very doubtful credit of Buchanan. In the beginning of the next year the earl and Bardolf burst into Northumberland, surprised several castles, raised the tenantry, who were still attached to their exiled lord, and augmenting their numbers as they advanced, penetrated as far as Knaresborough, where they were joined by sir Nicolas Tempest, who had distinguished himself in the cause of the archbishop. It is supposed to have been the policy of Rokeby to oppose no obstacle to their progress, that he might intercept their retreat. But having collected a body of tried men, he now prevented them from crossing the river, and, following their footsteps, overtook them on Bramham moor, in the neighbourhood of Tadcaster. The contest was soon decided between the rabble of the insurgents and an experienced soldiery. The earl fell in the field: Bardolf was taken, but died of his wounds; and the quarters of these noblemen were distributed among the principal cities in the kingdom. The fines exacted from their adherents supplied the royal wants; and the

A. D. 1407.

A. D. 1408. Feb. 28.

(1) The reader will observe that it is impossible to reconcile this account with that which has previously been given from our historians. Are we to accuse them of disguising the truth out of enmity to the house of Lancaster, or the king of inventing falsehoods to appease the pontiff?

(2) Ep. Greg. XII. apud Raynald, v. 291.

(3) Fordun, 11. 441. Assuredly Albany knew that he was an impostor.

(4) Rot. Parl. iii. 609. 611.

constant failure of every attempt to subvert, contributed to establish on a more secure basis, the government of Henry.

We may now return to the history of Glendower, who still maintained the war, notwithstanding the losses of his confederates at Shrewsbury, at Shipton and on Bramham moor. The whole of the north and a great part of the south of Wales acknowledged his authority: even Charles of France had received his ambassadors as those of an independent prince; and, by a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, engaged to send him assistance whenever it should be required. Henry committed the conduct of the war to his eldest son, and the young hero by his activity and perseverance, and with the advice of prudent counsellors, gradually undermined the power of the Welshman. At Grosmont in Monmouthshire he gained a decisive victory over Griffith the son of Glendower; and pursuing his career, reduced after a long siege the castle of Lampeder in Cardiganshire. But French auxiliaries to the number, probably exaggerated, of twelve thousand men, had now arrived, and had taken Caermarthen. Haverfordwest was saved by the earl of Arundel: and the king hastened to the assistance of his son: but no action of importance followed; Henry, after the loss of fifty waggons conveying his treasure and provisions, retired; and the French, unable to subsist in a depopulated country, returned to their homes (1).

A. D. 1405. Mar. 11. Nov. 1.

This happened before the fall of Northumberland; the termination of the insurrections in England allowed the king liberty to direct his attention to the war in Wales, and to furnish his indefatigable son with every necessary supply of men and provisions. The progress of the prince, though slow, was constant. At the end of four years, the southern division of Wales had entirely submitted. The natives of the north, disheartened by their misfortunes, insensibly withdrew themselves from the standard of Glendower; and that chieftain, appalled by the steady advance of his enemy, ordered the greater part of his forces to burst into Shropshire, and ravage the country, under the conduct of Rhees ap Du, and Philpot Scudamore. They were defeated, and their leaders suffered the punishment of treason. We are told that this misfortune broke the spirit of Owen; that he wandered for a time amidst the mountains, and then repaired in the habit of a shepherd to the house of his daughter at Monington in Herefordshire, where he remained in concealment till his death. But this account must be erroneous. From several writs, which are still extant, it appears that he contrived to spin out the contest among the wilds and mountains of Snowdun till long after the accession of the next sovereign (2).

(1) Rym. viii. 390. 412. 419. Otterb. 258. Wals, 370. 374. Monstrel. i. 13. Acts of Coun. i. 249.

(2) Rym. viii. 711. 753. ix. 283. 330. The last of these is a commission given by Henry V. and dated Feb. 24. 1416, to Sir Gilbert Talbot,

We may now return to Henry's transactions with foreign powers. It was to him a most fortunate circumstance, that Charles of France continued for many years subject to fits of insanity, occasionally interrupted with lucid intervals; and that the government of that kingdom was divided and perplexed by the ambitious and opposite views of two powerful princes, the dukes of Burgundy and of Orleans. The first object of Charles at the accession of Henry had been to procure the restoration of Isabella: when that was effected, neither the king nor his ministers made any secret of their real sentiments. There was, indeed, no declaration of war, no interruption of the external relations of amity: but the more powerful of the French nobles were encouraged to insult Henry, to plunder his subjects, and to make descents on the most exposed parts of his dominions. To every complaint an evasive or offensive answer was returned; and for several years commissioners from the two governments assembled and adjourned, re-assembled and separated, without coming to any settlement of their differences. The most enterprising of the king's enemies was Walleran de St. Pôl, who had married a sister of Richard. He possessed large estates and offices of emolument in France, and for them was amenable to the French government: but he was also a prince of the empire, and as such acted as an independent sovereign. He believed, or pretended to believe, that it was his duty to revenge the fate of his brother-in-law; and the king of England received from Walleran's herald the following defiance: "To the most high and mighty A. D. 1402. Feb. 10. "prince Henry duke of Lancaster, I, Walleran of Luxemburgh, "count of Ligny and St. Pôl, considering the affinity, love, and "confederation which existed between me and the most high and "mighty prince Richard king of England whose sister I married, "and the death of the same king, of which you are notoriously ac- "cused, and for which your reputation is blemished; and, more- "over, the great shame and loss that I and my posterity of his "line may suffer for the time to come; and likewise the indignation "of Almighty God, and of all reasonable and honourable persons, "if I do not expose myself to revenge the death of the said king, to "whom I was allied: on these accounts I give you to know, that "in every manner in my power I will do you harm; and every "kind of injury by myself, my relations, my men, and my subjects, "I will offer you, both by sea and land without the kingdom of "France, entirely for the reasons above rehearsed, and not on ac- "count of any hostilities between my dread and sovereign lord the "king of France and the realm of England. And this I certify to "you under my seal, at my castle of Luxemburgh, the 10th of "February, 1402." This was followed by a singular exhibition.

to treat with Meredith, the son of Glendower, concerning the submission of his father and the other rebels in Wales, if they desired it. From Rot. Parl. iv. 377, it is evident that Glendower himself never submitted.

To testify his horror for the perfidy of the earl of Rutland, who, it was believed, had betrayed the secrets of his accomplices to Henry, Walleran's servants carried, by his orders, from the castle of Bohain the figure of a man decorated with the arms and device of Rutland, and in the dead of the night hung it on a gibbet at the gates of Calais. But his next operations were more serious. With a numerous squadron of ships he inflicted severe injuries on the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight, and of the southern coast of England. Three princes of the house of Bourbon, embarking in the same cause, burnt the town of Plymouth; and the admiral of Bretagne swept the narrow seas, and carried as prizes into the French ports a large carrack, and forty-nine smaller ships, with nearly two thousand prisoners (1).

But that which sank still deeper into the mind of the king was a challenge which he received from his former friend and sworn brother (2), Louis duke of Orleans, to fight him with one hundred knights on a side in the marches of Guienne. After a silence of more than four months Henry replied by a letter, in which he expressed his astonishment at the receipt of such a challenge during the truce between the two kingdoms, and from one who had sworn to live with him in perpetual amity; reminded Louis that he was a king, and that kings did not condescended to fight in private combat with any but their equals; and concluded by saying, that he should go to Guienne when he pleased, and take with him such knights as he pleased, and then his adversary might, if he chose, meet him in whatever manner he thought best, and should receive such satisfaction as he deserved. This answer provoked a repetition of the challenge, with reproaches of rebellion, usurpation, and murder. To the two first Henry made but evasive replies. They came, he said, with a bad grace from one who was not only privy to his designs, but had promised his aid to carry them into execution; and as to his right to the English crown, it was enough to satisfy his own conscience that he held it by the gift of the Almighty. But

A. D. 1402. Aug. 7.

Dec. 15.

A. D. 1403. Mar. 26. Apr 30.

(1) Chroniques d'Enguerran de Monstrelet, vol. i. f. 13 : à Paris, 1596.

(2) That the reader may form an idea of these contracts of friendship, I will translate that which had been given by Louis to Henry, who sent it back to him when he received the challenge. It begins with a long catalogue of sovereigns and princes, the relations and friends of the contracting parties, whose interests are not to be affected by the present agreement. It then provides, "that there shall be, always and without "intermission, the good affection of true love "between the dukes of Lancaster and Orleans, as "between true and honourable friends; that "each shall always and in all places be a friend "and well-wisher to the friends and well-wishers "of the other, and an enemy to his enemies, as "becometh the honour and reputation of both; "that at all times and in all places, in all things "and concerns, each shall love, pursue, keep, "and defend the health, the good, the honour, "and the estate of the other, both in word and "deed, diligently and carefully, and as far as "can be done, honourably and worthily; that in "time and case of discord, debate and war, "they shall aid and defend each other with "great desire, pure will, and perfect work, "against and towards all princes, lords, barons, "individuals, commonalties, colleges, univer-"sities, of whatever lordship, dignity, estate or "condition they may be, by all means, remedies, "acts, counsels, forces, aids, men at arms, troops, "and other helps that they can or may; and that "each shall rise, resist, and combat all the ad-"versaries, warriors and enemies of the other, "and apply to it with all his thought, advice, "and work, lawful and honourable, excepting "always the persons named above." Dated 17th June, 1396. Monstrel. i. 9, 10.

the charge of murder he met with the most emphatic denial. "If "you mean that we had any hand in his death, we say that you lie, "and will lie falsely, as often as you shall assert it: as the true God "knows, whom we call to witness our innocence, offering, as a "loyal prince ought, our body against yours, if you will or dare "to prove it (1)." But these doughty champions upon paper never met in the field. Henry was more anxious to silence his adversary by the authority of the French government; and his ambassadors repeatedly complained of the challenge as of an infraction of the armistice. To their urgent demand for satisfaction the following laconic reply was made: "Neither the king nor his council have June 27. "ever broken, nor will they ever break their engagements. This "is the only answer that can be returned (2)."

In this extraordinary situation of pretended friendship and of real enmity the two governments watched each other, till the decision of Henry had crushed all his domestic opponents, and his good fortune, by two extraordinary occurrences, gave him the ascendency both in Scotland and France. 1°. Robert king of Scotland, a weak but harmless prince, had allowed the reins of government to drop from his feeble grasp into the hand of his enterprising brother, the duke of Albany. Albany, who looked forward, if not to the throne, at least to the undisturbed possession and exercise of the royal authority, had contrived to throw his nephew, the Duke of Rothsay, presumptive heir to the crown, into a prison, where, as it had been reported of the unfortunate Richard, he was suffered to perish through hunger. The fate of the elder brother admonished Robert, who lived in solitude in the isle of Bute, to provide for the security of his second son James, only fourteen years of age, whom he sent, under the care of the earl of the Orkneys, with a recommendatory letter to Charles king of France. Unfortunately the A. D. 1406. young prince in his passage was taken off Flamborough head by an Mar. 30. English cruiser, though a truce subsisted between the two crowns, and was offered an acceptable present to Henry, who sarcastically observed, that he could speak French as well as his brother Charles, and was equally capable of educating a king of Scotland. Instead of allowing the prisoner to continue his journey, he committed him to safe custody in the castle of Pevensey. The intelligence of the captivity of James broke the heart of his father; and Albany, sensible that the continuance of his own power depended on the duration of his nephew's confinement, became from that moment the obsequious servant of Henry. Affrays indeed between the borderers occasionally happened, but a long succession of truces prevented any hostile aggression on the part of either power (3).

(1) Monstrel. i. f. 8—13.
(2) Rym. viii. 310. Rot. Parl. 522.
(3) Fordun, xv. 18.

A. D. 1407. Nov. 23. 2°. The other occurrence which threw all France into commotion was the murder of the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and the adversary of Henry. It was perpetrated one evening in the streets of Paris, by eighteen assassins: two days later it was ascertained, by the avowal of the duke of Burgundy, that he was its real author. After a short flight he returned to Paris, accompanied by his friends and vassals, attempted to justify the deed, and was again received into favour by his weak and vacillating sovereign. The princes of the house of Orleans, after several ineffectual petitions for justice, sought their revenge by force of arms; and the whole kingdom was divided between the two parties of the Bourguignons and the Armagnacs. Henry viewed these commotions with pleasure. They served to occupy and to weaken the most formidable of his adversaries; and they offered him the opportunity of retaliating upon France the injuries which for some years she had inflicted upon England. When the Armagnacs besieged Charles in Paris, Henry sent a thousand archers and eight hundred lances commanded by the earl of Arundel to the duke of Burgundy, who, with these auxiliaries, and his own forces, made his way into the capital, and compelled his enemies to retire (1). The next year the duke prepared to follow up his success, and to reduce the Armagnacs to submission. But Henry had now listened to *their* proposals. The dukes of Berri, Orleans, and Bourbon, with the count of Alençon, consented for themselves and their associates to acknowledge him for rightful duke of Aquitaine, to aid him in the recovery of all the ancient rights and appurtenances of that duchy; to hold of him, by homage and fealty whatever they possessed within its limits; to restore to him twenty towns belonging to the royalties of the duchy; and to give security that, at the deaths of the present possessors, the counties of Poitou and Angoulême should return to him and his heirs. Henry on his part bound himself to assist them in every just quarrel, as his faithful vassals and subjects; to enter into no treaty with the duke of Burgundy, his children, brothers, or cousins, without their consent; and to send to their immediate assistance a thousand men at arms, and three thousand archers, to serve at their cost for three months (2). The expectation of so powerful a reinforcement infused new spirits into the Armagnacs. When the duke of Burgundy, with the royal army, advanced to besiege the city of Burges, the duke of Berri threw himself, with eight hundred men at arms, within the walls, and threatened to protract the defence to the last man. But there were in both armies persons who viewed with horror this unnatural war, and who dreaded the arrival of the

A. D. 1411. Oct. 23.

A. D. 1412. May 18.

June 10.

(1) Monstrel. i. 132—136. Wals. 380.

(2) Rym. viii. 738—742. It appears from the contracts between the king and the dukes of Clarence and York, and the earl of Dorset, that this army of 4000 men required 8000 horses, and that the pay of the military had for some reason or other considerably advanced. The men at arms had *1s. 6d.*, the archers *9d.* per day. Ibid. 745. 749, 750.

English, as a means of adding to its continuance. It was not difficult to infuse the same sentiments into the principal officers, exhausted as they were by fatigue and enfeebled by disease. An accommodation was at length effected. The Armagnacs submitted to the royal authority: the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy swore to forget their former differences; and, in order to cement their present friendship, the first engaged to marry a daughter of the latter, and renounced by letter to Henry his alliance with England. But the joy caused by their reconciliation was immediately damped by the intelligence that Thomas duke of Clarence, second son to the king of England, had landed with an army in Normandy, had been joined by the counts of Alençon and Richmont, and was busily employed in laying waste the country as he advanced. It was invain that the Armagnacs informed him of the pacification. Six hundred men at arms from Guienne hastened to his standard; Maine and Anjou were overrun and plundered; and the king of France was compelled to order all his forces to assemble at Chartres for the defence of the kingdom. But in the mean while the duke of Orleans visited the English general, agreed to pay him the sum of two hundred and nine thousand crowns, and gave his brother the count of Angoulême as hostage for the fulfilment of this engagement. The duke of Clarence professed himself satisfied, and marched his army into Guienne (1).

July 13. Aug. 23. Nov. 14.

While Henry was yet earl of Derby, he had married Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heiress of the earl of Hereford. This lady bore him four sons, of whom the eldest at his father's succession was in his twelfth year. To have introduced at that period any measure for the settlement of the crown would have seemed to betray a secret doubt of the right, which the new king pretended to have to it; and he was content to receive from the lords and commons an oath of allegiance to himself, and after himself to his eldest son as the heir apparent (2). Afterwards the victory, which he gained over the Percies at Shrewsbury, proved to him that even of his ancient friends many had become secret adherents to the insurgents: but he had the prudence to forego an inquiry which might have proved dangerous; and in a great council at Worcester required from all the lords spiritual and temporal a renewal of their allegiance. Two months later the same ceremony was repeated in another great council at London in presence of the ambassadors from France; and then, having thrice received the oaths of his subjects, he ventured to pass in parliament an act vesting the succession to the crown in his four sons and their heirs, in the order of seniority (3). Besides these sons he had two daughters by the same mother: but they were purposely passed by, perhaps that he might

Oct. A. D. 1403. Dec. A. D. 1404. Feb. 9.

(1) Monstrel. 153, 154. 156.
(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 426. 434.
(3) Rot. Parl. iii. 525. 575.

not afford an additional argument in favour of the rightful heir, the earl of March, who claimed by the female line. It was, however, plain that, according to the late settlement, the daughters of his sons might inherit; and, therefore, to do away all ambiguity, two years later a new act was passed, limiting the succession to the crown of England and France to his sons and their issue male; and by this provision perpetually excluding the females (1). But then it was asked, on what ground did he claim the crown of France? If females could not succeed to it, neither he nor his predecessors had any pretensions, since their right could descend to them only through a female, Isabella, the mother of Edward III. This objection disconcerted the king; and before the end of the session the last act was repealed, and the right of succession to the two crowns was declared to reside in the sons of the king, and their general issue. But even then, though the claim of the females descending from the four princes was distinctly allowed, Henry's daughters themselves were not noticed (2).

A. D. 1406. June 7.

Dec 22.

Of the four princes, Henry, the eldest, from his proximity to the throne, chiefly attracted the public notice. In the battle of Shrewsbury he had given proofs of personal courage: the success of the war against the insurgents of Wales, which was carried on under his nominal command, reflected a lustre on his youth; and the commons, in an adulatory address, allotted to him the praise of three virtues, of filial respect for the king, of bravery in the field of battle, and of modesty in the readiness with which on all occasions he submitted his own judgment to that of his council(3). His father, however, had little reason to be satisfied with his conduct. He was headstrong and impetuous in the pursuit of pleasure, and when he was not actually employed in military service, plunged without restraint into all the vices and follies of youth. Probably the reader's recollection has already transported him to those pages, in which the frolics and the associates of the prince have been portrayed by the inimitable pencil of Shakspeare. It may be, indeed, that the particular facts and personages are the mere creatures of the poet's imagination; but it cannot be denied that they are perfectly in unison with the accounts of the more ancient writers, and the traditionary belief of the succeeding century. It should however, be added, that in the midst of his excesses he occasionally displayed proofs of an ingenuous mind. It happened that one of his associates had been arraigned for felony before the chief-justice Gascoigne, the same inflexible magistrate who had withstood the illegal commands of the king at York. The prince imperiously required the release of the prisoner; and, when that was refused, drew his sword on the judge. But Gascoigne coolly ordered him into confinement in the prison of

(1) Rot. Parl. 574—576.
(2) Ibid. 580—583. Rym. viii. 462.
(3) Ibid. 574.

the king's bench; and the young Henry had the good sense to submit to the punishment. When the incident was related to his father, "Happy," he exclaimed, "the monarch who possesses a judge so "resolute in the discharge of his duty, and a son so willing to yield "to the authority of the law (1)."

But it was not only the immorality of the prince which created anxiety in the breast of his father. Unguarded and disrespectful expressions, which had dropt from him in the hours of merriment and intoxication, were officiously collected, and conveyed to Henry; and it was artfully insinuated that he ought to be on his guard against the attempts of an aspiring and unprincipled youth, whose court was already more numerously attended than his own. These suggestions, confirmed by his experience of the warm and enterprising temper of his son, made a deeper impression on the king's mind than might have been expected; and the prince, to justify himself, wrote exculpatory letters to many of the lords, and proceeded with a numerous train of followers to expostulate with his father. He not only maintained his innocence, but demanded the punishment of his calumniators; and the monarch, to screen his own friends, required him to wait till the next meeting of parliament (2). Yet even on such an occasion, if we may believe the earl of Ormond, an eye-witness, he displayed the usual eccentricity of his character. "He disguised himself in a gown of blue satin or "damask, wrought full of oylet holes, and at every oylet the needle "wherewith it was made, hanging still by the silk: and about his "arm he wore a dog's collar set full of S.S. of gold, and the tirets "of the same also of fine gold." Henry received him in his closet attended by four friends, before whom the prince, throwing himself on his knees, and presenting a dagger to his father, besought him to deprive him of life, since he had deprived him of the royal favour. This anecdote has been disputed; but it comes to us from good authority, and does not seem inconsistent with the character of the young prince (3). A. D. 1412. June 29.

To domestic trouble must be added the state of the king's health, and the anxieties of his conscience. Though he was only in his forty-sixth year, he bore about him all the symptoms of declining age. Soon after archbishop Scrope's insurrection he became afflicted with the most loathsome eruptions on his face, which by the common people were considered as a punishment for the death of that prelate; and a succession of epileptic fits, gradually increasing in violence, was now hurrying him to the grave. The prospect of his fate brought, we are told, to his recollection, the means by which he had acquired, and the blood by which he had preserved, the A. D. 1413.

(1) Elmh. 12, and the apology of the prince in Luders, 79—82.

(2) Otterb. 271. Elmham alludes to this circumstance, p. 11.

(3) Apud Stow, 339, 340.

crown. He began at length to doubt the certainty of his favourite maxim, that the success of the enterprise was a proof that it had received the approbation of Heaven. One day, when he was lying in a fit, and to all appearance was dead, the prince conveyed into another room the crown, which according to custom had been laid on a cushion by the bed side. The king returning to himself, sternly asked, who had borne it away; and on the report of his guards, required the immediate return of the prince. Pacified by his dutiful expressions, he asked him with a sigh: "Alas! fair son, what "right have you to the crown, when you know your father had "none?" "My liege," answered the young Henry, "with the "sword you won it, and with the sword I will keep it." After a pause the king faintly replied: "Well, do as you think best. I "leave the issue to God, and hope he will have mercy on my "soul (1)."

His last fit seized him while he was praying in St. Edward's chapel at Westminster. He was carried into the abbot's chamber, and quickly expired, on the 19th of March, 1413, and in the fourMar. 19. teenth year of his reign (2). Of his three younger sons, Thomas had been created duke of Clarence, John and Humphrey remained without any title. His daughters Blanche and Philippa were married, the first to the duke of Bavaria, and the other to the king of Denmark. By Jane of Navarre, his second wife, he left no issue.

In the preceding reigns the reader has observed the house of commons continually advancing with a silent but steady pace towards importance and authority: under Henry it assumed a still higher tone; addressed the sovereign with greater freedom, and pushed its inquiries into every department of the administration. The king's pecuniary embarassments, the defect in his title, and the repeated insurrections in favour of Richard and the earl of March, made it his interest to court the affections of the people through their representatives (3); and the men, who originally were deemed of no other use than to grant their money, became by almost imperceptible degrees a coequal and coefficient part of the legislature. The following particulars respecting their election, their immunities, and their proceedings, have been gleaned from the rolls of parliament.

1. As the importance of the knights of the shire increased, both the government and its opponents redoubled their exertions to

(1) Monstrel. i. 163. It is not improbable that this story was framed by the friends of the rival family.

(2) There is a strange story told by Clement Maydestone, on the authority of one of the persons employed to convey the king's body by water from Westminster for interment at Canterbury. Finding themselves in danger from a storm, they threw the dead body into the river in imitation of the mariners, who had treated the prophet Jonah in that manner, and proceeding to Canterbury, deposited the empty coffin in the grave. Peck, Desider. Curios. ii. 5.

(3) On one occasion the king invited all the members to dine with him the next day.—Rot. Parl. iii. 493.

procure the election of their respective friends. Much, however, depended on the partiality of the sheriff; who, as he was always appointed by the court, seldom hesitated to make an undue return at the request of the council. Such conduct had provoked frequent remonstrances during the last reign: they were renewed in the present; and, as a remedy for the abuse, two statutes were now enacted. The first provided that in the next county court held after the delivery of the writ, the day and place of the intended parliament should be announced by proclamation; that all present, both suitors duly summoned for the purpose, and others, should immediately proceed to the election; and that the names of the persons so chosen, whether they were present or absent, should be certified by an indenture under the seals of all those who had voted in their favour. By the second the sheriff making a false return, or acting in opposition to the former statute, was subjected to a fine of one hundred pounds, and the judges of assize were empowered to inquire into such offences, and to pass sentence on the delinquents (1).

2. The members of the lower, in common with those of the upper house, possessed by ancient custom the right of freedom from arrest or imprisonment, including not only themselves, but their attendants and servants; and extending from the day of their departure from their own homes to the moment of their return. This was a valuable, but in these ages, a necessary privilege. Many illegal practices still prevailed, which rendered it expedient that those, who attended their duty in parliament, should be placed under the special protection of the law. Men were liable to arrests on false pretences at the suit of a malicious adversary; they were exposed during their journeys to be waylaid, maimed, or even murdered by enemies who would not submit their quarrel to the decision of the law; and they were often in danger of being despoiled by the organized bands of robbers which infested some of the counties. Henry acknowledged this privilege, but refused to strengthen it with additional penalties. When the commons petitioned that the offender, besides a fine to the king, should pay treble damages to the party aggrieved, he coldly replied, that the law had already provided a sufficient remedy. It chanced that soon afterwards an esquire belonging to the representative for Somerset was severely wounded in an assault by John Savage. The commons

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 601. 641. I am inclined to think that the word "others," the meaning of which is disputed, was intended to defeat the artifice of the sheriffs, who confined the election to the few suitors whom they summoned for the purpose. Even after this time, it is certain that many elections were made by a very small number of electors. And here I may instance the extraordinary return, made by the sheriff of the county of Dublin, of representatives to attend at a parliament held by Edward III. in England. The court consisted of no more then forty-four persons, of whom twenty-four elected Nicholas Houth and William Fitzwilliam; twenty elected Nicholas Houth and Richard White; and the sheriff returned the latter, because the twenty voters in his favour were of higher rank, and greater substance than the twenty-four, who voted for his competitor. Lel. vol. i. App. p. 376.

again petitioned the king. They requested, that to murder any member or his servant should be adjudged treason; to maim or disfigure him, should be punished with the loss of a hand; and to wound or beat him should subject the offender to a heavy fine, and a year's imprisonment. Henry, however, evaded the petition, and issued a proclamation, ordering Savage, under severe penalties, to appear and take his trial before the justices of the king's bench (1).

3. Another, and a still more important privilege, was that of freedom of debate. If, during the last reign, it had been impaired by the cruel and unconstitutional judgment of Haxey, it recovered its former stability in the present, by the reversal of that judgment. The speaker was careful to claim it for himself and his colleagues, not only at the beginning of each session, but almost as often as he addressed the throne; and to request, that the king would give no credence to reports of interested individuals, but believe that whatever was said in their debates proceeded from their attention to his real interests. Under the protection of this privilege, the commons introduced a new practice, of presenting their petitions by word of mouth, instead of committing them to writing; an innovation greatly annoying to Henry, who was often distressed to return at the moment an appropriate answer. It was in vain that he commanded them to revert to the ancient custom. After a short interval the command was disobeyed: each new instance served to form a precedent; and before the end of the king's reign the practice was firmly established (2).

Several of the addresses delivered by different speakers are still extant. They all commence with the most humble professions of loyalty and submission: soon a bolder tone is assumed: and they frequently end with a severe censure on the measures of government, or the characters of the ministers. Thus sir John Tibetot, as speaker, complained that Calais had been left without provisions; that in twelve months ninety-six towns and castles had been lost in Guienne; that the greater part of the lordship of Ireland had been conquered by the natives; that large sums had been unnecessarily squandered away in the marches of Scotland; that the inhabitants of the sea coast, and near the borders of Wales, had been impoverished by their exertions in their own defence, and that all estates in the realm were reduced to the lowest distress; whence he inferred that it was incumbent on the king to employ for the future more able and experienced counsellors (3). At length,

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 541, 542.
(2) Ibid. iii. 456. 523. 573.
(3) Rot. Parl. 573. Frequently their addresses were delivered in bold and energetic language; occasionally they are degraded by the most puerile conceits. At the end of the session in 1401, the speaker compared the proceedings of parliament to the ceremonies of the mass. The speeches of the archbishop at the opening were likened to the epistle and gospel; the king had offered up the sacrifice by promising to support the doctrine of the church; and the commons were now come at the close to say "Deo gratias" (Ibid. p. 466). This is ridiculous enough: but I mention it to notice a still more ridiculous mistake by the compiler of Cobbett's Parliamentary History, who tells us that the king, lords, and commons, heard mass together, when the archbishop read

however, towards the close of his reign, Henry ventured to check the growing freedom of the speakers; and when Thomas Chaucer was presented to him for his approbation, replied, that the new speaker should enjoy the same liberty which had been enjoyed by former speakers; but that he would not suffer the introduction of any novelty in parliament, and would remain in possession of the same franchises and prerogatives which had belonged to his ancestors, the former kings of England (1).

4. The real authority of the commons had been defined in the first year of this reign. To one of their petitions the primate answered in the name of the king, that the commons, as they had acknowledged were only petitioners and demandants; and that the king and lords alone had always been, and would be of right, judges of parliament: but that "it was the king's will to have the "advice and assent of the commons in the enactment of statutes, "and the making of grants, subsidies, and such things, for the "common profit of the realm (2)." They complained, however, (with what justice it is now impossible to ascertain,) that by false and incorrect entries on the rolls, they were often made parties to enactments to which they had never given their assent. As a remedy, therefore, they prayed that the proceedings might always be engrossed before the close of the session, and while the particulars were fresh in the recollection of the judges: but Henry, without noticing their object, replied, that, for the future, the substance of the proceedings should be committed to writing by the clerk of parliament, and laid before the king and the lords for their approbation. The commons rejoined by pointing out a case of false entry, and praying redress. The rolls were immediately opened: the judges examined them in presence of the two houses; and the king pronounced the entry correct, and the complaint groundless. This failure did not dishearten them; their remonstrances were renewed in succeeding parliaments; and at last it was agreed that, to prevent errors, every entry should be made in the presence of a deputation from the two houses (3).

When Henry first ascended the throne, he sought by public professions of economy to fix the wavering fidelity of his subjects (4). But the insurrections so rapidly succeeding each other, plunged him into expenses, which it was not in his power to defray with the ordinary revenue of the crown; and to levy money by taxes, or tallages, imposed by his own authority, would, in his circumstances, have proved a most hazardous experiment. He preferred, therefore, to throw himself on the bounty of the nation; and thus contributed to establish the practice of what had long been

the epistle and gospel, the king performed the sacrifice, and when they came to "Ite missa est" and "Deo gratias," the commons offered their grant. Vol. i. col. 288.

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. 648.
(2) Ibid. 427.
(3) Rot. Parl. 457. 458. 466. 585.
(4) Wilk. Con. iii. 239.

the only legal method of raising extraordinary supplies. Neither had the king any reason to complain of the parsimony of his parliaments. In virtue of successive grants he enjoyed the tonnage and poundage, with the duties on wool and hides, during the whole of his reign; and in the course of fourteen years received eight tenths and eight fifteenths from the laity, with a proportionate number of tenths from the clergy. His wants, however, offered opportunities to the commons of confirming and improving their newly acquired rights. They were careful to insert in their grants that the king could not lawfully raise such aids from his people without the previous assent of the lords and commons (1). In his second year they made a bold attempt to emancipate themselves from the chief restraint, which the crown possessed over them, and prayed that their petitions might be answered before they presented their grant of money. Henry immediately perceived their object: he consulted the lords, and on the last day of the session replied: "That such a manner of proceeding had never been known in the "reigns of his predecessors; and that he would not allow any "alteration in the good customs of ancient times (2)." During the minority of Richard II. they had occasionally been allowed to appropriate the supplies to particular services. This they now claimed as a right: and the king, that he might evade without offence the formal recognition of their claim, spontaneously offered what they would otherwise have demanded. In 1404 he ordered the estimates of the current year to be laid before them; promised to submit his household to the regulation of the lords; and proposed that the public money should be received and paid by treasurers to be appointed in parliament with the advice of the two houses (3). From that period they generally appropriated the supply, excepting from it a certain sum to remain at the king's disposal; often exhorted him to moderate his expenses; demanded and procured for that purpose the banishment of four persons from his court (4), and of most of the foreign attendants on the new queen from the kingdom (5); and repeatedly extorted his assent to numerous articles of reformation in the government of his household, and of the whole realm. On one occasion they called for the receipts and disbursements of the last supply: but Henry replied, "that kings "were not accustomed to account to their subjects (6):" on another the accounts were granted, but with an observation, that it was not

(1) S'il ne soit par les voluntes des seigneurs et communes de vostre royalme, et ceo de nouvell grante a faire en plein parlement. Rot. Parl. iii. 493. 547.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 458.

(3) Ibid. 523. 529.

(4) Henry declared in parliament that he knew of no cause why they should quit his service: but as he was convinced that what the lords and commons should ordain was for the advantage of the realm, he charged the said four persons to depart from his household. They were his confessor, the abbot of Dore, Richard Derham, and Crossby, a valet of his chamber. Rot. Parl. iii. 523.

(5) Ibid. 527. The queen was Joan of Navarre, duchess dowager of Bretagne.

(6) Rex breviter respondebat, quod reges non solebant computum dare. Wilk. Conc. iii. 282. We may suppose, however, that he yielded; for the same writer tells us that the laymen would grant no supply without the accounts, and we find that they did grant one, from the rolls.

at the request of the commons, but because it was the will of the council (1). On the whole, during this reign the commons seem to have firmly established their claim to vote the money of the nation, to appropriate it to particular services, and to inquire into all practices which tended to impoverish the crown, and all grievances which could increase the burdens of the people.

Before I close the subject, I must notice a singular dispute, which shows that the lower house had learned to appreciate its own importance, and knew how to maintain its own liberties. The king had called the lords before him, had exposed to them his wants, and had obtained their assent to a liberal supply. He then sent for a deputation of the commons, and informed them that he expected a similar proof of affection from their colleagues. At the report of the deputation the whole house was in a ferment: they contended that the most valuable of their privileges had been invaded; and interrupted for some time the course of public business. Henry had the wisdom to yield; and ordered the following declaration to be entered on the rolls: "That it shall be lawful for the lords in this parliament "and in every parliament to come, to confer together, in the absence "of the king, respecting the state of the realm, and the necessary "remedies; and that it shall be lawful to the commons in like "manner to confer together on the same state and remedies; pro-"vided always, that neither the lords on their part, nor the com-"mons on theirs, make any report to the king of any grant granted "by the commons, and assented to by the lords, or of the commu-"nications between the two houses respecting the said grant, until "the same lords and commons are of one assent and accord in this "matter; and then in manner and form as hath been accustomed; "that is, by the mouth of the speaker of the said commons; to the "end that both lords and commons may have their thanks of the "king." By this declaration Henry appears to have surrendered all claim on the part of the crown to interfere in debates on the subject of supplies, and to have left the two houses on a footing of perfect equality in that respect; though, after they had, by communication with each other, come to an understanding among themselves, the money was said to be "granted by the commons with the assent of "the lords (2)."

This reign supplies the first instance of a capital execution for the theological crime of heresy. Whether it were that men refused to distinguish between fact and opinion, and on that account visited erroneous persuasion with the same punishment as criminal action,

(1) Baille a mesmes les communes, de la voluntée des ditz seigurs du counseil, et nient a l'instance ne request des ditz communes. Rot. Parl. iii. 609.

(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 611. It appears to me that the complaint of the commons was not that the question respecting the grant had been first introduced in the house of lords, but only that the king had personally interfered in the matter. His answer leaves either house at liberty to debate on any matter in his absence, whenever it may think proper.

it may not be easy to determine: but we unfortunately find that, in almost every country, whatever may have been the religious belief of the sovereign and the legislature, the severest penalties have repeatedly, and till a very late period, been enacted against dissent from the doctrines established by law. Sir Edward Coke, the great luminary of the English bar in the reign of queen Elizabeth, teaches that heresy is so extremely and fearfully punished, because it is a crime not against human, but divine Majesty; that it is an infectious leprosy of the soul; and must therefore be cut off, lest it diffuse the contagion (1). It was perhaps some such metaphorical and fallacious reasoning which persuaded the first Christian emperors to class heresy among the offences liable to civil punishment: it was certainly their example which induced the princes of the northern nations to adopt after their conversion similar regulations. In 1215 the fourth council of Lateran decreed that persons convicted of heresy "should be left to the secular power to be dealt with ac- "cording to due form of law:" but this was not the introduction of a new system, but merely a declaration of what was then the common law in every country in Europe.

During the last thirty years the English clergy had been goaded with every species of provocation, and yet had exhibited the most exemplary forbearance. Their moderation seemed to invite and sharpen the attacks of their adversaries. The spirit of Wycliffe had lost nothing of its original asperity by transfusion into the breasts of his successors. His itinerant preachers still appealed to the passions and prejudices of the people, against the riches, the luxury, and the vices of the clergy, whom they described as the disciples and associates of Satan; as mercenary shepherds, whose object was to shear the flock here, and lead it to perdition hereafter; as the usurpers of the patrimony of the poor, and of the revenues of the kingdom; as the real cause of the taxes voted by the parliament, and consequently of the poverty felt by the lower classes (2). Such declamations might perhaps have been despised, had they not led to inferences and attempts of dangerous tendency. The people were advised, were even commanded, not to pay their tithes; and plans were artfully framed, and obstinately pursued, to obtain the general confiscation of ecclesiastical property. Immediately on his accession Henry proclaimed himself the protector of the church against the

(1) Coke, Inst. iii. 5.

(2) Wilk. Con. iii. 208. 248. 345. et seq. Knyght. 2657—2669. Knyghton, who through curiosity attended some of their meetings, informs us that, according to their assertion, all good men came over to their sect: none refused but the wicked and reprobate. They called themselves true and evangelical preachers (veros prædicatores et evangelicos); their opponents false teachers and enemies of "Goddis lawe." He was surprised to observe how soon their disciples adopted the cant of their masters, and both men and women became teachers of evangelical doctrine (unum modum statim loquelæ mirabiliter habuerunt. Doctores evangelicæ doctrinæ tam viri quam mulieres subito effecti sunt). See Knyghton, 2664, 2665. Though all the preachers seem to have studied in the school of Wycliffe, yet each distinguished himself by some particular doctrine. Most of their tenets were directed against the doctrines and the possessions of the established church: others were subversive of the well-being of society: some must appear absurd to every rational reader; and a few were too indelicate to be mentioned. See Wilk. p. 248. 345. Knyght. 2669. Wals. 557.

assaults of the Lollards. In the first convocation held during his reign his intentions were made known to the clergy by a royal message; at the opening of the second the king's commissioners, the earl of Northumberland, and Erpingham the lord chamberlain, exhorted the prelates and proctors to take measures for the suppression of the errors disseminated by the itinerant preachers, and promised them the royal favour and assistance in the pursuit of so salutary an object (1). In the parliament, which began to sit at the same time, the king's intention to support the established religion was announced from the throne; and the commons in their address thanked him for his solicitude in favour of the doctrine, and his determination to preserve the liberties of the church (2). A. D. 1399. Oct. 6.

Encouraged by the royal invitation, the commons joined the clergy in a petition to the king in parliament; and an act was passed for the protection of the church, and the suppression of the new sect. The preamble sets forth, that divers unauthorised preachers go about teaching new doctrines and heretical opinions, making conventicles and confederacies, holding schools, writing books, misinforming the people, and daily committing enormities too horrible to be heard; and that the bishops are unable to repress these offences, because the offenders despise ecclesiastical censures, and when they are cited before their ordinaries, depart into another diocese: the statute therefore provides as a remedy for these evils, that the bishop shall have power to arrest and confine persons defamed or vehemently suspected of such offences, till they make their canonical purgation; and, if they be convicted, to punish them with imprisonment, and a fine to the king. It then enacts that if any person so convicted shall refuse to abjure such preachings, doctrines, opinions, schools, and misinformations, or after abjuration shall be proved to have relapsed, then the sheriff of the county, or the mayor and bailiffs of the nearest borough shall, on requisition, be present at the pronunciation of the sentence, shall receive the person so condemned into custody, and shall cause him to be burnt on a high place before the people, that such punishment may strike terror into the minds of others (3). A. D. 1401. Jan. 21.

During this very parliament (whether before or after the passing of the act is uncertain) a petition was presented to the lords and commons by William Sawtre, begging that he might be permitted to dispute before them on the subject of religion. Such a request excited considerable surprise: but the enthusiast aspired to the crown of martyrdom, and had the satisfaction to fall a victim to his own folly. He had been rector of Lynn in Norfolk: but about two years before had been convicted of heresy, and deprived of his living. On his recantation he had been lately admitted a chaplain in St. A. D. 1399. May 25.

(1) Wilk. Con. iii. 239. 254.
(2) Rot. Parl. iii. 454, 455.
(3) Rot. Parl. iii. 466. Wilk. Conc. iii. 252.

A. D. 1401. Feb. 12. Feb. 18. Osith's in London. The character of Sawtre, and the nature of his request, induced the convocation to summon him before them; and six days were allowed him to prepare his answer. The articles objected to him were those, of which he had been accused before the bishop of Norwich. With unparalleled effrontery he denied his former conviction and recantation, and, explaining the other articles in an orthodox sense, refused to give any satisfaction on the subject of the eucharist. The trial was adjourned from day to day; and the archbishop, notwithstanding the contempt and insolence of his answers, made a last effort to save him, by asking if he were content to stand on that question by the determination of the church. He answered that he was, provided the determination were agreeable to the will of God; an evasion which of course was rejected. The record of his former conviction and recantation was now produced Feb. 23. from the registry of the bishop of Norwich; and on the eleventh day from his arraignment he was pronounced by the primate a relapsed heretic, was degraded from his orders, and delivered into the Mar. 2. custody of the constable and marshal of England (1). About a week afterwards, Henry consulted the temporal lords sitting in parliament (2), and by their advice issued a precept to the mayor and sheriffs to execute the sentence of the law upon Sawtre. The unhappy man, instead of being shut up in an asylum for lunatics, was burnt to death as a malefactor, in the presence of an immense multitude; and the commons by their speaker returned thanks to Mar. 10. the king that, whereas "by bad doctrine the faith of holy church "was on the point of being overturned, to the destruction of the "king and kingdom, he had made and ordained a just remedy to "the destruction of such doctrine and the pursuers thereof (3)."

This severity did not, however, subdue the boldness of the preachers. They declaimed with redoubled animosity against the

(1) Con. iii. 255—260.

(2) During this parliament, and probably at this very time, the commons petitioned the king that "when any man or woman was taken and "imprisoned for Lollardism, he might be in-"stantly put on his answer, and have such judg-"ment as he deserved, for an example to others "of such wicked sect, that they might soon "cease their wicked preachings, and keep them-"selves to the Christian faith." It received the royal assent. Rot. Parl. iii. 473, 474.

(3) Rot. Parl. iii. 459. 466. There have been writers who have not hesitated to pronounce the statute against the Lollards a forgery, entered on the rolls by the fraud of the clergy after the dismissal of parliament (Coke, 4 Inst. p. 51. See also 3 Inst. p. 40): a singular charge, founded on as singular a blunder. The statute, they say, does not mention the assent of the commons, therefore it never passed in parliament. It would certainly have been as easy to forge that assent as the rest of the instrument: but the fact is, the statute could not mention the assent of the commons because it was passed at their *petition*; in which case the bill was always said to be granted by the king with the assent of the lords, and at the *prayer* of the commons: de l'assent des seigneurs espirituelx et temporelx, et à la *prier* des communes. In the present case the petition was presented by the clergy and the commons conjointly—prælati et clerus ac etiam *communitates* dicti regni in eodem parliamento existentes dicto domino regi supplicarunt – and was in the usual manner granted by the king with the assent of the lords,—qui quidem dominus rex ex assensu magnatum..... concessit, ordinavit, et statuit. Stat. of Realm, ii. 126. Wilk. Con. iii. 328. Hence it is said in stat. 25° Hen. VIII. that "the clergy "impetrated it by *authoritie of parliament*." (Stat. iii. 454.) The usual assumption that the commons favoured the Lollards against the clergy is contrary to fact; for they thanked the king, as the reader has seen above, for his resolution to support the church, in the beginning of the session; they afterwards petitioned for severe measures against the preachers; and at the end expressed their obligations to Henry for having passed this very statute; pur ceo que nostre Sr le Roy ent ad fait et ordeignez bon et joust remede en destruction de tiele doctrine, et de la secte d'icelle. Rot. Parl. iii. 466.

temporalities of the clergy, till the lay proprietors became alarmed for the security of their own possessions. In 1407 the subject attracted the notice of the house of lords: a petition was sent by them to the commons for their concurrence; and it was afterwards presented by the speaker to the king. It stated that the preachers excited the people to take away the possessions of the church, of which the clergy were as assuredly endowed as the temporal lords were of their inheritances; and that unless these evil purposes were speedily resisted, it was probable that in process of time they would also move the people to take away the possessions and inheritances of the temporal lords, and make them common, to the open commotion of the people, and the utter subversion of the realm. In consequence it was enacted that such persons, together with those who maintained that king Richard was still alive, and others who published false prophecies to delude the people, should be arrested and brought before the next parliament, to receive such judgment as the king and peers in their judicial authority should pronounce (1).

Hitherto the commons had equalled, perhaps surpassed, the upper house in hostility to the Lollards. Four years later Henry made the extraordinary request that the laity would empower him to raise a fifteenth, the clergy a tenth, in the years in which he might not summon a parliament. Neither body would entertain the proposal: but the commons, to shift the burden from themselves, advised him to lay it on the church. From its superfluous revenues, so they pretended, he might maintain fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, and six thousand two hundred esquires (2); and also support one hundred hospitals for the relief of the poor. But when the king called for the grounds of this calculation, they had none to offer; and Henry severely reprimanded them for their presumption, and desired never more to hear of the subject (3). This check appears to have silenced the advocates of the new doctrines during the remainder of his reign.

(1) Rot. Parl. iii. p. 583. This was only a temporary ordinance to last till the next parliament. (Ibid.) There is therefore no reason to suppose that it was excluded from the statute roll by the artifice of the clergy. Indeed Otterburne tells us that none of the statutes made at that time were carried into execution.—Otterb. 261.

(2) The income of an earl was stated at 3000 marks a year, of a knight at 100 marks and four ploughlands, and of an esquire at forty marks and two ploughlands.

(3) Wals. 379. Otterb. 267. Fab. 575. How far this account may be true is uncertain. No vestige of the transaction is to be found on the rolls; no notice is taken of it in the acts of the convocation, which was then sitting. Yet something extraordinary had passed; for on the 8th of February the commons prayed the king to give them back their petition respecting the statute against the Lollards, and not to suffer any part of it to be enacted. He assented as a special favour, provided it were not drawn into a precedent. Rot. Parl. 623. What was the object of the petition does not appear; probably it was that mentioned above.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY V.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Ger.	*King of Scot.*	*King of France.*	*Kings of Spain.*
Sigismund.	James I.	Charles VI.	Henry III..... 1416. John I.

Popes.

John XXIII. 1415. Martin V.

Succession of Henry V.—Insurrection of the Lollards—Invasion of France—Battle of Azincourt—Second invasion of France—Conquest of Normandy—Murder of the duke of Burgundy—Henry is made Regent of France—Reduces Meaux—And dies—His funeral—Affairs of the Church.

A. D. 1413. Mar. 19. THE late king had outlived his popularity, and the intelligence of his death excited little regret in any part of his dominions. His eldest son, Henry of Monmouth, immediately ascended the throne. He had so long been considered heir apparent, that the claim of the earl of March was never mentioned; and though his errors had created a prejudice against him, his subjects were willing to attribute them rather to the giddiness of youth than to depravity of heart. Neither did he disappoint their expectations. As soon as his father expired he withdrew to his closet, spent the rest of the day in privacy and prayer, and in the evening hastened to his confessor, a recluse in the church of Westminster; by whom he was confirmed in his resolution to atone for the scandal of his past, by the propriety of his subsequent conduct. The dissolute companions of his pleasures were instantly dismissed: men of knowledge and experience were invited round the throne; and those, who by checking his excesses had earned the enmity of the *prince*, found themselves, to their surprise, honoured with the approbation and friendship of the *king* (1). As an act of justice, he set at liberty the earl of March, who from his childhood had been kept in confinement by the late monarch, for no other crime than his right to the throne: after some time he restored the son of Hotspur, an exile in Scotland, to the honours and hereditary estates of the Percies; and when the remains of the unfortunate Richard were removed by his orders from Langley to Westminster abbey, he testified his respect for that prince by attending as chief mourner in the funeral procession (2).

(1) Tit. Liv. 5. Wals. 382. Otterb. 273. Elm. 16.

(2) Rot. Parl. iv. 6. 37. Wals. 385. Otterb. 274. See payments on this occasion in Pell Re-

Henry had partaken of the general alarm excited among the higher classes by the levelling principles of the Lollards; and, when he was only prince of Wales, had joined the lords and commons in presenting a petition to his father for the arrest and punishment of their preachers (1). Now, however, the chiefs of the sect, whether they were uged forward by enthusiasm, or intoxicated with success, instead of labouring to remove these unfavourable impressions, sought to intimidate their adversaries; and during the king's first parliament affixed papers to the doors of the different churches in the metropolis, stating that, if the authority of the crown should be employed in opposition to their doctrine, they were able to assemble one hundred thousand men ready to draw the sword in its defence (2). This daring menace provoked an investigation; and it was discovered, through Burton, "the king's spy," that the person, by whose counsels the party had been led, and on whom it chiefly relied, was sir John Oldcastle, called, from the inheritance of his wife, the lord of Cobham. His castle of Cowling had long been the head-quarters of the teachers of lollardism: thence they issued forth on their missions in the neighbourhood; and, protected by his servants, set at defiance the prohibitions of the bishops, and the citations of the spiritual courts (3). The convocation, to spare the honour of a man who had been one of Henry's most intimate companions (4), instead of summoning him before the usual tribunal, denounced him to the king, who with the zeal of an apostle undertook the task of working his conversion. But the obstinacy of the disciple speedily exhausted the patience of the master: after a few days the king began to enforce his arguments with threats; and Oldcastle thought it time to withdraw from Windsor to his own residence at Cowling (5). His flight was followed by Aug. 21. a royal proclamation, ordering the magistrates to arrest not only the itinerant preachers, but their hearers and abettors; and by a mandate to the archbishop of Canterbury, requiring him to proceed against the fugitive according to law (6). The spiritual powers of

cords, p. 326. "After a solemn terment there "holden, he provided that iiii tapers shuld "brenne daye and nyght about his (Richard's) "grave whyle the world endureth; and one day "in the week a solempne *Dirige*, and upon the "morrowe a messe of *Requiem* by note, after "which messe endyd to be gyven wekely unto "pore people xi. s viii in pens, and upon the "daye of his anniversary, after the sayd masse "of *Requiem* is songe, to be yerely distributed "for his soule xx li. in d." Fabyan, 577. No one can believe that Henry, had he not been convinced that the Richard in Stirling castle was an impostor, would have acted in this manner. In any other supposition he would have been guilty, gratuitously and deliberately, of hypocrisy and sacrilege.

(1) See history of the last reign.

(2) Wals. 382.

(3) Wilkins. Conc. iii. 330. 338. 352. 353.

(4) Tit. Liv. p. 6. Elm. p. 31, who add that on account of his opinions he had been dismissed by the king before the coronation. From Fuller (p. 168) we derive the curious information that sir John Oldcastle was, among our more ancient dramatists, the debauched but facetious knight, who now treads the stage under the name of sir John Falstaff.

(5) A book belonging to Oldcastle had been seized in the shop of a *limner*, with whom it had been left to be illuminated. It was read before the king in the presence of the owner. Henry declared that he had never heard doctrines so pernicious, and asked the knight what he thought of them. Of course he did not dispute the judgment of his sovereign, but alleged in his own excuse that he had never read more than two pages of the work. Conc. iii. 352.

(6) Rym ix. 46. Conc. 375.

that prelate were soon exhausted. Oldcastle disobeyed his summons, and laughed at his excommunication; but he was compelled to surrender to a military force sent by the king, and was con-
Sept. 23. ducted a prisoner to the Tower. On his arraignment before the primate, his conduct was as arrogant and insulting, as that of his judge was mild and dignified. Not content with signifying his dissent from the established creed, he poured out a torrent of abuse against all those by whom it was upheld. He maintained that the church had ceased to teach the doctrine of the gospel from the moment that it became infected with the poison of worldly riches; that the clergy were the antichrist; that the pope was the head, the bishops and prelates the limbs, and the religious orders the tail of the beast; and that the only true successor of St. Peter was he who most faithfully practised the virtues of St. Peter. Then turning to the spectators, and extending his arms, he exclaimed: "Beware of "the men who sit here as my judges. They will seduce both you "and themselves, and will lead you to hell." He was brought to the bar on two different days, and persisting in his opinions, was pronounced an obstinate heretic (1). The primate, however, when he delivered him to the civil magistrate, procured from the king a respite of fifty days; during which Oldcastle found the means to
Oct. 10. escape from the Tower, and to assemble the most ardent of his partisans. Emissaries were immediately despatched into the neighbouring counties; an army was secretly organised; and numbers of fanatics held themselves in readiness to march to the metropolis, though they were kept in ignorance of the real object of their leaders. The first plan of the conspirators, to surprise the king at Eltham, was defeated by his unexpected departure for Westminster;
Jan. 7. and a second resolution was formed to collect all their adherents in the fields at St. Giles's, on the day after the Epiphany. Henry, who was perfectly apprised of their intentions, having secured the gates of the city, to separate the lollards within the walls from those without, proceeded a little after midnight with a strong body of forces to the place of rendezvous. The roads were covered with insurgents hastening from all quarters towards St. Giles's: but the first companies that arrived were surrounded and secured; the fugitives who escaped spread the alarm, and the parties on their march precipitately dispersed (2).

The number of the insurgents on this occasion has been exaggerated to twenty thousand; and the object of their leaders was, if we may credit royal proclamations and parliamentary records, of the most dangerous tendency. The commons in their address state, that the lollards had sought "to destroy the Christian faith, the

(1) From the acts in Rymer, ix. 61. 66, and Wilkins iii. 353—357. Dr. Southey (Book of the Church, i. 379) relies on the authority of Foxe.

(2) Tit. Liv. 6. Wals. 385, 386. Elm. 31, 32.

"king, the spiritual and temporal estates, and all manner of policy "and law:" Henry in his proclamation declares that they meant "to destroy him, his brothers, and several of the spiritual and "temporal lords, to confiscate the possessions of the church, to se- "cularise the religious orders, to divide the realm into confederate "districts, and to appoint sir John Oldcastle president of the com- "monwealth (1)." That leader escaped, and though the king offered the most tempting rewards for his apprehension, eluded for several years the pursuit and search of his enemies. Of his accomplices many were secured, and thirty-nine condemned and executed. The failure of the insurrection had the usual effect of adding to the severity of the penal laws already in existence. It was enacted that all judges and magistrates should be authorised to arrest persons suspected of lollardism, and deliver them over to the ecclesiastical courts; and that the prisoners on their conviction should forfeit their lands, goods, and chattels, as in cases of felony (2).

The restoration of tranquillity allowed the king to direct his attention towards the French throne, which was still occupied by an imbecile monarch, and was daily undermined by the rage of contending factions. Within the course of a few months the reins of government had successively passed from the hands of John the fearless duke of Burgundy, to the dauphin, a young prince, rash, headstrong, and capricious (3); to the populace of the capital, whose ephemeral superiority had been accompanied with the imprisonment or massacre of the lords and ladies attached to the court (4); and lastly to the duke of Orleans, who persisted in waging a successful but impolitic war against the Burgundians, the ancient foes of his family. To the aspiring mind of Henry these troubles opened a most alluring prospect. He determined to revive the claim, and tread in the footsteps of his great-grandfather Edward III.; and, if he consented to a succession of short truces at the prayer of Charles, it was only that he might have leisure to mature his plans, to provide money for his expenses, and to open the war with an army adequate to his object. A little more than a year had elapsed from his accession when he unexpectedly demanded the crown of France, with all its appurtenances, as the heir of Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. The French ministers might have replied, that he was not the legitimate representative of that princess (5): but they deemed the claim an insult to the national independence,

A. D. 1413. Apr. 28.

A. D. 1414. July 10.

(1) Rot. Parl. iv. 24. 108. Rym. ix. 89. 119. 129. 170. 193.

(2) Rot. Parl. iv. 24. Stat. of Realm, ii. 181. In this parliament the king's brothers, John and Humphrey, were made dukes of Bedford and Gloucester. Elm. 33.

(3) He is said to have sent in derision to Henry a present of tennis balls. The king promised to return the compliment with English balls, which should batter to the ground the walls of Paris. Otterb. 275.

(4) See the letter of the king of France in Rymer, ix. 51, and the account of Monstrelet, i. 165—170.

(5) The reader will recollect that our kings claimed the French crown on the plea that it could descend by females. Now in that hypothesis it belonged not to Henry, but to the earl of March.

Aug. and refused to admit it even as a subject of discussion. Henry therefore consented that Charles should continue to possess his throne, but required as the price of his forbearance conditions which would have reduced France to a secondary station among the powers of Europe: that he should cede to England in full sovereignty the provinces of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou; the territories which formerly composed the duchy of Aquitaine, and the several towns and counties included in the great peace of Bretigny; that he should put Henry in possession of one half of Provence, the inheritance of Eleanor and Sanchia, the queens of Henry III. and of his brother Richard, and two of the four daughters of Berenger, once sovereign of that country; that he should faithfully discharge the arrears of the ransom of king John, amounting to twelve hundred thousand crowns; and that he should give his daughter Catherine in marriage to the king of England with a portion of two millions of crowns (1). To these demands Henry had been persuaded to descend by his council, who told him that by such moderation he would throw the blame of refusal on his adversaries, and "deserve through God's "grace better speed and conclusion." The duke of Berri, the organ of the French government, replied, that Charles for the sake of peace was willing to restore all the territories anciently comprehended within the duchy of Aquitaine, and to give with his daughter six hundred thousand crowns, a greater portion than had ever been given on a similar occasion by any of his predecessors. By a prince of ordinary ambition such offers would have been cheerfully accepted. It was evident that they were made, not on account of the real superiority of England, but of the temporary embarrassments of France; and there was reason to fear that, if they should be refused, the different factions might unite against the common enemy, and by their union defeat all his projects. Great, however, as they
Oct. 3. were, they did not satisfy the expectations of Henry (2). He recalled his ambassadors, summoned a parliament, avowed his intention of vindicating his right by arms, and obtained a supply of two
Nov. 19. tenths and two fifteenths (3). The grant of so large a sum created considerable alarm in the French court, and Henry resolved to make a second attempt by negotiation. A few days before the conclusion of the armistice the earl of Dorset, with the bishops of Durham and Norwich, and a retinue of six hundred horsemen,
A. D. 1415. entered Paris, where, by their parade and magnificence, they sur-
Jan. 24. prised and mortified the vanity of the French (4). Their first object
Mar. 13. was easily attained, to prolong the truce during four months. They next proposed a treaty of peace and alliance on a new basis. The claim of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, was entirely abandoned:

(1) Two crowns were equal to a noble English.
(2) The whole process of the negotiation is to be found in Rymer, ix. 208. See also Acts of Coun. ii. 141. 150.
(3) Rot. Parl. iv. 35.
(4) Monstrel. i. 216.

they consented to accept the princess with half the sum originally required; but every other demand made by the late embassy was repeated and enforced. The duke of Berri gave the same answer, with this unimportant difference, that he offered eight instead of six hundred thousand crowns as the marriage portion of Catherine. The ambassadors immediately returned (1). Mar. 14.

It is probable that the result of the negotiation was not displeasing to Henry. His counsellors might wish to avert the impending calamities of the war: but the young hero longed to encircle his brow with the laurels of a conqueror. A council of fifteen spiritual and twenty-eight temporal peers was immediately assembled: the king declared his resolution "to recover his inheritance" by arms (2); and his speech was received with applause and assurances of support. The duke of Bedford, one of his brothers, accepted the office of regent during the royal absence; his duties and powers were specified; the members of the council appointed; and the terms of military service arranged (3). The barons and knights, anxious to obtain renown, or to secure the royal favour, engaged to furnish troops according to their abilities; and while *they* levied men, Henry himself pawned his jewels, solicited loans, and by great exertions amassed the sum of five hundred thousand nobles (4). Apr. 16.

The French ministers had made no preparations to meet the storm with which they were threatened. Occupied in maintaining the ascendency over their domestic rivals, they had flattered themselves that the king of England would accept the terms which had been offered him; and with this fallacious expectation they even now sent the archbishop of Bourges, and the earl of Vendôme, to repeat the proposals which had lately been made by the duke of Berri. The ambassadors were introduced to the king at Winchester; the next day Henry Chicheley, who had lately succeeded to the archbishopric of Canterbury, informed them that his sovereign would accept nothing short of the restoration of all the territories which had ever been possessed by his predecessors; and Henry, following the primate, added, that the crown of France was his right, and that he would wrest it from its unjust possessor in defiance of all his ene- June.

(1) Rym. ix. 205. 212—215.

(2) Rym. ix. 222. Acts of Coun. ii. 155.

(3) The following were the terms, and the manner of raising the army. 1. Contracts were made by the keeper of the privy seal with different lords and gentlemen, who bound themselves to serve with a certain number of men for a year, from the day on which they were first mustered. 2. The pay of a duke was to be 13*s.* 4*d.* per day; an earl, 6*s.* 8*d.*; a baron or banneret, 4*s.*; a knight, 2*s.*; an esquire, 1*s.*; an archer, 6*d.* 3. The pay, or security for its amount, was to be delivered by the treasurer a quarter of a year in advance: and if the money were not actually paid at the beginning of the fourth quarter, the engagement was to be at an end. As an additional remuneration, each contractor received "the usual regard," or douceur of 100 marks for every 30 men-at-arms. 4. A duke was to have 50 horses; an earl, 24; a baron or banneret, 16; a knight, 6; an esquire, 4; an archer, 1. The horses were to be furnished by the contractor, the equipment by the king. 5. All prisoners were to belong to the captors: but if they were kings, the sons of kings, or officers high in command bearing commissions from kings, they were to belong to the crown, on the payment of a reasonable recompense to the captors. 6. The booty taken was to be divided into three parts. Two remained to the men: the third was again divided into three parts, of which the leader took two, and left the third to the king. See the several contracts in Rymer, ix. 226. 227—239.

(4) Ibid. 241. 271. 284—7.

mies. These words aroused the spirit of the archbishop of Bourges, who, having previously obtained permission, replied; that if the king attributed to fear the offers which had been made, he deceived himself. The throne of France was the most excellent in Europe. It would require more than the power of England to shake it. Let Henry, if he chose, make the attempt: he would either be driven back to the sea, or would pay the forfeit of his presumption with his liberty, perhaps with his life. As for himself, the archbishop added, that he had nothing more to do in England. He requested passports: but trusted that the king would give the answer in writing, and spare him the pain of delivering so insulting a message by
July 1. word of mouth. Henry did not resent the freedom of the prelate, but dismissed him and his colleague with valuable presents (1).

Every preparation was now complete: the army had assembled at Southampton; and the king superintended the embarkation. At that very moment, while his mind was occupied with visions of conquest and glory, he was suddenly alarmed with the intelligence
July 21. that a conspiracy against his life had been formed in the bosom of his own family and household. The ringleader was his cousin Richard, a brother to the duke of York, and lately created earl of Cambridge. The principal accomplices were sir Thomas Grey of Heton, a Northumbrian knight, and the lord Scrope of Masham, who had been honoured with the highest employments in the state, and was, both in bed and at board, at the council table and in the chase, the king's individual companion. What motives could induce them to form the design, or whence they derived their hopes of success, it is impossible to discover; the historian must content
Aug. 2. himself with describing the facts as they appear upon record. By an inquest of twelve jurors of the county it was found, but on what testimony is not mentioned, that the earl of Cambridge had conspired with sir Thomas Grey to collect a body of armed men, to conduct the earl of March to the frontiers of Wales, and to proclaim him the rightful heir to the crown in case Richard II. were really dead (2); and had also by their emissaries solicited Thomas of Trumpyngton, who still personated Richard, Henry Percy, who had not yet returned from Scotland, and several Scottish lords, to invade the king's dominions at an appointed time; and that the lord Scrope had received from them the knowledge of their treasonable intentions, had concealed that knowledge from the king and council, and had given to the conspirators his aid and abettance. On this indictment the prisoners were arraigned, and severally pleaded guilty: but the lord Scrope added, that his intention was innocent,

(1) See Monstrelet (i. 22), who praises the spirit, and Elmham (p. 30) and Walsingham (p. 389), who reprove the insolence of the French prelate. The king's answer is in Thresor des Chartres, 79.

(2) It should be observed that the earl of Cambridge had married Anne, sister to the earl of March, who, on the death of her brother without issue, would have had the real right to the crown.

as his only object in learning, was to defeat the plans of the conspirators. The usual judgment of treason was passed against Grey: but the king commuted the most disgraceful parts of the sentence. Instead of being drawn, he was permitted to walk to the place of execution, and suffered decapitation instead of being hanged. Cambridge and Scrope claimed the privilege of being tried by their peers. The duke of Clarence presided in the place of the king: all the lords in the army were summoned; and the duke of York, that he might not sit in judgment on his brother, appointed the earl of Dorset his proxy. By this court both were condemned (1), and after a fruitless appeal by the earl of Cambridge to the mercy of his royal relative, were executed. Though the earl of March sate among the judges at the trial, he soon afterwards received from Henry a general pardon for all treasons and offences: whence it has been inferred by some writers that he was privy to the conspiracy, and had secured the royal favour by betraying his accomplices. But the inference is not warranted by the practice of the age. Such pardons were frequently solicited by the most innocent, as a measure of precaution to defeat the malice, and prevent the accusations of their enemies (2). Aug. 5

Henry's impatience had hastened the trial and execution of the conspirators. As soon as the wind would permit, he left Southampton; and after a rapid voyage entered the mouth of the Seine with a fleet of fifteen hundred sail, carrying six thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers. Three days were consumed in landing the men, stores, and provisions; and immediately Harfleur, a strong fortress on the right bank of the river, was invested by land and blockaded by water. The knights in garrison, confident in their valour and numbers, repeatedly assailed the intrenchments of the besiegers: but successive defeats taught them to confine themselves within the walls; their defences were in a short time shattered or demolished by the artillery and the miners; and in the fifth week they submitted to an unconditional surrender. Henry seated himself on his throne under a magnificent tent, which was raised for the purpose on the summit of the hill, opposite to the town. On his right hand stood sir Robert Umfravile, bearing on the point of a lance the king's helmet surmounted with a crown: on each side were ranged the chief of the English nobility; and in this state the king received Gaucourte the governor and thirty-four burgesses, who on their knees presented to him the keys of the town, and threw themselves on his mercy. He ordered his banner and that of St. George to be fixed over the principal gate, and pronounced his pleasure that the men-at-arms should depart in their Aug. 13. Aug. 15. Aug. 18. Sept. 22.

(1) Rot. Parl. iv. 64—67.

(2) Rym. ix. 303. It is indeed true that the earl of Cambridge in his written confession charges the earl of March with having assented to the plan: but the charge was disbelieved, or passed over in silence. Rot. Parl. iv. 66.

doublets, after taking an oath to yield themselves prisoners within a fixed time to the governor of Calais; that the inhabitants, men, women, and children, should quit their homes for ever, carrying with them a portion of their clothes, and five pennies each to procure subsistence; and that the riches of the town, with the arms and horses of the garrison, should be faithfully distributed among the conquerors, according to their terms of service. Harfleur in his estimation had already become a second Calais: but its reduction had been purchased with the sacrifice of many officers and men, who perished not only from the casualties of the siege, but from the ravages of a dysentery caused by the dampness of the place, the immaturity of the fruits, and the exhalations from the putrid remains of animals slaughtered for the use of the camp. When the sick and wounded had been sent to England, and a competent garrison had been selected for the defence of the place, the army was reduced to one half of its former number; a force evidently too inconsiderable to attempt any expedition of importance (1). But the king's honour was now at stake. He first sent a personal challenge to the dauphin, and, receiving no answer, took the bold and chivalrous resolution of marching to Calais through the hostile provinces of Normandy, Picardy, and Artois. It was in vain that the uselessness of so hazardous an expedition was represented by the majority of the council; the objections of prudence were opposed by the fear of incurring the imputation of cowardice; and every voice was silent, as soon as the king had declared that he would never shun the men who had unjustly seized his inheritance.

Oct. 8. The army, consisting of nine hundred lances, and five thousand archers, proceeded in three grand divisions, attended by two detachments, which alternately served as wings in the field, and as van and rear guards on the march (2). At every step they were closely watched by strong bodies of the enemy, who, while they avoided an engagement, cut off the stragglers, and laid waste the country. The progress of the English was slow. Often they were compelled to pass the day without food; and it was with difficulty that they could extort a scanty subsistence from the fears of the inhabitants in the

Oct. 11. villages where they rested during the night. As they crossed the river Bresle, they were attacked by the garrison of Eu with loud shouts and amazing impetuosity (3); but they received the assailants with coolness, and after a sharp contest drove them back to the fortress. Henry had intended, like his grandfather Edward III., to pass the Somme at Blanchetacque; but his scouts informed him that

(1) Tit. Liv. 9—11. Wals. 390, 391. Elm. 40—49. Monstrel. i. 223, 224. 226. Hardyng, 389.

(2) Livius observes on this arrangement, that it was the custom of the English, p. 12. Elmham also says, ut moris est, p. 51. Hardyng, who was present, makes the English quit Harfleur on Tuesday the first, but his own narrative shows that it was Tuesday the eighth, of the month.

(3) Clamore et impetu maximo—cantu terrifico et impetu maximo, ut moris est Gallis. Tit. Liv. 13.

the ford was intersected with palisades, behind which had been posted strong bodies of archers and men-at-arms. Aware of his danger, he passed the night at Arrames, and avoiding Abbeville, where d'Albret, the constable of France, had established his head-quarters, proceeded to Bailleul. But d'Albret did not lose sight of his enemy. From the right bank he watched the motions of the English, who, as they advanced along the opposite bank, had the mortification to find every ford broken up, and guarded by divisions of the hostile army. From the neighbourhood of Corbie the king, taking advantage of the winding of the river, cut across the country to Boves, and on his march thence to Nefles, halting his men in a valley, ordered the archers to provide themselves with stakes six feet long, and to sharpen them at each extremity. The constable had been obliged to pursue a more circuitous route by Peronne, whence he had sent forward orders to guard every ford higher up the river. But these orders had not been received, or had been neglected by the militia of St. Quintin's : and at Nefles Henry received advice, that the passage was still open at Voyenne and Bethencourt. Four bannerets with their pennons crossed immediately : the rest of the army with the baggage followed under their protection ; and in twelve hours the English had taken a safe position on the right bank. Henry marched forward to Monchy la Gauche : the constable fell back to Bapaume, and thence to St. Pol.

Oct. 15. Oct. 17—18. Oct. 19. Oct. 20.

Whilst that commander yet guarded the passages of the Somme, a military council had been held at Rouen in the presence of Charles, and a resolution was taken to give battle to the English by a majority of thirty-five voices to five. The twenty-fifth of the month was fixed for the day, and a proclamation was issued, calling on all true knights and loyal Frenchmen to join the constable by that time, wheresoever he might be. Henry was still at Monchy when three heralds were introduced to him by the duke of York. They delivered their message on their knees, announcing that their countrymen were ready to meet him in the field on the Friday following. The king answered with apparent indifference, that the will of God would be done. They inquired by what road he intended to march. "By that which leads straight to Calais," was his reply : "and if my enemies attempt to intercept me, it "will be at their peril. I shall not seek them : but I will not "move a step quicker or slower to avoid them. I could, how-"ever, have wished that they had adopted other counsels, instead "of determining to shed the blood of Christians." It is probable that the last words alluded to the private challenge which the king had sent from Harfleur, and which, if we may believe his solemn declaration, had been made for the sole purpose of sparing the blood of men who had no personal interest in their quarrel. The heralds, who had delivered their message under considerable

apprehensions, received a present of one hundred crowns, and returned impressed with a deep veneration for the character of the king (1).

The English continued their march leisurely and in good order. Leaving Peronne on their left, they passed through Encre and Lucheu to Blangy, where the deep and rapid stream of the Ternois intersected the road: but a detachment arrived in time to secure the bridge, which the French were preparing to demo-
Oct. 24. lish; and the whole army crossed without molestation. In a short time the duke of York discovered several large masses of the enemy marching in the direction of Azincourt; and Henry, having reconnoitred them from an eminence, gave orders to form in line of battle. The men remained in their ranks till it was dark: but as no enemy approached, they broke up in the evening, and advanced in silence by a white road which lay before them. Fortunately it led to Maisoncelles, a large village, where they found better food, and more comfortable accommodation than they had known for some weeks (2).

It was with difficulty that the constable had checked the impetuosity of his followers, who are said to have amounted, at the lowest calculation, to one hundred thousand men. But he knew, that in the fatal battles of Creci and Poitiers, the French had been the assailants, and he determined on the present occasion to leave that dangerous honour to the English. To him delay could bring only new accessions of force: to them it was pregnant with famine and inevitable destruction. On this account he had selected a strong position in the fields in front of the village of Azincourt, through which it was necessary for the king of England to cut his way, unless he would consent to yield himself prisoner. His marshals had allotted their stations to the different divisions of the army; and each lord had planted his banner on the spot which he intended to occupy during the battle. The night was cold, dark, and rainy; but numerous fires illumined the horizon; and bursts of laughter and merriment were repeatedly heard from the French lines. The men collected round their banners, spent their time in revelling and debate, discussed the probable events of the next day, and fixed the ransom of the English king and his barons. No one suspected the possibility of defeat; and yet they could not be ignorant that they lay in the vicinity of the field of Creci (3).

To the English it was a night of hope and fear, of suspense and anxiety. They had been wasted with disease, broken with fatigue, and weakened by the many privations which must attend the march of an army through a hostile country, and in the pre-

(1) Monstrel. i. 226. Liv. 14. Elm. 55. Hardyng, 391.

(2) Elm. 56. Monstrel. i. 227, and Hardyng, 394.

(3) Monstrel. i. 227.

sence of a superior force. But they were supported by the spirit and confidence of their gallant leader, and by the proud recollection of the victories won in similar circumstances by their fathers. As men, however, who had staked their lives on the issue of the approaching battle, they spent the intervening moments in making their wills, and in attending to the exercises of religion. The king himself took little repose. He visited the different quarters of the army, sent, as soon as the moon arose, officers to examine the ground, arranged the operations of the next day, ordered bands of music to play in succession during the night, and before sunrise summoned the men to attend at matins and mass. From prayer he led them into the field, and arrayed them Oct. 25. after his usual manner in three divisions and two wings; but so near to each other, that they seemed to form but one body. The archers, on whom he rested his principal hope, were placed in advance of the men-at-arms. Their well-earned reputation in former battles, and their savage appearance on the present day, struck terror into their enemies. Many had stripped themselves naked: the others had bared their arms and breasts, that they might exercise their limbs with more ease and execution. Besides his bow and arrows, his battle-axe or sword, each bore the stake already mentioned on his shoulder, which he was instructed to fix obliquely before him in the ground, and thus oppose a rampart of pikes to the charge of the French cavalry. The king himself appeared on a grey palfrey, followed by a train of led horses ornamented with the most gorgeous trappings. His helmet was of polished steel, surmounted with a crown sparkling with jewels; and on his surcoat were emblazoned in gold the arms of England and France (1). As he rode from banner to banner, cheering and exhorting the men, he chanced to hear an officer express a wish to his comrade that some of the good knights, who were sitting idle in England, might by a miracle be transported to the field of battle. "No," exclaimed Henry, "I would not have "a single man more. If God give us the victory, it will be plain "that we owe it to his goodness. If he do not, the fewer we are, "the less will be the loss to our country. But fight with your "usual courage, and God and the justice of our cause will protect "us. Before night the pride of our enemies shall be humbled in "the dust; and the greater part of that multitude shall be stretched "on the field, or captives in our power (2)."

The French were drawn up in the same order, but with this fearful disparity in point of number, that while the English files were but four, theirs were thirty men deep (3). The constable

(1) Tres flores aurei et tres leopardi aurei. Elmh. 61.

(2) Liv. 16 Elmh. 60, 61.

(3) Livius and Elmham observe that in the French lines were placed a number of military engines or cannons, to cast stones into the midst of the English (Liv. 19. Elm. 62). According to Livius the French were to the English as some-

himself commanded the first division, the dukes of Bar and Alençon the second, the earls of Marle and Falconberg the third. The distance between the two armies scarcely exceeded a quarter of a mile: but the ground was wet and spongy; and D'Albret, faithful to his plan, ordered his men to sit down near their banners, and await in patience the advance of the enemy. Their inactivity disconcerted the king, who expected to be attacked. He improved the opportunity, however, to order a plentiful refreshment to be distributed through the ranks, while two detachments stole away unperceived by the French; of which one was instructed to lie in ambush in a meadow at Tramecourt, on their left flank, and the other to alarm them during the battle by setting fire to the houses in their rear. Just as the king had made every preparation for the attack, he was surprised by the approach of three French knights, who demanded permission to speak with him. One of them was the baron de Helly, who had been a prisoner in England, and was said to have broken his parole. He took the opportunity to deny the charge, and offered to meet in single combat between the two armies any man who should dare to repeat it. The king, who saw his object, instantly replied: "This "is not a time for single combats. Go, tell your countrymen "to prepare for battle before night, and doubt not that for the "violation of your word, *you* will a second time forfeit your "liberty, if not your life." "Sir," returned Helly, "I shall re- "ceive no orders from you. Charles is our sovereign. Him we "obey: and for him we shall fight you, whenever we think "proper." "Away then," resumed the king, "and take care that "we are not before you (1)." Immediately stepping forward, he exclaimed, "Banners, advance." At the same moment sir Thomas Erpingham threw his warder into the air; and the men, falling on their knees, bit the ground (2), arose, shouted, and ran towards the enemy. At the distance of twenty paces they halted to recover breath, and then repeated the shout. It was echoed back by the detachment in the meadow, which issuing from its concealment, instantly assailed the left flank of the French. At the same moment the archers, having planted their stakes, ran before them,

thing more than seven to one. Monstrelet (i. 228) makes them as six to one. I suspect that in Elmham, where he mentions the files, we should read xxx instead of xx, as we do in Livius. A contemporary writer estimates the enemy at 100,000. Apud Raynald. v. 473. So also does Hardyng, who was present. Hard. 395. Juxta computacionem Haraldorum. Id. 391. Fabyan reduces them to "40,000 fightynge men," 579. Gaguin mentions 10,000 cavalry besides footmen in the French army. Ibid. l.

(1) Livius, p. 17. Elmham mentions the arrival of the knights, but not their object, p. 63. But the contemporay ballad says that they summoned him to surrender.

"The lord Haly un trewe knyzt
Untel oure kyng he come in hye,
And seyd: 'Syre, seid zou withoute fyzt
'And save zoure self and zoure meyney.'"
Elm. 368.

(2) A singulis in ore capta terræ particula. Tit. Liv. 18, 19. Elmh. 65. This singular custom had been introduced by the peasants of Flanders before the great victory, which they gained over the French cavalry at Courtray in 1302. A priest stood in front of the army, holding the consecrated host in his hand; and each man, kneeling down, took a particle of earth in his mouth, as a sign of his desire, and an acknowledgment of his unworthiness, to receive the sacrament. Spondan. ii. 339.

discharged their arrows, and retired behind their rampart. The constable had appointed a select battalion of eight hundred men-at-arms to break this formidable body. Of the whole number not more than seven score ever came into action. These were quickly despatched; the others, unable to face the incessant shower of arrows, turned their visors aside, and lost the government of their horses, which, frantic with pain, plunged in different directions into the close ranks of the first division. It was a moment of irremediable confusion. Nor did the archers lose the opportunity. Slinging their bows behind them, and with their swords or battle-axes in their hands, they burst into the mass of the enemy, killed the constable and principal commanders, and in a short time totally dispersed the whole body (1).

Henry, who had followed with the men-at-arms, ordered the archers to form again, and immediately charged the second division. The Frenchmen, though the fate of their fellows had checked their presumption, met the shock with courage, and maintained for two hours a most bloody and doubtful contest. The king's life was repeatedly in imminent danger. Seeing his brother, the duke of Clarence, wounded and lying on the ground, he hastily strode across his body, and bravely repelled the efforts of the assailants, till the prince was safely removed by his own servants. Soon afterwards he was charged by a band of eighteen French knights, who had bound themselves to each other to kill him or take him prisoner. One of them with a stroke of his mace brought the king on his knees: but he was instantly rescued by his guards, and his opponents were all slain. At length the duke of Alençon, the French commander, fought his way to the royal standard. With one stroke he beat the duke of York to the ground; with a second he cleaved the crown on the king's helmet. Every arm was instantly uplifted against him. The duke, aware of his danger, exclaimed, "I yield: I am Alençon." Henry held out his hand: but his gallant enemy had already fallen. The death of the duke was followed by the flight of the survivors (2).

There still remained the third and most numerous division of the enemy. Though dismayed, it was yet unbroken; and the English were preparing for the charge, when the alarming intelligence arrived that a powerful force approached the rear of the army. In this emergency the king hastily gave orders that all the prisoners should be put to death; orders which in most instances were unfortunately executed before the mistake could be discovered. The force, which had been so greatly magnified, consisted only of six hundred peasants under Robinet de Bournonville, and Ysambert

(1) Monstrel. i. 229. Wals. 392. Tit. Liv. 19. (2) Tit. Liv. 20. Elmh. 67. Monstrel. i. 231.

d'Azincourt; who had profited of the moment to enter Maisoncelles, plunder the baggage, and drive away the horses of the army. That this enterprise should prove so disastrous to their countrymen, they could not have foreseen: but they were afterwards called to account, and severely punished by their immediate lord, the duke of Burgundy (1).

During this interval, the ranks of the third division began to waver; and their irresolution was augmented by the flames kindled in their rear by the English detachment. Of the whole number no more than six hundred could be persuaded to follow their leaders, the earls of Falcomberg and Marle, who boldly rushed on the conquerors, and found, what they probably sought, captivity or an honourable death. The English were in no condition to pursue the fugitives. As soon as resistance ceased, the king with his barons traversed the field, while the heralds examined the arms and numbered the bodies of the slain. He then called to him Montjoy the French king-at-arms, and asked him to whom the victory belonged. "To you, sir," replied Montjoy. "And what," continued the king, "is that castle, which I see at a distance?"—"It is called the "castle of Azincourt," was the answer. "Then," resumed Henry, "let this battle be known by the name of the battle of Azincourt (2).

The blood shed on this day was drawn from the noblest families in France. Among the slain were numbered eight thousand knights and esquires, more than a hundred bannerets, seven counts, the three dukes of Brabant, Bar, and Alençon, and the constable and admiral of France (3). The most distinguished of the prisoners were the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the counts of Eu, Vendôme, and Richemont. The loss of the conquerors amounted to sixteen hundred men, with the earl of Suffolk, and the duke of
Oct 26. York. They left Maisoncelles the next morning and resumed their march towards Calais. As they crossed the field of battle, they killed such of the wounded as still retained any appearance of life; and the moment they were gone, the hope of plunder conducted to the spot thousands of both sexes from the neighbouring villages. The foreign soldiers had carried off every article of value: these native plunderers stripped the slain of their clothes, and left more than ten thousand dead bodies naked on the ground (4). The count of Charolois, son of the duke of Burgundy, ordered the dead to be interred

(1) Monstrel. i. 229.

(2) The king, impressed with the conviction that he owed his extraordinary success to the protection of Heaven, sent for the clergy, and ordered a service of thanksgiving to be immediately performed in the presence of the whole army. In allusion to their escape from the enemy, they chanted the psalm cxiv. *When Israel came out of Egypt*: and at the verse, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but to thy name give the glory*, every man knelt on the ground. The ceremony was concluded with the *Te Deum*. Hall, f. 50.

(3) Hardyng numbers five counts, ninety bannerets, fifteen hundred knights, and a very great multitude of inferior soldiers, 391. Monstrelet gives the names of seven counts, and more than 300 grants seigneurs. 230. l.

(4) Et demeurerent sur le champ tous desnuez, comme ils issirent du ventre leur mere. Id. i. 231. Among the slain was the baron de Helly. Id. 230. Liv. 21. Of the ten thousand all but sixteen hundred are said to have been of gentle birth. Monst. 231.

at his own expense. Those, which it was possible to recognise, were buried in the nearest churches, or conveyed to the tombs of their ancestors. The rest, to the number of five thousand eight hundred, were deposited in three long and deep pits dug in the field of battle. This vast cemetery was surrounded with a strong inclosure of thorns and trees, which pointed out to succeeding generations the spot where the resolution of a few Englishmen triumphed over the impetuous but ill-directed valour of their numerous enemies (1).

At Calais Henry assembled a council, in which it was determined Oct. 29. to return to England. The army, indeed, wasted with disease, fatigue, and the casualties of war, was not in a condition to resume offensive operations: but the argument, which chiefly weighed with the king, will probably surprise the reader. It was maintained that the last expedition had sufficiently demonstrated his right to the crown of France; that God, by granting him the victory at Azincourt, had given the divine sanction to his claim; and that the same providence would hereafter furnish him with the opportunity of again seeking and ultimately recovering his inheritance. The fallacy of such reasoning could escape no one who recollected the events which followed the victories of Creci and Poitiers: but Henry was satisfied with a decision which allowed him to depart from France, and to receive in person the congratulations of his subjects. He sailed to Dover: the crowd plunged into the waves to meet him; and the conqueror was carried in their arms from his vessel to the beach (2). The road to London exhibited one triumphal procession. The lords, commons, and clergy, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, conducted him into the capital; tapestry, representing the deeds of his ancestors, lined the walls of the houses; pageants were erected in the streets; sweet wines ran in the conduits; bands of children tastefully arrayed sang his praise; and the whole population seemed intoxicated with joy (3). The parliament partook of the general enthusiasm. It ordered the tenth and fifteenth voted the last year to be levied immediately, added another tenth and fifteenth to be levied within twelve months, granted the king tonnage and poundage for the safeguard of the sea, and settled on him for life the subsidy on wool, wool-fells, and leather (4).

In the spring Henry's vanity was flattered by a visit from several A. D. 1416. distinguished personages. Among those who sought to extinguish the schism, occasioned by the two pretenders to the papacy, no one had laboured more earnestly than Sigismund king of the Romans, and emperor elect; and, as the co-operation of the kings of England

(1) Monstrel. i. 230, 231, 232. Tit. Liv. 21.

(2) Tit. Liv. 22. The French captives of distinction were in the king's ship. They had never been at sea; and as it blew a storm, Henry was much diverted to hear them assert, that they would rather fight the battle of Azincourt over again than encounter such another passage. Ibid.

(3) Liv. ibid. Elmh. 71, 72.

(4) Rot. Parl. iv. 63, 64.

and France was deemed necessary for the success of his endeavours he cheerfully undertook to visit, and, if it were possible, to recon-
Mar. 1. cile the two monarchs. In France he was received with honour, held several conferences with Charles and his ministers, and with their approbation proceeded on his journey. Henry endeavoured, by the most magnificent preparations, to convince his guest of his
Apr. 7. opulence and resources. By royal proclamation all the knights and esquires in the kingdom were summoned to the capital to attend on their sovereign; a fleet of three hundred sail assembled at Calais for the conveyance of Sigismund and his retinue, amounting to a thousand horsemen; and officers were appointed to escort him from Dover to London, and to defray his expenses on the road (1). But before his arrival a story was told, which created some perplexity in the king's mind. It had chanced that curiosity led the emperor to witness the proceedings in the parliament of Paris: through courtesy he was invited to occupy the throne; and as, during the pleadings, one of the parties was in danger of being nonsuited, because he was only an esquire, Sigismund drew his sword, and dubbed him a knight. It was probably a harmless action, proceeding from the mere impulse of the moment: but by the spectators it was reproved, and in England was represented as an undue assumption of power in virtue of the imperial dignity (2). Henry determined to preserve the rights and independence of his crown; and, as soon as the emperor's ship cast anchor in the harbour, the duke of Gloucester and several noblemen rode into the water with their swords drawn, and inquired whether the imperial stranger meant to exercise or claim any authority or jurisdiction in England. He replied in the negative, and was immediately received with all the honours due to the first sovereign in Europe (3).

Sigismund had been accompanied or followed to England by ambassadors from France; and his mediation between the two crowns was seconded by the presence and exhortations of William of Bavaria, duke of Holland, and count of Hainault. Before them Henry explained his right to the kingdom of France; and alluding to his late victory, claimed the praise of moderation, when he offered to resign that right, on condition that the treaty of Bretigny should be faithfully executed in all its provisions. It its hardly credible that the French ministers could have advised their sovereign to accept of a proposal which must have deprived him of one half of his dominions; though the emperor, when he afterwards entered into an alliance with Henry, accused Charles of having given to it a full but treacherous assent (4). Nothing in reality was more foreign from the present policy of the French court than humiliating con-

(1) Rym. ix. 339. 340.
(2) Monstrel. i. 235.
(3) Tit. Liv. 21, 22. Elm. 73. 77. Acts of Coun. ii. 193.
(4) Rym. ix. 377.

cession. To the dauphin, who was lately dead, had succeeded in the administration of affairs the count of Armagnac, a nobleman of distinguished talents and approved intrepidity. Anxious to signalise his entry into office with the recovery of Harfleur, he obstinately rejected every proposal for a truce, drew lines round the town, and with a fleet of French ships, and Genoese carracks, blockaded the harbour. The earl of Dorset, who commanded in Harfleur, earnestly solicited a supply of troops and provisions; and Henry himself would have sailed to the relief of his first conquest had he not been restrained by the remonstrances of Sigismund, who deemed it an enterprise of less consequence than to require the presence of the sovereign. The duke of Bedford accepted the command, and after a rough and dilatory passage reached the mouth of the Seine. At Aug. 14. sunset the captains of the fleet were summoned on board the admiral's vessel; the lights, which he displayed during the night, kept the ships together: and in the morning they bore down on the enemy. It was found that the loftiest of the English vessels did not Aug 15. reach to the upper decks of the Genoese by more than a spear's length: but the deficiency was supplied by the native courage of the combatants, who climbed up the sides, boarded the enemy, and made themselves masters of the carracks. Most of the French ships had previously struck: a few escaped up the river; and Harfleur was relieved (1).

France still continued to present the same lamentable scene of confusion. The two parties ardently sought the extinction of each other; and, as long as the Armagnacs maintained their ascendency in the councils of Charles, the duke of Burgundy was urged by the motive of self-preservation to seek a counterpoise in the friendship of Henry. During the last campaign he had forbidden his vassals to serve in the French army according to the summons from their sovereign, and had allowed his county of Flanders to be declared neutral, for the advantage of the commercial intercourse between the natives and England: but he had cautiously abstained from entering into engagements with Henry, or lending assistance to the invading army. In the present year a continual correspondence was maintained between the two courts. The ostensible object was the regulation of trade; the real cause, the desire of each prince to derive advantage from the personal quarrel of the other. In the beginning of September the king of England, the emperor, who Sept. 4. had concluded an alliance with his host, and had been enrolled a knight of the garter, and the count of Hainault, repaired to Calais, where they were met according to appointment by the Burgundian (2). This congress surprised and alarmed the French ministers; nor could their envoys, who attended under pretence of soli- Oct. 3.

(1) Liv. 24—26. Elm. 77—83. Otterb. 278. (2) Rym. ix. 377—382. Monstrel i. 39.

citing a truce, discover the secret designs of the four powers. Men would not believe that they had assembled, as it was given out, for the sole purpose of deliberating on the state of the church, and the means of extinguishing the schism; and it was whispered that the duke, through enmity to the Armagnacs, had solicited the protection of Henry, had formally acknowledged his claim to the French crown, and had done homage to him for Burgundy and Alost. The French cabinet gave full credit to the report, and to mark their abhorrence of his conduct, ordered the Burgundian prelates and envoys at Constance to be excluded from the meetings of the French nation: but there is reason to think that the duke was calumniated, and that, if such proposals were made to him at Calais, he rejected them as incompatible with his interests, or his honour (1).

From the congress Henry returned to England to obtain supplies from his parliament, and to make preparation for a second expedition. Sigismund proceeded through Dordrecht to Constance, to support by his presence the prelates who sought, by the deposition of the contending pontiffs, to restore the peace of the church. The duke of Burgundy retired to put in execution the plans which he had formed for his own aggrandizement, but which he had carefully concealed from Henry. At Valenciennes he met the second son of the king of France, who, on the death of his elder brother, had assumed the title of dauphin. The two princes instantly swore eternal friendship to each other: the dauphin engaged to unite with the duke in removing the Armagnacs from the administration; the duke to assist the dauphin in his opposition to the claim of the king of England. But this union was speedily dissolved by the unexpected death of his young ally: and the moment that event was known, his unprincipled mother, Isabel of Bavaria, was arrested by order of her husband, stripped of her treasures, and sent a captive to the city of Tours. The duke seized the opportunity to send a circular letter to all the towns and cities in France. He charged his opponents with having administered poison to the dauphin, attributed to their rapacity and ambition all the evils which afflicted the kingdom, and claimed the aid of every good Frenchman to reform the government, and punish the traitors. At the head of sixty thousand cavalry he marched towards Paris. Many cities and towns opened their gates through fear of his resentment; by others he was welcomed as the saviour of his country: but the Armagnacs defied his power from the walls of the capital, and quelled the efforts of his partisans within the city. Isabel had been

A. D. 1417. Mar. 26.

(1) Rym. ix. 397. 401. 486. Monst. i. 240. That such proposals were indeed made appears from the protocol of a treaty preserved by Rymer, in which the duke was made to say, that though he formerly doubted, he was now convinced of Henry's right to the French crown; to promise that he would do him homage, as soon as he should have conquered a notable portion of France; and to engage to make war on A. B. C. if they should oppose the king's pretensions. This, though no more than a draught of a treaty without date or signature, shows what was demanded from him. See Rym. ix. 395, 396.

hitherto his bitterest enemy: her captivity taught her to solicit his assistance, and to offer her co-operation against the men who were equally enemies of them both. Early one morning, under pretence of devotion, she prevailed on her keepers to accompany her to a church in the suburbs of Tours: in a few minutes she was in the hands of her deliverer, the duke himself, who during the night had arrived with eight hundred men-at-arms in a neighbouring forest. She immediately assumed the title of regent during the malady of the king, and by proclamation appointed the duke of Burgundy her lieutenant (1).

This rapid view of the state of parties in France was necessary to explain the conduct and subsequent success of the king of England. When the Burgundian commenced his march towards Paris, Henry landed without opposition on the coast of Normandy. But the failure of his former attempt had taught him to pursue a different policy. He no longer sought to irritate the vanity of his enemies by an insulting but dangerous march through the country. He came prepared to make permanent conquests; and his army, amounting to sixteen thousand men-at-arms, and probably an equal number of archers, was provided with a long train of artillery and military engines, and a useful body of artificers and sappers (2). It was in vain that he called on the Normans to receive him as their lawful duke. At the expiration of two centuries, the natives felt nothing of that attachment for the descendants of Rollo, which had animated their ancestors: they looked on Henry as a foreign adventurer; and defended their country with the most steady, and often enthusiastic bravery. But they received no aid from their countrymen: they were even deprived of the presence and example of their nobles, whom the Armagnacs detained at Paris to oppose the efforts of the Burgundians; and fortress after fortress fell into the hands of the invaders. Touques, Auvillers, and Villers surrendered after short sieges: if Caen refused to capitulate, it was carried by assault; Bayeux submitted spontaneously, and obtained the confirmation of its privileges; and the campaign was terminated by the successive reduction of l'Aigle, Lisieux, Alençon, and Falaise (3). During its continuance the French government did not attempt to oppose the king in the field, but solicited a peace or an armistice.

Aug 1.

Aug. 9.

Sept. 2.

Sept. 19.

(1) Monstrel. i. 241—257.

(2) Elm. 92. Tit. Liv. 31. 33. This army was raised in the following manner. The duke of Clarence furnished 240 lances, the duke of Gloucester 100, the six earls of March, Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Suffolk, and the earl marshal, 470, thirteen barons 526, seventy-seven bannerets and knights 950; in all 2186 lances, or 6558 men-at-arms. Ibid. They also furnished an equal number of archers mounted. The rest of the army, making up the gross amount of 16,400 men-at-arms, were the king's retainers, and private knights, who had entered into his service. Some of the numbers are incorrectly printed in Livius: but the mistakes may be corrected by comparing the number of archers with the number of men-at-arms.

(3) Tit. Liv. 33—49. Rym. ix. 480. 487. 490. 493. 532. Elm. 96—138. Sept. 2, the king dismissed a great number of the transports which had brought the army from England. Of these 117, named logge-ships, had been taken up in Holland, Zeeland, and the neighbouring ports; 122 were English, distinguished by the following names—doggers, faircoasts, balingers, loadships, ships, craieres, collets, barges, picards, skiffs, and passagers. They were paid according to their tonnage. Rot. Norm 321—329.

Nov. 28. Henry, however, would not suffer his career to be interrupted by negotiation; and, when at last he consented to listen to the envoys, cut short the conference by the inadmissible tenor of his demands. He would grant neither peace nor armistice, but on condition that Catherine, the daughter of Charles, should consent to become his wife; that the regency of the kingdom should be given to him during the lifetime of the king; and that he should be declared his successor in the event of his death (1).

But while Henry was thus occupied with the conquest of Normandy a feeble attempt had been made to deprive him of England. In consequence of a secret understanding between the Scottish cabinet and the chiefs of the lollards, the duke of Albany and the earl Douglas suddenly crossed the borders, and laid siege, the former to the castle of Berwick, the latter to that of Roxburgh. It proved, however, a "foul raid." They had persuaded themselves that the kingdom had been left without a competent force for its protection; but when they learned that the dukes of Bedford and Exeter were approaching at the head of a numerous force, they decamped with precipitation, and disbanded their armies (2). At the same time sir John Oldcastle emerged from his concealment, and arrived in the neighbourhood of London. The retreat of the
Nov. Scots defeated all his projects. At St. Albans he eluded by a precipitate flight the pursuit of his enemies: in the marches of Wales he was taken after an obstinate resistance by the retainers of sir Edward Charlton, lord of Powis (3). At the petition of the commons (the parliament was then sitting) he was arraigned before the peers;
Dec. 14. the indictment on which he had been formerly outlawed was read; and he was asked in the usual form by the duke of Bedford why he should not receive sentence of death. Instead of replying directly to the question, he preached a long sermon on one of the favourite doctrines of his sect, that it is the duty of man to forgive, and to leave the punishment of offences in the hands of the Almighty. Being interrupted, and required to return a direct answer, he said that he would never acknowledge the authority of that court, as long as his liege lord king Richard II. was alive in Scotland. Judgment was instantly pronounced, that he should be hanged as a traitor, and burnt as a heretic. St. Giles's fields, which had been the theatre of his rebellion, witnessed also his punishment. By his partisans he would have been revered as a martyr, had not their faith been staggered and scandalised by the non-accomplishment of a prophecy which he was said to have uttered at the gallows, that he should rise from the grave on the third day (4).

In the spring Henry resumed his victorious career; and by a re-

(1) Rym. ix. 521—524.
(2) Wals. 398. Ford. xv. 24. Elm. 163.
(3) Tit. Liv. 219. Rolls, iii. Ellis, 2. ser. i. 86. The king gave to Charlton 1000 marks as a reward. Pell Records, 370.
(4) Rot. Parl. iv. 107—110. Wals. 399, 400.

inforcement of fifteen thousand men, was enabled to divide his army, and undertake several operations at the same time. Cherbourg, after a resistance of six months, opened its gates: the whole of Lower Normandy was reduced; and the king proceeded to settle the government of his conquests. He appointed a treasurer and chancellor of the duchy; granted his protection to all who swore fealty; abolished the odious tax upon salt; and by the distribution of favours and the suppression of grievances, sought to attach the natives to the person of their new sovereign (1). His progress was viewed with indifference by the rival chiefs, who, to gratify their own ambition, scrupled not to sacrifice the independence of their country. A project of reconciliation, framed by the cardinals Ursini and St. Mark, had been gratefully accepted by the duke of Burgundy, and indignantly rejected by his opponents. From that moment the latter were stigmatised as the enemies of peace, and their interest visibly declined even within the walls of the capital. One night a gate of the city was treacherously opened to a party of Burgundians, who were instantly joined by thousands of citizens; and the king, unable to stem the torrent, reluctantly gave his sanction to their proceedings. A general arrest followed, and the count of Armagnac, several ladies and bishops, the lords of the council, the officers of the treasury, and the members of the parliament were thrown into confinement. But the leaders of the Burgundians were not yet satisfied. By reports and accusations they goaded the passions of the populace to a state of madness; and on the night of the twelfth of June sixty thousand persons assembled in arms, broke open the gaols, and without distinction of rank or sex, guilt or innocence, massacred all the prisoners. At the same time perished numbers of those who were known or suspected to be hostile to the party: but one individual, Charles, the third and only surviving son of the king, escaped by the care of Tannegui du Chastel, who took him out of bed, wrapped him in a sheet, and carried him to a place of safety. After these horrors the queen, accompanied by the duke of Burgundy, entered Paris in triumph, and having possession of the king's person, exercised without opposition the royal authority(2). But the remains of the opposite faction repaired to Poitiers, proclaimed the young dauphin regent of the kingdom, and established a rival administration. Thus France was divided into two separate governments, more hostile to each other than to their natural enemy, the king of England, and equally desirous to purchase by concessions his assistance for their own interest. Henry listened to their proposals, but obstinately refused to accept them. It was his policy to play off one party against the other; that by working on their apprehensions, he might induce them to rise in their offers.

A. D. 1418.

May 23.

June 12.

(1) Tit. Liv. 50—58. Elm. 117, 118. (2) Monstrel. i. 262—266.

Nov. 10. When his ministers met the envoys of the dauphin at Alençon, they assumed a tone of the most insulting superiority. It was not for them to bring forward any project: they had come to receive the proposals of the dauphin. The crown of France was the rightful inheritance of Henry. What could his adversary give him as an equivalent? When they had thus drawn from the French negotiators a declaration of the offer, which they had been authorized to make, they upbraided them with a want of sincerity; questioned the validity of the powers with which they had been furnished; and hinted a doubt whether their master at so early an age could give sufficient security for the fulfilment of his engagements (1). This conference was hardly terminated, when a second was opened under the mediation of the cardinal Ursini, with the envoys of the
Dec. 4. king of France and the duke of Burgundy. They presented to Henry a flattering portrait of the princess Catherine: but the politician would not permit the charms of the lady to weigh in the balance against his interests. During a fortnight he practised upon the hopes and fears, and prejudices of the negotiators; and then dismissed them with the remark, that Charles from his infirmity, and the duke from his inferior rank as a vassal, were equally incapable of disposing of the territories belonging to the French crown (2).

The negotiations for peace had not interrupted the operations of
July 19. war; and Henry from the reduction of Pont de l'Arche advanced to lay siege to Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy. In time of peace its population was estimated at two hundred thousand souls: but the approach of the enemy had prompted numbers to emigrate; and the magistrates by proclamation had urged the departure of all, who were not furnished with provisions for ten months. By the French a confident hope was indulged that Rouen would arrest the victorious career of the English monarch. Its fortifications were strong; numerous batteries covered its walls; the Seine winding round it, served to protect it from insult; and to fifteen thousand citizens trained to war had been added four thousand men-at-arms under the command of Guy le Bouteillier, an officer of approved valour and the most ardent patriotism. By his orders the suburbs were immediately burnt, the ground levelled in the neighbourhood of the walls, and the country around reduced to
July 30. the state of a naked wilderness. At the approach of the English, he boldly met them in the open field; and, though he was repulsed by superior numbers, continued daily to repeat his attacks, destroy-

(1) Rym. ix. 633—645.

(2) Monstrel. i. 271. In both negotiations the English contended that the Latin, the French that the French language should be employed. It was at last agreed that two copies of every instrument should be made, one in each language, and that in case of dispute the Latin should be deemed the authentic copy. This circumstance is deserving of notice, on account of the reason given by Henry, that his ambassadors did not speak or understand the French tongue; a proof that English had by this time become the language of the higher classes. Rym. ix. 655—659.

ing their works, beating up their quarters, and disconcerting their operations. The army encamped in six divisions, opposite to the six gates of the city; and to preserve the communication between them, trenches were opened sufficiently deep to screen the passengers from the shot of the enemy. I shall neglect the events of the siege: but the works erected, and the precautions taken by Henry are, from their connexion with the history of the military art, more deserving of notice. The natural and artificial strength of the place, with the number and courage of the garrison, forbade a hope that Rouen could be reduced by force: but it might be starved into submission; and to prevent the introduction of supplies became the great object of the king's solicitude. Lines were drawn round the city, and strengthened with thick hedges of thorns; and without the camp the most commanding situations were chosen, and fortified with towers of wood, batteries of cannon, and engines for the projection of arrows. Still the Seine remained open to the besieged. But a bridge was soon thrown across it above the city; and near the bridge was moored a squadron of boats, which with incredible exertion had been dragged over the land by the labour of men and horses. Below, the navigation was impeded by two booms, each consisting of three strong chains of iron (1); and the mouth of the river was carefully watched by a Portuguese fleet in the pay of the English monarch. Two hundred sail of small vessels, employed for the purpose, poured daily supplies of provisions into the camp of the besiegers: but within the walls the privations of famine began to be felt before the expiration of two months. Twelve thousand individuals were expelled from the city by order of the governor. Henry forbade them to be admitted within the lines; and though a few were supported by the humanity of the troops, the rest perished through want of shelter and food. During the next month the besieged were content to feed on the flesh of their horses; and when that resource failed, contrived for ten weeks to protract their defence with no other nourishment than reptiles and weeds. It was calculated that the number of those who fell victims to famine and disease had amounted to fifty thousand. The survivors, by a trusty messenger to the French court, described their sufferings, and demanded relief. He returned with flattering but fallacious promises; he even announced the very day, which had been fixed for their deliverance. At the news every eye glistened with hope: the bells were rung; rejoicings were made; and each combatant was admonished to be on his guard, and to second the efforts of his friends. The day came: it passed, and no deliverer appeared.

The despair of the garrison now subdued the obstinacy of the governor: but, when he solicited a capitulation, Henry rejected

(1) One chain was suspended 18 inches within the water, the second level with the surface, the third three feet above it. Mons. 268.

A. D. 1419. Jan. 3. his offers, and insisted that he should surrender at discretion. Le Bouteillier assembled his men, and proposed to them to set fire to the city, to throw down that part of the wall which had been undermined, and to burst in a mass into the camp of the enemy; where, if they could not win a way with their swords, they would at least find an honourable death. The knowledge of the design changed the determination of Henry, who had no wish that Jan. 13. Rouen should be reduced to a heap of ashes. He gave the men-at-arms their lives and liberty, on condition that they should not serve against him for twelve months: of the citizens he required a contribution of three hundred thousand crowns, in consideration of which they preserved their property and the franchises of the city. The other fortresses followed the example of the capital; and the Normans submitted to wear the red cross, the distinguishing badge of the English nation (1).

The fall of Rouen was felt to the very extremities of France. It might have been hoped that the adverse factions would now forget their animosities, and unite against the common enemy: but every attempt to reconcile them proved ineffectual; and each had again recourse to a separate negotiation with Henry. The duke of Burgundy requested a renewal of the conferences for peace: the dauphin solicited a personal interview. For reasons which are not mentioned, the young prince did not keep his appointment (2); and the duke, improving the opportunity, affected a willingness to assent to the demands of the English king, who was even persuaded to undertake in person the conduct of the negotiation. Mantes was assigned for the residence of Henry, Pontoise for that of Charles. Between these towns and in a plain near Meulent, was marked out a square plot of ground, of which one side was washed by the Seine, the other three were enclosed with a deep trench and a line of palisades. The mast of a ship erected in the centre designated the spot, where it was intended that the kings should meet; and two magnificent pavilions, standing near it, offered them the convenience of withdrawing from the view of the spectators. The ground without the enclosure on the right was allotted to the attendants of Henry, that on the left to the attendants of Charles; and for their accommodation tents were erected, in the decorations of which the May 30. two nations strove to outvie each other. It chanced that on the appointed day the king of France suffered an access of his disorder: but in the morning Isabella, her daughter Catherine, and the duke of Burgundy, left Pontoise with a retinue of one thousand horse;

(1) Rym. ix. 654. Tit. Liv. 60—71. Elm. 176—202. Monstrel. 268. 272—274. It was remarked as something very singular that, when the king made his entry into Rouen, he was followed by a page mounted on a spirited charger, and bearing as a pennon the tail of a fox, attached to the head a spear. Monst. 273. It may have alluded to his having once unkenneled a fox in his favourite arbour, which was taken as a good omen, or to some one of the many prophecies then in circulation, and generally believed.

(2) Rym. ix. 701. 709. Tit. Liv. 71. Elm. 209.

and Henry, accompanied by his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester, departed at the same time from Mantes, escorted by an equal number of men-at-arms. At a signal they entered the enclosure from the opposite sides, and met in the centre at the same moment. Henry bowed to Isabella and her daughter, saluted them, and taking the former by the hand led her into the pavilion. It was the first time that he had seen his intended bride. She was young, graceful, and beautiful; and by the instruction of the queen employed all her charms to make an impression on the heart of the conqueror. Though Henry strove to suppress, he could not conceal, his emotions from the inquisitive eye of the mother. This was sufficient for Isabella. From that moment the daughter was withdrawn from the conferences. It was hoped that her absence would irritate the king's passion, and thus induce him to consent to more favourable conditions (1).

The first conference was employed in arranging the order of the subsequent discussions. Two days later Henry stated his demand; June 1. the possession of Normandy, his other conquests and the territories ceded by the peace of Bretigny, to be held in full sovereignty, and independently of the French crown. Four days elapsed, when the June 5. ministers of Charles returned their answer. They made no objection to the king's pretensions; but brought forward eight demands on the part of their own sovereign, respecting renunciations, exchanges of territory, and the payment of debts. Henry fondly persuaded himself that he should at last obtain the prize of his labours. Yet doubts were artfully started, explanations required, and the intervals between the conferences prolonged. In a whole month July 3. no more than seven meetings were held; a day had been appointed for the eighth: but the French ministers did not appear, and Henry discovered that his own arts had been turned against himself. The conference, conducted at Meulent with so much parade was but a feint: the real negotiation was carried on between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, whose respective demands and replies had been conveyed from one to the other by the secret agency of madame de Giac. The day after the interruption of the conferences the two July 4. princes met and embraced near Melun on the road to Paris. They bound themselves by oath to forget their former quarrel, to live in amity, to concert measures which might heal the dissensions in the July 11. kingdom, and to unite their forces against their enemy the king of England (2).

Never had Henry experienced a more cruel disappointment: but his passion was gratified by the surprise of Pontoise, a populous town in the neighbourhood of Paris. He immediately published a

(1) Monst. i. 276, 277. Tit. Liv. 73, 74. Elmham, 217—226, Livius, 74, 75, and Monst.
(2) Compare Rym. ix. 762. 776. 779. 789, with i. 277—279.

manifesto, in which he boasted of his moderation, complained of the fraud of his opponents, and offered, notwithstanding the insult so lately received, to conclude a peace on the terms which he had formerly proposed; but with this proviso, that Pontoise, with the country lying between that town and Normandy, should be included among the territories to be ceded to the English crown (1). His prospects, however, began to darken. The duration and expenses of the war had provoked the remonstrances of his subjects; the king of Castile had fitted out an armament, which swept the coast of Guienne, and threatened the city of Bayonne; and the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy were preparing to array against him the whole power of France. But if others doubted, he still appeared confident of success; and within a few days that confidence was converted into certainty by an unexpected revolution, which placed one of the two factions at his disposal, and involved the other in calamity and disgrace.

Two months had elapsed since the apparent reconciliation of the dauphin and the Burgundian; yet their correspondence showed how deeply they mistrusted the sincerity of each other. The duke importuned the prince to join his father's council at Troyes: the prince required that the duke should previously meet him at Montereau sur Yonne. It was not without hesitation that the latter complied. As he approached the town, he was told that three barriers,
Sept. 10. with a gate in each, had been drawn across the bridge; but at the same time a courier informed him that the dauphin had already waited his arrival more than an hour on the opposite bank. Both circumstances awakened his suspicions: he consulted his friends; and a hasty determination was taken to proceed, that he might not afterwards be accused of having by groundless jealousies replunged his country into civil dissension. With twelve attendants the duke passed the first and second gates, which were immediately locked behind him. Before he reached the third the dauphin appeared. He bent his knee, and was addressing the prince, when he received a stroke in the face from a small axe in the hand of Tannegui du Chastel. It was in vain that he grasped his sword: a multitude of wounds instantly laid him dead on the ground. Of his attendants one vaulted over the barrier, and escaped; a second was slain; the others remained captives in the power of the assassins. To apologise for this foul murder recourse was had to the same plea, by which the Burgundian himself had once attempted to justify that of the duke of Orleans; that when a criminal is too powerful to be punished according to law, it is the duty of every loyal subject to make himself the minister of public justice. Whatever might be his guilt, the circumstances of the assassination perpetrated under the mask

(1) Rym. ix. 786—791. Tit. Liv. 76.

of friendship, in violation of the most solemn oaths, and in the presence of the dauphin, fixed an indelible stain on the character of that prince. Perhaps some extenuation may be found in his youth, and the violence of his counsellors; and perhaps some credit may be given to his repeated asseverations, that he had been kept in ignorance of the design till it was carried into execution (1).

This tragical event excited throughout the kingdom one common feeling of detestation and horror. Every other interest was forgotten; and the former cry for the salvation of the country was drowned in the still louder cry for revenge on the murderers. To the partisans of the late duke it was evident that their security depended on the ruin of the dauphin, and the protection of the king of England. The city of Paris hastened to conclude an armistice (2); Philip, son and heir to John, solicited his aid and friendship; and Isabella informed him, that whatever arrangements he should make with that prince would be cheerfully ratified by Charles. Henry was not slow to name the price at which he would consent to be the minister of their vengeance, or rather of his own ambition. He required the hand of the princess Catherine, the regency of the kingdom during the life of the king, and the succession to the crown at his death. Blinded by passion and personal interest, the queen and the duke signified their assent. Within ten weeks after the murder these important preliminaries were signed; it employed five months to settle the minor arrangements. By these Henry bound himself to settle on Catherine the usual income of an English queen, amounting to twenty thousand nobles; to govern during his regency with the advice of a council of natives; to conquer the territories now in possession of the dauphin for the benefit of his father-in-law; to lay aside the title of king of France during the reign of that monarch; to re-annex Normandy to the French crown as soon as he should ascend the throne; to preserve the parliaments, peers, nobles, cities, towns, commonalties, and all individuals in the full enjoyment of their liberties; and to administer justice according to the laws and customs of the kingdom (3). At length, accompanied by sixteen thousand men-at-arms, he entered Troyes, the residence of the French court (4). The "perpetual peace" was ratified the next day by Isabella and Philip as commissioners of Charles; the parliament, nobles, citizens, and commonalties, actually acknowledging his authority, swore to observe it; and the union of the two crowns was celebrated with every outward demonstration of joy. According to the national custom Henry and Catherine were first affianced to each other.

Dec. 2.

A. D. 1420. May 20.

May 21.

(1) Monstrel. i. 281. Elm. 235.
(2) Rym. ix. 812. 815.
(3) Rym. ix. 816. 825. 840. 877. 890. 893, 894.
(4) The wine of Champagne was strong and heady (fortissimum et fumosum vinum). Henry, to preserve sobriety in the army, published a very unpalatable order, that no Englishman should drink wine unmixed with water. Tit. Liv. 33. Elm. 251.

Then after a short interval the marriage was celebrated; and two days later the "regent and heir of France," with his beautiful bride, departed from Troyes to assume the command at the siege of Sens (1).

The operations of the campaign were limited to the reduction of
Nov. 18. that city, of Montereau, and of the strong fortress of Melun (2). At the approach of winter the kings with their queens made their triumphal entry into the capital. Charles had summoned the three estates of the kingdom: and in a long speech exposed to them the
Dec. 6. reasons which had induced him to conclude a "final and perpetual
Dec. 10. "peace with his dear son the king of England." He left for their inspection a copy of the treaty, which in a few days was returned
Dec. 23. with their unanimous approbation (3). In this assembly appeared the duke of Burgundy, dressed in mourning, and accompanied by the princes of his family. He demanded justice against the assassins of his father; and Charles, after the usual formalities, pronounced the judgment, by which they were declared guilty of high-treason, rendered incapable of holding or inheriting office or property, and deprived of all command over their vassals, whom, at the same time the king absolved from all oaths of fealty, and obligations of service. It should, however, be observed, that this sentence was issued against the murderers in general, without naming any individual. The young prince is indeed mentioned by the designation of "Charles, styling himself dauphin:" but not so much as a suspicion is hinted that he was either the author or an abettor of the crime (4).

A. D. From Paris Henry, accompanied by the queen, bent his way
1421. towards England. His subjects, proud of their victorious monarch,
Feb 23. conducted him in triumph to London, where Catherine was crowned with a magnificence hitherto unparalleled in the English annals (5). After the ceremony they made a progress through the kingdom, but at York their joy was clouded with the melancholy news of the battle of Beaujé. The duke of Clarence, whom the king had appointed his lieutenant in Normandy, undertook to lay waste

(1) Rym. 895—906. The following letter contains some interesting particulars (Ibid. 910). "Worshipful Maister. I recomand me to you. "And as touchyng tydyngs, the king owre so- "vereyn loord was weddid with greet solemp- "nitee in the cathedrale chirche of Treys, "abowte myd day on Trinitie Sunday. And on "the Tuysday suying he removed toward the "town of Sens, xvi leges thennis, havyng wyth "hym thedir owre queen and the Frensh estatz. "And on Wednysday thanne next suying, was "soge leyd to that town, a greet town and a "notable, toward Burgoyneward, holden strong "with great nombre of Ermynakes. The whiche "town is worthily beseged: for ther ly at that "sege, two kyngs——queenes, iv ducks, with "my loord of Bedford, whanne he cometh hedir: "the which the xii day of the monyth of Juyn "shall logge besyde Parys hedirward. And at "this sege also lyn many worthy ladyes and "gentil-women, both Frensh and English: of the "whiche many of them begonne the faitz of "armes long time agoon, but of lyging at seges "now they begynne first.——Johan Ofort."

(2) Tit. Liv. 89. 90.

(3) Rym. x. 30—32.

(4) Id. 33—35.

(5) La fut faicte telle et si grande pompe, et bobant, et jolivite, que depuis le temps que jadis le très noble combattant Artus, roy des Bretons et Anglois commença à regner jusques à present ne fut veue en la dite ville de Londres la pareille feste de nuls des roys Anglois. Monst. i. 303. Fabyan has preserved the names of all the dishes served at the three courses for dinner, p. 402.

the county of Anjou, which still recognised the authority of the dauphin. To oppose him La Fayette had assembled an army of the natives, to whom he joined five or seven thousand Scottish auxiliaries under the earls of Buchan and Wigton, and the lord Stuart of Darnley. The duke suffered himself to be deceived by the false reports of the prisoners. Despising the advice of his officers, he Mar. 22. hastened without the archers to surprise the enemy; and was surrounded with his men-at-arms by a more numerous force. Twelve hundred of the English remained on the field; three hundred were taken. The duke, who was distinguished by his coronet of gold and jewels, received a wound from sir William Swynton, and was slain with a battle-axe by the earl of Buchan. The archers arrived in time to recover his body: but the enemy, who retired in haste, carried off the prisoners. This victory raised the fame of the Scots, and their general was named by the dauphin constable of France (1).

Revenge and vexation speedily recalled the king to the theatre of war. Troops were ordered to assemble at Dover; loans were raised in every county; and the parliament and convocation were summoned. Both, at Henry's request, approved and ratified the treaty of Troyes (2). The clergy voted him a tenth: from the lords May 12. and commons he did not receive, probably did not ask, any grant of money; but they cheerfully empowered the council to raise loans for the use of the crown on the security of parliament (3). Anxious to wreak his vengeance on the men who had slain his brother, the king resolved to oppose Scot to Scot, and to procure the ministers of his resentment from among their own countrymen. Archibald May. 30. earl Douglas, in consideration of an annuity of two hundred pounds, contracted to serve him during his life, with two hundred men-at-arms, and two hundred foot soldiers; and James the young king of Scotland, who had now spent sixteen years in captivity, on a promise that he should revisit his own country within three months after his return, consented to accompany the expedition in quality of a volunteer. He probably was not aware of the object of Henry; who indulged a hope that the Scots in the pay of the dauphin would not venture to fight against their native sovereign. In this he was disappointed: but the presence of James afforded him a pretext to gratify his revenge; and every Scot taken in arms was immediately executed as a traitor (4).

(1) Elm. 302—304. Monst. i. 306. Des Ursins, 389. The Scottish historian, who ascribes all the merit of the victory to his countrymen, tells us that only 12 Scots and 2 Frenchmen were killed. Ford. xv. 33. Monstrelet more honestly admits the loss of the two nations to have amounted to more than a thousand men. Monst. ibid.

(2) Per ipsum et tres status regni sui,.... videlicet prælatos et clerum, nobiles et magnates, necnon communitates dicti regni. Rot. Parl. 135. This passage must distress those, who contend that the king himself is one of the three estates.

(3) Ibid. 130. These loans were raised in a very arbitrary manner. By order of the council letters were sent to individuals, calling on them to furnish the sum of money there specified, (which it is stated that they had agreed to lend,) or to appear in person under the usual penalty before the king, wherever he might be in England, for such purposes as should then be disclosed to them. The sums demanded descended as low as forty shillings. Acts of Counc. ii. 280—2.

(4) Rym. x. 124, 125. Ford. xv. 34.

The king landed at Calais with a reinforcement of four thou-
June 10. sand men-at-arms, and twenty-four thousand archers (1). By his orders they proceeded towards the seat of war under the command of the earl of Dorset; while he paid a rapid but welcome visit to his father-in-law at the Bois de Vincennes. Returning to the army, he drove the dauphin from the walls of Chartres: and, leaving the king of Scots to besiege Dreux, chased his adversary into the strong city of Bourges. Thence, to pay his court to the Parisians, he repaired to the capital; and at their request undertook to reduce
Oct. 6. the city of Meaux. Its commander was the celebrated bastard of Vaurus, whose activity and barbarity had rendered him an object of terror and detestation. Bursting from his asylum with unexampled rapidity, he often swept the whole country to the very gates of Paris; and was accustomed on his return to hang on a particular tree every prisoner, who would not, or could not, pay the ransom which he demanded. The town at the end of ten weeks was carried by storm: but the garrison retired into an adjoining work called the market-place; and during five months bade defiance to the
A. D. 1422. united attempts of Henry and his father-in-law. Famine at length
May 10. compelled them to surrender at discretion. The governor was decapitated. His banner, surmounted with his head, was fixed in his favourite tree, and his trunk suspended from one of the branches. With him were executed three of his officers, who had earned the distinction by their insolence and inhumanity: a few persons, accused of having participated in the murder of the duke of Burgundy, were sent to Paris, to take their trials before the parliament (2).

By the surrender of Meaux the northern division of France from the frontier to the Loire, with the exception of Maine, Anjou, and a few castles in Picardy, was brought to acknowledge the authority of the king of England; and to add to his good fortune, his
A. D. 1421. queen had lately been delivered of a son, who had received in
Dec. 6. baptism the name of his father. As soon as Meaux was reduced, she left England, in the company of the duke of Bedford, and hastened with her child to her father and mother at the Bois de Vincennes. Henry flew to join her; and the two courts repaired
A. D. 1422. together to Paris against the festival of Whitsuntide. The citizens
May 21. gazed at the magnificence of the regent and his nobles; but at the
May 30. same time pitied and resented the comparative insignificance to which their own sovereign had been reduced. The shows and pageantries with which Henry sought to amuse them, did not sooth their feelings, nor silence their murmurs; and these nascent expressions of discontent might have taught him to entertain a doubt of the

(1) Monst. i. 307.

(2) Monst. i. 313. 316. 318, 319. Tit. Liv. 92, 93. Elm. 315—325.

ultimate result of his enterprise (1). But his attention was now called to a more serious subject, the secret malady, which he had for some time affected to despise, but which rapidly undermined his constitution, and baffled the skill of his physicians (2). At the invitation of the duke of Burgundy he undertook to raise the siege of Cosne: but the failure of his strength rendered him unable to proceed; and at Corbeil he transferred the command of the army to his brother the duke of Bedford. The dauphin, alarmed at the report of his advance, had retreated across the Loire (3). July 30.

From Corbeil Henry was conveyed back to the Bois de Vincennes, where the progress of his disorder soon extinguished every hope of recovery. He met his fate with composure; and divided the short remnant of his time between the concerns of his soul and those of his family. Whatever might be his feelings, he saw the French crown, the great object of his ambition, slip from his grasp without expressing a regret. But for the prosperity of his son he appeared deeply solicitous; the evils of a long and perhaps tumultuous minority offered themselves to his mind; and his apprehensions and advice, his wishes and commands, were strongly and repeatedly inculcated to the members of his council. On the day of his death he called to his bedside the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and four other noblemen of distinction. To their loyalty he recommended his wife and her child; and then appointed the earl of Warwick tutor to the prince, the duke of Gloucester guardian of the kingdom. As his last advice he conjured them to cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and offer to him the regency of France; but, should he refuse, to give it to his fair brother of Bedford. The issue of the war, he observed, was in the hands of God; but he forbade them, whatever might happen, to release from captivity the French princes of the blood during the minority of his son; or to conclude any peace with the dauphin, unless Normandy were ceded in full sovereignty to the crown of England. Then turning to his physicians, he requested to know how long he might expect to live; and was told, that the Almighty had it in his power to restore him to health. Dissatisfied with the evasion, he repeated his question, and required a direct answer. "Then, sir," replied one of them, falling on his knee, "attend to the health of your soul, for you cannot live more "than two hours." He heard the awful denunciation unmoved, sent for his confessor, and devoted the remaining moments to exercises of devotion. While the assistants recited around his bed the penitential psalms, he interrupted them at the verse, "Thou "shalt build up the walls of Jerusalem," and said in a faint voice, that it had always been his intention to visit Palestine, and free

(1) Monstrel. i. 320.
(2) By different writers it is described as a dysentery, a fistula, and a pleurisy. Raynald. vi. 50.
(3) Tit. Liv. 94, 95. Monst. i. 324.

Aug. 31. the holy city from the yoke of the Saracens. He expired in a few hours, on the last day of August in the year 1422 (1).

The splendour which conquest threw round the person of Henry during his life still adheres to his memory four centuries after his death. But he was not only a warrior, he was also a statesman. The praise of constitutional courage he may share with many of his predecessors: he surpassed most of them in the skill with which he fomented the dissensions among his antagonists, and improved to the best advantage the unexpected events which chequered the busy scene of French politics. Success, however, gave a tinge of arrogance to his character. He did not sufficiently respect the prejudices, or spare the feelings, of his new subjects: the pomp and superiority which he displayed mortified their vanity; and the deference which he exacted from the proudest of the French nobility, was reluctantly yielded by men who, under the weak reign of Charles, had been accustomed to trample on the authority of their sovereign. Continually engaged in war, he had little leisure to discharge the duties of a legislator: but he has been commended for his care to enforce the equal administration of justice, and was beloved by the lower classes, both in France and England, for the protection which he afforded them against the oppression of their superiors (2). To those who served him, if he were a stern, he was also a bountiful master; and though he punished severely, he rewarded with munificence. By military men he was beloved and adored; and the officers of the army in France resolved to prove the sincerity of that attachment which they had professed for the living monarch, by the extraordinary pomp with which they paid the last duties to his remains.

On the funeral car, and under a rich canopy of silk, was placed a bed of crimson and gold, on which reposed the effigy of the king in his robes, with a crown of gold on the head, the sceptre in the right hand, and the globe and cross in the left. It was preceded and followed by five hundred knights and esquires in black armour, with their spears reversed. Around the corpse walked three hundred torch-bearers, intermixed with persons bearing achievements, banners, and pennons. The clergy of every district, through which the procession passed, were arranged in lines on each side; and behind rode the nobility, the princes of the blood, and the king of Scots as chief mourner. After these, at the distance of a league, followed queen Catherine with a numerous retinue. In this manner the body of the king was conveyed to Paris and Rouen, where it lay in state; and from Rouen by short journeys to Calais, where a

(1) Tit. Liv. 95. Monstrel. i. 324. Wal. 407. Martin V. in a letter asserts that the king died in the most edifying sentiments. In Domino mortuus est; nam, sicut accepimus, cor ejus excelsum humiliavit, et depositis curis sæculi animum direxit ad Deum, devote ecclesiæ sacramenta accipiens. Apud Raynald. vi. 50.

(2) See Monstrelet, i. 326, and Du Fennin, 501.

fleet was in waiting to transport it to England. As the procession approached the metropolis, it was met by the bishops, the mitred abbots, and the clergy; and the obsequies were performed in presence of the whole parliament, first in St. Paul's, and then in West- Nov. 10.
minster abbey. The corpse was interred near the shrine of Edward the Confessor; and the tomb was long visited by the people with feelings of veneration and sorrow (1).

During Henry's reign the commons obtained from the king a confirmation of their claim, that no statute should be valid unless it were enacted with their assent. They had repeated an ancient complaint, that the terms of their petitions, whether delivered in writing, or by the mouth of the speaker, were frequently so altered by additions, omissions, and pretended corrections, that the law, when it was published, proved to be very different from their original intention. In reply, the king granted, that, "fro thenceforth "no thynge should be enacted to the petitions of his comune, that "might be contrarie of hyr askyng, wharby they shuld be bound "without their assent: savyng alwey to himself his real prerogatif "to graunte and denye what him lusted of their petitions and "askynges aforesaide (2)." He soon afterwards gave them another proof of his regard and condescension, by submitting to their inspection and approval the articles of the treaty, which he had concluded with the emperor Sigismund (3). Henry, like his predecessors, was repeatedly obliged to ask for pecuniary aid: but his victories kept the nation in a frenzy of joy; and both houses liberally acceded to his requests. Though the example of Richard II. had proved the danger of rendering the sovereign independent of parliament, they granted him for life the tonnage and poundage, with the duties upon wool (4); and to enable him by loan to anticipate the produce of the taxes, offered the security of parliament to those who refused to advance money on the sole security of the crown (5). By these means, and with the tenths granted by the clergy, the king was enabled to raise armies, and carry on a successful war in the heart of France; though, at the same time, if we may believe a statement laid before him by the officers of his treasury, the ordinary revenue of the crown was hardly equal, if it were equal, to the annual expenditure (6).

(1) Elm. 336. Wal. 407. Monstrel. i 325, 326. He adds: et mesmement luy mort et mis en sepulture, luy ont faict, et font chacun jour aussi grand-honneur et reverence, comme s'ils fussent acertenez, qu'il fut ou soit sainct en paradis.

(2) Rot. Parl. iv. 22.

(3) Ibid. 96. 98. It seems, however, to have become a common practice, in most kingdoms at this period, to have solemn treaties ratified by the three estates.

(4) Rot. Parl. 63, 64.

(5) Ibid. 95, et passim.

(6) The receipts of the year ending the 29th of September, 1420, from the customs and duties, amounted to 40,676*l.* 19*s.* 9 1/4*d.*: from the crown lands, escheats, etc. under the head of casualties, to 15,066*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*, making the gross sum of 55,743*l.* 10*s.* 10 1/4*d.* The ordinary expenses for the custody of the marches, the fees of the judges and crown officers, and the annuities granted to different persons, amounted to 52,235*l.* 16*s.* 10 3/4*d.*, leaving the small balance of 3,507*l.* 13*s.* 11 1/2*d.* But out of that sum provision was to be made for the chambers of the king and queen, their household and wardrobe, the royal works, the navy clerk, the constable of the Tower, and the care of the lions, the guard and support of prisoners, embassies, etc., and an allowance of

I may here direct the attention of the reader to the schism in the papacy, a subject which at this period excited considerable interest. He has witnessed its origin at the death of Gregory XI.: after the lapse of almost forty years it still continued to divide and agitate the nations of Europe. The original competitors, Urban and Clement, were indeed dead; but their rival claims had been perpetuated by the zeal or ambition of their partisans; and to Urban had succeeded Boniface IX., Innocent VII., and Gregory XII.; to Clement Peter de Luna, an Arragonese, who, under the name of Benedict XIII., wore the tiara for the long period of thirty years. The evils arising from the conflicting jurisdiction and opposite anathemas of these pontiffs provoked complaints and remonstrances. Consultations were held: princes and prelates united their efforts to put an end to the schism; and a general understanding prevailed, that the two rivals should be induced or compelled to resign, and a new pope should be canonically elected. With this view the church of France withdrew from the obedience of Benedict, whose authority it had previously acknowledged: but, when this example was proposed for imitation by the English prelates, they contented themselves with petitioning the king to withhold from Gregory XII. the monies which the pontiffs annually drew from the kingdom (1). At length the cardinals of the two parties united: a council assembled at Pisa; a sentence of deposition was pronounced against both the competitors; and Peter, a Greek, was raised to the papacy by the name of Alexander V. But the remedy added to the evil. Both Gregory and Benedict disputed the authority of the council; and Europe saw for the first time three pontiffs contending for the chair of St. Peter. The restoration of tranquillity was owing to the exertions of the emperor Sigismund, who, by persuasion and menaces, prevailed on John XXIII., the successor of Alexander, to call the council of Constance. In this assembly Gregory resigned; and the refusal of John and Benedict to copy his example was followed by a solemn sentence of deposition. To give the greater stability to the election of the new pope, six persons from each of the five nations of Italy, Germany, England, France, and Spain, entered the conclave, and, at the nomination of the bishop of London, the cardinal

100*l.* per month lately granted to the duchess of Brabant. It was moreover observed that no provision whatever had yet been made for the payment of old debts, among which were numbered those contracted by the king in his prodigal career before he came to the throne. Rym. x. 113, 114. It has however, been suggested that this statement in Rymer is incorrect; that its deficiency should be supplied from another statement in the Rolls, belonging to the twelfth year of the next reign; and that a sum of 20,000*l.* should be added for the revenue derived from fee-farm rents, from Ireland, Aquitaine, the duchy of Lancaster, etc. I see no cause for the addition. Both statements are divided in the same manner. In the first part is given the revenue belonging to the crown, in the second that derived from parliamentary grants. The chief difference between them is, that the statement in Rymer gives the net amount of the first, after the deduction of all charges upon it: the second contains every particular sum as well as the charges. If it be said that the statement in the Rolls gives something more than 30,000*l.* for the hereditary revenue, while that in Rymer gives only 15,000*l.*—the answer is obvious. The sum of 30,000*l.* after the deduction of the charges upon it, dwindles to about 11,000*l.*; and thus comes as near as could be expected to the amount of the revenue in the time of Henry V. as it is stated in Rymer.

(1) Wilk. Con. iii. 366.

Colonna was unanimously chosen (1). He assumed the name of Martin V. Benedict indeed maintained his pretensions in his native country, but after his death his successor acknowledged the claim of Martin. If the schism was thus terminated, it had previously given a shock to the temporal authority of the pontiffs, from which it never recovered. The contending rivals dared not employ the imperious tone of their predecessors. It was the policy of each to conciliate, to increase the number of his adherents, and to avoid every measure which might drive men to seek the friendship of his opponent. Hence the pretensions which had given so much offence to the sovereigns were allowed to fall into desuetude; enactments, hostile to the immunities or claims of the church, were either passed over in silence, or but feebly opposed; and instead of the spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict, were adopted the more persuasive means of entreaty and concession. A. D. 1417. Nov. 11.

In England the duration of the schism had allowed the statutes against provisors to be executed with little opposition. Experience, however, showed that they operated in a way which had never been contemplated, to the depression of learning, and the deterioration of the universities. Both these bodies, in the year 1399, presented petitions to the convocation, setting forth, that while the popes were permitted to confer benefices by provision, the preference had always been given to men of talents and industry, who obtained degrees in the universities; and that the effect of such preference had been to quicken the application, and multiply the number of the students: but that, since the passing of the acts against provisors, their members had been neglected by the patrons, the students had disappeared and the schools were nearly abandoned (2). The evil continued to increase. Sixteen years later it attracted the notice of the commons, who, to preserve the universities from utter destruction, petitioned the king, that the statutes against provisors might be repealed, or an adequate remedy might be provided (3). He informed them that he had referred the matter to the bishops. But these prelates had no wish that the statutes should be repealed; and in convocation a law was published, obliging every spiritual patron during the next ten years to bestow the first vacant benefice in his presentation, and after that every second, on some member of either university, graduated in one of the three faculties of divinity, law, or physic. It was hoped that this expedient would silence their complaints; though on account of objections raised by the universities themselves, four years elapsed before it was put in execution (4). The truth is, that the persons A. D. 1399. A. D. 1416. A. D. 1417.

(1) The English nation was represented by the bishops of London, Bath, Lichfield, and Norwich, the dean of York, and the abbot of St Mary's in the same city. Harps. f. 610.

(2) Wilk. Con. iii. 242.
(3) Rot. Parl. iv. 84.
(4) Wilk. Conc. iii. 381. 401.

who chiefly suffered from the practice of provisions, and who chiefly profited by the statutes against them, were the higher orders of the clergy. These, as their right of presentation was invaded by the exercise of the papal claim, had originally provoked the complaints, which the reader has so frequently noticed, and now were ready to submit to a minor sacrifice, rather than allow the repeal of the statutes which secured to them the influence of patronage, and shielded them from the interference of the pontiffs (1).

CHAPTER IV.

HENRY VI.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Germ.	*Kings of Scotland.*	*Kings of France.*	*Kings of Spain.*
Sigismund..... 1437.	James I..... 1437.	Charles VI... 1422.	John II..... 1454.
Albert..... 1439.	James II..... 1460.	Charles VII.	Henry IV.
Frederic III.	James III.		

Popes.

Martin V. 1431. Eugenius IV. 1447. Nicholas V. 1455. Calixtus III. 1458. Pius II.

Government during the minority—Duke of Bedford regent of France—Jacqueline of Bavaria—Siege of Orleans—Joan of Arc—Charles is crowned at Rheims—Henry at Paris—Defection of the duke of Burgundy—Armistice between England and France—Disputes in the English cabinet—The king's marriage—Deaths of Gloucester and Beaufort—Loss of the French provinces—Impeachment and murder of Suffolk—Cade's insurrection—Duke of York protector—Henry recovers his authority—Disasters of the Yorkists—Their subsequent success—The duke is declared heir to the throne—Is killed at Wakefield—His son Edward enters London—And is proclaimed king.

THE French throne was preserved from ruin by the premature death of Henry V. The task of maintaining the ascendency which he had gained devolved on an infant successor, and a divided ministry; while the dauphin in the vigour of youth, and seconded by the wishes of the people, called the different factions under his banner, and directed their combined efforts against the invaders of their country. We shall see that prince recover in the course of a few years the crown of his ancestors, expel the English from their conquests, and seal a long series of success with the subjugation of

(1) I profit of this open space to notice a singular assertion of Hume at the close of his nineteenth chapter: that "the first commission of array "which we meet with was issued by Henry V. "in 1415; when the feudal militia gave place to "one which was still less orderly and regular." The fact is, that such commissions were usual in every reign since Henry II. See vol. i. p. 445. and vol. ii. p. 362.

Gascony, the last fragment of the ancient patrimony belonging to the English monarchs in France.

The new king, the son of Henry and Catherine, was hardly nine months old. On the first advice of his father's decease, several spiritual and temporal peers, chiefly members of the old council, assembled at Westminster, issued commissions in the name of Henry VI. to the judges, sheriffs, and other officers, to continue in the exercise of their respective duties, and summoned a parliament to meet in the beginning of November. On the previous day a commission to open, conduct, and dissolve the parliament in the king's name, *with the consent of the council*, was offered to the duke of Gloucester. He objected to the words, *with the consent of the council*, that they were prejudicial to his right, that they made him the servant of the council; and that they had never been introduced into similar commissions under his late brother. It was replied, that the present king was an infant, and therefore without these words or others equivalent, no man could act legally and safely. Each lord in his turn gave this opinion, and the duke was fain to submit (1). The next morning he opened the parliament in the usual form. The first care of that assembly was to ratify all the acts of the authority by which it had been convened, as sufficiently justified by the necessity of the case (2); its second, to supply the defect in the exercise of the royal authority arising from the infancy of the king. The two last centuries furnished three instances of minorities; at the accession of Henry III., Edward III., and Richard II. But on none of these occasions had the powers of the executive government been intrusted to a guardian or regent, if we except the two first years of Henry III., when the appointment of such an officer was deemed requisite to oppose the pretensions of a foreign competitor at the head of a powerful army, and in possession of the capital. The duke of Gloucester, however, notwithstanding the decision of the preceding day, preferred a claim to the regency on two grounds; because in the absence of the duke of Bedford he was the nearest of kin to his nephew, and because the late king, when he lay on his death-bed had appointed him to that charge. The lords (for such matters did not appertain to the cognizance of the commons) having searched the Rolls, and consulted the judges, replied; that his demand was not founded either on law or precedent, but was contrary to the constitution of the realm, and the rights of the three estates; and that the appointment of the late king was of no force, because he could not alter the law of the land without the three estates, nor delegate the authority, which expired with his life, to be exercised by another after his death. To satisfy him, however,

A. D. 1422. Nov. 6—10.

(1) Acts of Counc. iii. 6. Rym. x. 257. De assensu concilii nostri. These words are so placed that they may refer to the appointment of the duke, by the king, or to the exercise of office by the duke. The first is the more natural construction; but in this debate both parties seem to have adopted the second.

(2) Rot. Parl. iv. 170.

as far as was in their power, they would appoint him president of the council, in the absence of his brother the duke of Bedford, not with the title of regent, lieutenant, governor, or tutor, words which might be construed to import a delegation of the sovereign authority, but with that of "protector of the realm and church of England;" an appellation which could serve only to remind him of his duty (1).

Dec. 5. Acting on these principles they named the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, and sixteen members of the council with the duke of Bedford, and in his absence, the duke of Gloucester, for president; and by a deputation notified these nominations to the commons, who gave their assent (2). Regulations were then enacted for the direction of the council, the duties on wool with the

Dec. 18. tonnage and poundage were continued for two years, and the parliament was dissolved (3). England presented no cause of uneasiness, but every eye was most anxiously turned towards France.

The regency of that kingdom had, according to Henry's last injunctions, been offered to the duke of Burgundy, and on his refusal was given to the duke of Bedford by Charles, with the advice of his

Oct. 22. council. But Charles survived this transaction only a few days; and his death gave to the English interest a shock from which it never recovered. Many of the French nobility had adhered to Henry out of deference to the will of their sovereign; but when this check was removed, their affection, and with it their obedience, reverted to the dauphin, the real representative of their native monarchs. That prince was not slow to profit by the event. On the first day after he had received the news of his father's death he wore mourning: on the second he assumed the insignia of royalty with the title of Charles VII. king of France. As Rheims was in the possession of his enemies, he was anointed and crowned at Chartres. The ceremony operated as a charm, and drew multitudes to his standard (4).

On the other side the regent, a prince not inferior to his late brother in abilities, superior in the more amiable qualities of the heart, did not neglect the interests of his nephew. He obtained from the duke of Burgundy the warmest assurances of support, and

(1) Rot. Parl, iv. 326.

(2) Ibid. iv. 174, 175. 326. Their salaries were as follows:—

	l.	s.	d.
To the protector, per annum . .	5333	6	8
dukes and archbishops . . .	200	0	0
bishops and earls	133	6	8
barons and bannerets . . .	100	0	0
esquires	30	0	0

The bishop of Winchester, when he was chancellor, received the same as an archbishop, and the lord Stafford, as treasurer, the same as an earl (Rot. Parl. v. 404. Rym. x. 268. 359, 360). This difference in the amount seems to have been regulated by the establishment which each was obliged to maintain in proportion to his rank.

(3) Ibid. iv. 175. After the dissolution of the parliament the judges, by order of the council, separated those acts which regarded the constitution and conduct of the council, and the administration of the royal authority, from the others which had for their object the usual matters of national legislation. Both were to be enrolled in chancery according to custom: but of the first copies were to be made, and lodged with the clerk of the council only: the second were to be put in proper form for proclamation, that they might be published like other statutes. Acts of Counc. iii. 22. The fact is, the lords considered the first as matters with which the public had no concern. They would not allow the commons to interfere in these arrangements in parliament; nor did they think it proper to publish them for the information of the people. See the statutes that were published in Stat. of Realm, ii. 213.

(4) Monst. ii. 1.

prevailed on the duke of Bretagne to signify his approbation of the treaty of Troyes. The three princes met at Arras. They swore to love each other as brothers, to aid each other against the attacks of his enemies, to protect the poor and defenceless against all oppression, and to unite their efforts to remove the scourge of war from the soil of France. To cement this friendship, the dukes of Bedford and Bretagne married each a sister of the duke of Burgundy, and then separated to raise forces in support of the common cause (1). A. D. 1423. Apr. 8.

The Loire formed the line of demarcation between the opposite parties. To the south of that river every province, with the exception of Gascony, had espoused the cause of Charles: to the north Anjou and Maine professed to be neutral; and the garrisons of a few insulated fortresses adhered to their native prince: but the rest of the population, with the inhabitants of the capital, acknowledged the authority of the regent. It was not long before the flames of war were rekindled. The country was pillaged by both parties; towns were taken and re-taken; and the fortune of the belligerents was nearly balanced by alternations of defeat and success. The most brilliant event in the campaign was the battle of Crevant on the Yonne. An army of French with the Scottish auxiliaries had formed the siege of that town, and to relieve it four thousand men-at-arms, under the earl of Salisbury, were ordered to join the Burgundians at Auxerre. The regulations for the combined army, before it left that city, are an interesting monument of the military discipline of the age. It was ordered that the soldiers should love and treat each other as brothers; that the vanguard should consist of one hundred and twenty men-at-arms, with the same number of archers taken in equal portions from each nation; that when orders were given to dismount in the presence of the enemy, disobedience should be punished with instant death; that all the horses should be conducted half a league into the rear, and such as were found within that space should be forfeited; that if any man should leave his station in the line, he should suffer death; that no prisoners should be made till the victory was certain, under the penalty of the death of the prisoner, and also of the captor, if he offered resistance; that every archer should be furnished with a long pole sharpened at both extremities; and that each man should carry with him provisions for two days (2). The enemy occupied an eminence; but were drawn from their advantageous position by the manœuvres of the allies, who dismounting from their horses, and marching on foot in their armour, attempted to make themselves masters of the bridge. For three hours the two armies stood facing each other divided only by the river: at length the English forced their way to the opposite bank, and were followed by the Burgundians. The Scots, who bore the brunt of the battle, were almost July 31.

(1) Rym. x. 280. (2) Monstrel. ii. 7.

annihilated; and the French suffered severely from the garrison, which assaulted them in the rear. The victors entered the place in triumph, carrying with them the French and Scottish commanders, each of whom, after losing an eye in the contest, had been made prisoner (1).

This defeat threw a gloom over the prospects of Charles: but it was quickly removed by the arrival of powerful reinforcements from Italy and Scotland. The duke of Milan sent to his assistance a numerous body of Lombards; and the earl Douglas landed in the port of Rochelle with five thousand men. The king, in testimony of his confidence and gratitude, selected his body guard from the Scotch auxiliaries; and, as he had already granted to Stuart of Darnley the French lordships of Aubigny and Concressault, he gave
Mar. 25. to Douglas the still more valuable dukedom of Tourraine, which
Apr. 19. had belonged to himself before his accession. The duke of Albany, the regent of Scotland, and the Scottish nobility, swore in the pre-
Oct. 8— sence of the French ambassador to maintain the ancient alliance
16—26. between the two countries, and promised, what it was not in their power to enforce, that their king, in the event of his liberation, should ratify their engagements (2).

The necessity of interrupting the harmony between France and Scotland had now become evident; and with this view the English council proposed to king James to treat with him respecting his release from captivity. The offer was joyfully accepted; the Scottish envoys were permitted to join their sovereign; and after much
A. D. negotiation it was mutually agreed, that the king should be set at
1423. liberty, and that in return he should forbid his subjects to enter into
Sept. 10. the service of France (3); should pay by instalments, in six years, the sum of forty thousand pounds, as a compensation for his expenses during the time of his detention (4); and should give hostages as a security till the whole of the money were paid. To attach the Scottish prince more firmly to the interests of England, it was wished to marry him to an English princess; and the ambassadors were instructed to entertain the subject, if it were opened by the Scots, but not to be the first to suggest it, "because, by the custom of "England, it did not become the lady to be the suitor." It was not, however, necessary to urge the willing mind of James by political motives. His affections were already engaged by a beautiful and

(1) The French commander was the count of Ventadour, the Scottish the earl of Buchan, or Stuart of Darnley. Both were afterwards ransomed. Monstrel. ii. 8. Ford. xvi. 25. Hall, f. 85.

(2) Du Tillet, 135, 136. Douglas was made the king's lieutenant and commander of the French armies, Apr. 19, 1424. In the Archives de France, Cartons k. 90—998, are numbers of letters of naturalization granted to Scottish archers of the royal guard from this time down to 1474.

(3) As James could not enforce the return of the Scots already in France, they were excepted from the benefit of the treaty. Rym. x. 331.

(4) The maintenance of James had been fixed by Henry V. at 700*l.* per annum; which in nineteen years would amount to 13,000*l.* There can be no doubt that of late his expenses had considerably increased. (See Rym. x. 293. 296.) But it is probable that so large a sum was demanded under that pretence, because it could not decently be claimed as a ransom. The English commissioners had private instructions to accept of 36,000, if the Scots objected to 40,000. Id. x. 295.

accomplished woman, Jane, descended by her father, the earl of Somerset, from Edward III., and by her mother, Margaret Holand, from Edward I. He married her before his departure; and the protector, to express his satisfaction, remitted, with the consent of the council, a sixth part of the sum stipulated to be paid by the treaty (1). The event proved that an English education of nineteen years had not rendered James less fit to wear the crown of Scotland. He proved, as a monarch, a blessing to his country; but though he laboured to fulfil the conditions on which he had been liberated, his revenue had been so impaired by the regents, and his people appeared so unwilling to submit to taxation, that he was never able to discharge one third part of the debt (2). A. D. 1424. Feb. Apr.

In France the campaign of the present year was chequered with the same variety of events which marked that of the last. Arthur, brother to the duke of Bretagne, and several Burgundian lords, passed over to the service of Charles; his partisans surprised Compeigne and Crotoi; and the garrison of Ivri, consisting of Bretons, received and unfurled his standard. On the other hand, the duke of Bedford procured a reinforcement from England, recovered Compeigne and Crotoi, and with two thousand men-at-arms, and seven thousand archers, laid siege to Ivri. A French army of eighteen thousand men, under the duke of Alençon, approached to relieve that fortress; but despairing of success, abandoned it to its fate, and surprised Verneuil. The duke, leaving a garrison to secure his conquest, marched to seek the enemy, who boldly came forward to meet him. The men-at-arms were arrayed in one compact mass: in front and on each flank was stationed a body of archers protected as usual by long stakes fixed in the ground; and in the rear were collected the baggage, servants, and horses of the army, under the protection of two thousand archers; who, to oppose the irruption of the enemy, had tied the horses to each other, both by their bridles and tails, and intermixed them with the carriages in such manner as to form an almost impenetrable rampart. The shock of the two armies is described as dreadful. They fought hand to hand, and with such resolution, that for near an hour, neither party seemed to gain any advantage. In the hottest of the battle a body of French and Italian cavalry, instructed to annoy the rear of the English, endeavoured to charge through the horses and baggage; but unable to force their way, or to disentangle Aug. 17.

(1) Rym. x. 328.

(2) If we may believe Holinshed (p. 587), and Hall (*f.* 86), James, before his departure, did homage to the young Henry at Windsor, and swore fealty in these words: "I, James Stewart, "king of Scotland, shall be true and faithful "unto you, lord Henry, by the grace of God "king of England and France, the noble and "superior lord of the kingdom of Scotland, "which I hold and claim of you. And I shall "bear you faith and fidelity, etc." This we are told was done before three dukes, two archbishops, twelve earls, ten bishops, twenty barons, and 200 knights and yet there can be little doubt that it is a mistake. For in all the public records James is treated not as a vassal but an independent sovereign; and Henry in a private letter styles him:—Rizt heigh and myghty prince by the grace of God kyng of Scotes. Rym. x. 635.

themselves, they stood exposed to the arrows of the archers; who, after they had slain or repelled the assailants, turned towards the front, and with a loud shout rushed on the enemy. This manœuvre decided the action. The courage of the French sank; their front was pierced in different points; and the plain was soon covered with fugitives and pursuers. According to the account of the enemy, they lost above three thousand men, the English sixteen hundred. The Scots were so reduced that they never afterwards formed a distinct corps in the French army. The new duke of Tourraine, and the earl of Buchan were left on the field: the duke of Alençon, and two hundred gentlemen, were made prisoners. The regent immediately called his officers around him, and returned thanks to God on the field of battle (1).

Hitherto the duke of Bedford had supported the honour of the English army, and displayed talents equal to the difficult situation in which he was placed. But in every measure he had the misfortune to be thwarted by the private ambition of his brother the duke of Gloucester. Jacqueline of Bavaria, heiress of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, had for her first husband John, dauphin of France. After his death, Henry V. offered his mediation to compose the difference between the widow and her uncle, and improved the opportunity to solicit her hand for his brother of Bedford. But Jacqueline, by persuasion of her mother, preferred John, duke of Brabant, a boy in his sixteenth year. Their union was unhappy. He was passionate and capricious; she proud and revengeful. The duke dismissed the ladies and servants whom his wife had brought with her from Holland: his favourites in return were soon afterwards massacred in an insurrection of the people. At length she separated from him, repaired to her mother at Valenciennes, eloped from Valenciennes, and sought an asylum in England, where she was received with welcome, and obtained from the king a pension of *L.*100 a month (2). The duke of Gloucester became enamoured with her charms, perhaps still more with her inheritance. But Henry, who saw that a marriage between them would be followed by a rupture with the duke of Burgundy, cousin-german and apparent heir to Jacqueline's husband, restrained the imprudence of his brother, and on his death-bed inculcated with extraordinary earnestness the necessity of making every sacrifice to preserve the friendship of his ally. Gloucester was too headstrong to regard the advice of the king, or to yield to the remonstrances of the council. Maintaining that the marriage of Jacqueline with the duke of Brabant was void, on account of consanguinity, though a dispensation had been obtained from the council of Constance, he married her himself, and immediately

A. D. 1417. Apr. 5.

A. D. 1418.

A. D. 1421. July.

(1) Monstrel. ii. 15.
(2) Monstrel. i. 267. 299. 303. Pell Records, 368.

laid claim to her dominions. Had her husband been left to his own decision, he might probably have yielded: but the duke of Burgundy espoused his cause, and declared that he would oppose force to force in his behalf. It was in vain that the regent employed all his influence to prevail on his brother to withdraw a demand, which would alienate the Burgundian from the interests of England, and might ultimately throw him into the arms of Charles. As a last resource, in a great council at Paris, it was determined, that the legitimacy of the two marriages should be referred to the pope, and that all parties should await his decision. The duke of Brabant acquiesced: the duke of Gloucester refused. He was already at Calais with Jacqueline and an army of five thousand men, and proceeding into Hainault, immediately obtained possession of the county in right of his pretended wife. The duke of Burgundy on this intelligence sent forces to the aid of his cousin; insulting messages passed between him and Gloucester; a challenge was given and accepted (1); and the two combatants agreed to decide their quarrel on the feast of St. George in the presence of the duke of Bedford, the regent. In the interval the Burgundian recalled his forces, and Gloucester prepared to return to England. Notwithstanding the objections of Jacqueline, it was resolved, at the request of the inhabitants, that she should remain at Mons. She parted from the duke with tears, predicting the evils which would result from their separation. The Brabanters renewed the war: the towns of Hainault returned to the obedience of the duke; and Jacqueline was delivered to the Burgundians to be detained a captive till the see of Rome should pronounce on the validity of her marriage. The intended duel between the two princes was never fought. In a letter to the duke of Gloucester, the pontiff declared him excommunicated, if he persisted in putting his design in execution; and by a circular brief directed to all the Christian princes in Europe, exhorted them not to permit the combat within their respective dominions. The English parliament, seconding his views, recommended that the dowager queens of France and England, with the regent, should take the quarrel into their hands; and in a council held at Paris, it was decided that the challenge had been given without sufficient cause (2). In the mean time Jacqueline was conducted by the prince of Orange to Ghent, where she bore her confinement with impatience, and exerted all her ingenuity to contrive her escape. At length she dressed herself and her female attendant in male attire, mounted a horse, rode unobserved in the dusk of the evening out of one of the gates,

A. D. 1421. Oct. 24. Dec. 20. A. D. 1425. Mar. 3. Mar. 16. July. Sept. 1.

(1) On this occasion the duke of Burgundy paid a high compliment to the duke of Bedford. Si mieux vous plait, he says to his antagonist, je suis content, que nous prenons a juge mon tres cher et aimé cousin, et aussi votre beau frere le Regent duc de Bethfort—car il est tel prince que je scay, qu'a vous et a moy, et a tous autres il voudroit estre droiturier juge. Monst. ii. 20.

(2) Ep. Mart. V. apud Raynald. vi. 75. Rot. Parl. iv. 277.

and continued her flight till she reached in safety the borders of Holland, where she was joyfully received by her subjects. The Burgundians pursued her thither; and Holland became for two years the theatre of war. The duke of Gloucester sent her five hundred men-at-arms, and was severely reprehended by the council: he renewed the attempt; but was prevented by his brother the regent (1). In 1426 the pope is said to have pronounced in favour of the first marriage (2); but the duke of Brabant died soon afterwards, and Jacqueline assumed the title of duchess of Gloucester. The slender aid which she received from England served to defer her submission till 1428, when she was compelled to appoint the duke of Burgundy her heir, to allow him to garrison her fortresses, and to give her word that she would never marry without his consent (3). In the terms of this treaty she virtually acknowledged that she was not the wife of the duke of Gloucester; and yet, only a few weeks before it was concluded, her interests had been espoused in England by a party of females against the neglect of her supposed husband. A lady of the name of Stokes, attended by the wives of the principal citizens of London, went to the house of lords, and presented a petition against the duke, accusing him of having neglected his lawful wife, the duchess Jacqueline, and of living in open adultery with Eleanor Cobham (4), daughter of Reginald lord Cobham of Sterborough. The beauty of Eleanor was as distinguished as her morals were dissolute. After contributing to the pleasures of different noblemen, she became acquainted with the duke, whose attachment to her was so great, that, even after his union with Jacqueline, he kept her always near his person, and took her with him in his expedition to Hainault (5). What answer was returned to the petition of these female champions in the cause of conjugal fidelity is not known: but the duke soon afterwards, to the surprise of Europe, publicly acknowledged Cobham for his wife; and Jacqueline, in breach of her promise to her adversary, married a gentleman called Frank of Bursellen. He was immediately seized by the Burgundians, and his wife, to purchase his liberty, ceded the greater part of her dominions, retaining only an annual rent for her own support. She died without issue in 1436 (6).

A. D. 1428.

Oct. 8.

Had it not been for this unfortunate attempt of Gloucester to obtain the inheritance of Jacqueline, it was pretended that the party of Charles might have been effectually crushed after the battle

(1) Monstrel. ii. 18—29.

(2) This is said by different writers. If it were true, I know not how the English government could, consistently with the agreement at Paris, continue to acknowledge her for duchess of Gloucester. Yet she is so called in two different instruments in Rymer, dated in 1427 and 1428. Rym. x. 375. 398, and in the address of the commons of 1427. Rot. Parl. iv. 318.

(3) Monstrel. ii. 37. Meyer, lib. xv. p. 310.

(4) Stow. 369.

(5) Laquelle le dit duc par avant avoit tenue en sa compagnie certain temps, comme sa dame par amours: et avec ce avoit este diffamee de aucuns autres hommes que de iceluy duc. Monstrel. ii. 32. Also. ii. 29.

(6) Meyer, 329.

of Verneuil. But to defend the duke of Brabant, the duke of Burgundy withdrew his forces from the scene of action, and employed them in Hainault and Holland; and the duke of Bedford, reduced to depend on his own resources, became unable to improve the advantages which he had gained. For three years the war in France was suffered to languish; and the operations on both sides were confined to skirmishes and sieges, unimportant in their consequences to the two parties, but most disastrous to the unfortunate inhabitants. If the regent was inactive through weakness, Charles was equally so through poverty; and if the court of the latter became a scene of intrigue, dissension, and bloodshed, the council of the king of England was not less divided by the jealousy of its members, their quarrels, and their opposite interests (1).

Among these the minister who bore the chief sway, both from his situation and relationship to the king, was the duke of Gloucester: but he was often, and sometimes successfully, opposed in his views by Henry Beaufort, the great bishop of Winchester. That prelate was second son to John of Ghent by Catherine Swynford, and was consequently uncle to the regent and his brother, and great-uncle to the king. From the bishopric of Lincoln he had been translated to the more valuable see of Winchester, had thrice borne the high office of chancellor, had assisted at the council of Constance, and had made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His frugality multiplied his riches: but they were rendered subservient to the interests of his country; and his loans to the late monarch amounted to twenty-eight, to the present king to more than eleven, thousand pounds (2). He had again accepted the office of chancellor, and in that situation had strenuously opposed Gloucester's favourite plan of claiming the inheritance of Jacqueline. During the absence of that prince, the council, under the influence of the prelate, and with a view to repress the mutinous disposition of the populace, had garrisoned the Tower, and committed it to the care of Richard Wydevile, with orders "to admit no one more powerful than himself." When Gloucester returned, he demanded lodgings in that fortress, and attributed the refusal of Wydevile to the secret instructions of his uncle. In his resentment he ordered the mayor to close the gates of the city against the bishop, and to furnish him with five hundred horsemen, that he might visit in safety the young king at Eltham. The next morning the retainers of Beaufort attempted to burst open the gate on the bridge, barricadoed the road, placed archers in the houses on each side, and declared that, as their lord

A. D. 1424. July 16.

A. D. 1425. Feb. 26.

Oct. 29.

Oct. 30.

(1) The pontiff, as if he had foreseen the evils which followed, had on the succession of the young Henry written to the council, recommending to them above all things to live in harmony with each other, as the best means of preserving the dominions of their infant sovereign. Ad regnum hoc in rerum statu salubriter dirigendum nulla res est tantum necessaria, quantum est vestra concordia, qui reipublicæ præsidetis: vobis enim habentibus unam mentem, una voluntate regentibus, nulla accidere calamitas potest. Apud Raynald. vi. 51.

(2) Rot. Parl. iv. 111. 132. 275. 277.

was excluded from entering the city, so they would prevent the duke from leaving it (1). It cost the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Coimbra, second son of the king of Portugal by Philippa, the sister of the late monarch, eight journeys in the same day from party to party, to prevent the effusion of blood, and to induce them to keep the peace, till the return of the duke of Bedford (2). With reluctance the regent left Paris, landed in England (Dec. 20), and summoned a parliament at Leicester. It was, however, his hope that a reconciliation between his brother and uncle might
A. D. 1426. Jan. 29. be effected before that meeting. With this view the archbishop and several lords waited on Gloucester, and requested him on the part of the king to attend the council at Northampton. They were instructed to represent to him that he could have no reasonable objection to meet his uncle on such an occasion; that measures would be taken to prevent any affray between their followers; that the bishop, as the accused party, had a right to be confronted with his accuser, and that the king could not be expected to deprive him of office before the charge against him had been proved. But the duke's obstinacy was not to be subdued by argument, and he received a royal order to attend in his place at the approaching parliament (3).
Feb. 28 There the commons, by their speaker, conjured the regent and the lords to reconcile the duke of Gloucester with the bishop of Winchester. The former had preferred a bill of impeachment against his uncle, in which to his own grievances he added two charges, which, if we may believe him, he had received from his brother, the late king; the first, that the prelate had hired an assassin to take Henry's life while he was yet prince of Wales; the second that he had exhorted him to usurp the crown during the life of his father. In his answer, Beaufort endeavoured to show that, if he had given personal offence to the duke, yet his conduct was justified by the behaviour of that prince; and to the charges said to have been made by Henry V., he opposed the confidence and employments with which that king had honoured the man, who was now accused of
Mar. 4. having attempted his life. The duke of Bedford and the other lords took an oath to judge with impartiality: but in what manner the trial
Mar. 7. proceeded we are not informed. Three days later the duke and bishop consented to leave their quarrel to the decision of the primate and eight other arbitrators, by whose award the following farce was
Mar. 12. enacted. Beaufort began by addressing the king, to whom he pro-

(1) See the charges of Gloucester, and the answers of the bishop in Hall, f. 94. 97.

(2) The bishop wrote on the 30th of October to the regent, requesting his immediate return: "for," he adds, "by my troth, and ye tarry long, "we shall put this land in jeopardy with a field, "such a brother ye have here: God make him a "good man!" They entered the city of London together. Bedford appears to have favoured his uncle, and to have blamed his brother. When the citizens made him a present of 1000 marks in two basins of silver gilt, he hardly thanked them. Fabyan, 414, 415.

(3) Acts of Coun. iii. 181—7. This parliament was called the parliament of bats. As arms had been forbidden, the servants of the members followed their lords with bats or clubs on their shoulders; when these also were forbidden, they concealed stones, and plummets of lead in their sleeves and bosoms; so suspicious were they of each other. Fab. ibid.

tested his innocence of the charges which respected Henry V.; and the duke of Bedford replied, in the name of the infant sovereign, that the king had no doubt of the innocence of his great-uncle, and held him to have ever been a true man to the late monarch both before and after his succession to the throne. Then turning to the duke of Gloucester, the bishop expressed his sorrow that his nephew should have conceived any displeasure against him: "but, sir," he continued, "I take God to witness, that what reports soever have "been made unto you of me, (peradventure by such as have not had "great affection unto me: God forgive them!) I never imagined "nor purposed thing that might be hindering or prejudice to your "person, honour, or estate; and for so much I pray you that you "will be unto me good lord from this time forth; for by my will I "gave you never other occasion, nor purpose not to do hereafter "through God's grace." The duke replied; "Fair uncle, since you "so declare you such a man as you say, I am right glad that it is "so, and for such I take you." Each then took the other by the hand, and the ceremony was finished. Such a reconciliation could not be real; and the bishop, whether it were his own resolve, or had been previously stipulated, resigned the seals the next day, and soon afterwards requested permission to travel. He remained however May 12. in England till the beginning of the following year, when he accompanied his nephew, the duke of Bedford, to Calais. There he received the welcome intelligence that he had been named a cardinal A. D. 1427. Feb. by pope Martin, and was invested with the insignia of his dignity Mar. 25. in the presence of the regent and a numerous court (1).

There is reason to believe that this quarrel between the uncle and nephew originated in the jealousy which Beaufort entertained of the ambition of the duke, who on many occasions had acted as if he were independent of the council, and to their remonstrances had replied, that he would be accountable to no man but the king, when he should come of age. Even of late he had said "Let my brother govern as him lusteth, whiles he is in this "land: after his going over into France, I woll govern as me "seemeth good." On this account the other members sent for Jan. 28. the duke of Bedford to the star-chamber, a few days before his departure, and the next morning waited in a body on the duke of Gloucester, who was confined by sickness to his "inne." To Jan. 29. both the chancellor made a similar address, stating that the young prince was the rightful king of England, and entitled to the obedience of all his subjects, of whatever rank they might be; that young as he was, he yet possessed by law all the authority which would belong to him at a more mature age; that, as during his infancy he could not exercise such authority, it was vested

(1) See the proceedings in the Rolls of Parliament, iv. 296. 299. Rym. x. 358. Fab. 416. Ellis, 2. ser. 1. 102.

in the lords spiritual and temporal assembled in parliament, or in the great council, and, at other times, in the lords appointed to form the "continual council;" and that this council, representing the king's person, had a right to exercise the powers of government, "withouten that any one person may or ought "to ascribe to himself the said rule and government." They concluded by begging the two dukes to inform them, whether *they* held the same sentiments. Both replied (and subscribed their replies with their own signatures) that they cheerfully assented to the principles which had been laid down, and that "in all "things that belonged to the rule of the land and the observances "of the king's laws, and to his estate, they would be advised, de-"meaned, and ruled by the lords of the council, and obey unto "the king, and to them as for the king, as lowly as the least "and poorest of his subjects." It should, however, be observed, that the answer of the duke of Bedford was much more full and submissive than that of his brother; and that taking up the book of the Gospels, he solemnly swore to observe through life the promise which he then made. Gloucester did not swear (1).

But the regent was hastily recalled to France by the vacillating conduct of the duke of Bretagne, who through apprehension rather than inclination had formerly espoused the interests of the English. Now, when he saw the seeds of dissension sown between them and the Burgundians, he willingly listened to the suggestions of his brother Arthur, who had been raised to the office of constable of France. His forces were recalled from the armies of the allies; men for the service of Charles were raised in his territories; and a promise was given of open co-operation, as soon as the duke of Burgundy could be detached from the allies. Informed of these proceedings, the regent poured his troops into Bretagne: they spread the flames of war to the very gates of Rennes, defeated the Bretons in several rencontres, and compelled the duke to solicit a reconciliation. By an instrument under his seal, and those of his sons, barons, prelates, and the commonalties of his duchy, he acknowledged Henry for his rightful sovereign, and promised upon oath to observe the treaty of Troyes, to obey the commands of the regent, and to do homage for his territories to the king of England, and to no other person (2).

A. D. 1425.

A. D. 1426. Oct. 25.

A. D. 1427. Sept. 8.

A. D. 1428. Five years had now elapsed since the death of the late monarch; and, if no addition had been made to his conquests, at least no considerable loss had been experienced. But at length in an evil hour it was determined to cross the Loire, and to attack Charles in the provinces which had always adhered to his cause. With

(1) Rot. Parl. v. 409—411. Acts of Coun. iii. 231—242. (2) Rym. x. 350. 378. 385.

this view several councils were held at Paris : the regent yielded, it is said with regret, to the majority of voices; and a resolution was taken to open the campaign with the reduction of Orleans (1). Montague, earl of Salisbury, had lately returned from England with a reinforcement of six thousand men. After the earl of Warwick, he was the most renowned of the English commanders; and to him by common consent was intrusted the conduct of the siege. On the part of the French no preparation was omitted, no sacrifice was spared, to preserve the city, and annoy the aggressors. The garrison received a plentiful supply of ammunition and provisions; numerous batteries were erected on the walls; and every building within the range of the cannon was levelled to the ground. The earl having previously reduced Oct. 12. several places in the neighbourhood, passed the Loire with ten thousand men, and established his head-quarters on the left bank amid the ruins of a convent. His first operations were directed against the Tournelles, a castle which defended the passage of the bridge. It was carried by assault : but the garrison had previously broken down one of the arches, and had built an additional work at the other extremity. A few days afterwards, as Oct. 23. the English commander stood at a window in one of the towers of the fort, and was carefully examining the defences of the city, a shot was fired at him from the rampart. He saw the flash and attempted to withdraw; but the ball tore away the iron of the casement, and so lacerated his face, that he died in the course of the next week (2). The command devolved on the earl of Suffolk, Nov. 8. who received several reinforcements, and successively established his men in different posts round the city. They were lodged in huts, and covered from the fire of the besieged by intrenchments of earth. But the walls were of such extent, and the intervals between these posts, which were called bastiles, were so spacious, that often in the night supplies of men and provisions forced their way into the place; for which purpose Charles had established immense magazines in the neighbouring city of Blois (3).

The siege, or rather blockade, continued during the winter. In the beginning of Lent sir John Falstaff left Paris with fifteen hundred men, to conduct to Orleans four hundred waggons and carts, laden with stores and provisions. He had almost reached the village of Rouvrai en Beausse, when he received the alarming

(1) In his letter to the king, the regent certainly appears to disclaim having given any approbation to the attempt. "Alle things prospered "for you, till the tyme of the seage of Orleans "taken in hand God knoweth by what advice." Rot. Parl. v. 435.

(2) Gunpowder was now in constant use both in the attack and defence of places. The pieces were called guns and culverins. The first threw stone balls, sometimes 26 inches in diameter: the second threw plummets or balls of lead. The powder was of a different sort for each. The guns were worked by a master gunner with varlets under him. Masons and carpenters were attached to them. See accounts of the master of the ordnance during the war in the archives de France, 395. 421. 428. 459, 460. Acts of Council, v. 257.

(3) Monstrel. 38, 39.

A. D. 1429. Feb. 12. intelligence that the earl of Claremont was advancing to intercept him with from four to five thousand cavalry. He halted immediately, surrounded his little army with a circle of carriages, and left but two openings, at each of which he posted a strong body of archers. It was the middle of the night; and for two hours the attack of the enemy was delayed by the disputes among their leaders. Sir John Stuart, who commanded the small remnant of the Scots in the service of Charles, earnestly contended that the men-at-arms should dismount: the earl of Claremont, by the advice of his countrymen, preferred to charge on horseback. At three in the morning it was agreed that each nation should follow its own judgment. An attempt was made to force an entrance at each opening; but the cavalry were repulsed by showers of arrows, and the Scots on foot were all slain. About six hundred dead bodies were left on the field; and Falstaff continued his march in triumph to the camp before Orleans (1). In the spring the English resumed their operations: lines of communication were drawn from one bastile to another; and the besieged; seeing themselves invested on all sides, proposed, with the permission of Charles, to deliver the city into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, to be held by him as neutral during the war, for the benefit of the duke of Orleans, a captive in England. The regent refused the offer. It was but just, he said, that what had been won with English blood, should be the reward of English valour. In this determination the Burgundian acquiesced with apparent cheerfulness; but the refusal sank deep into his heart; nor was it forgotten on a subsequent occasion.

The fall of Orleans was now confidently anticipated; and the most gloomy apprehensions prevailed in the councils of the French monarch. Many of those who had been the warmest in their professions of attachment silently withdrew from his court; and the prince himself meditated a retreat into the distant county of Provence, perhaps into the friendly kingdom of Scotland, when the French throne was saved from ruin by the daughter of a small farmer at Domremy, a hamlet in Champagne, situate between Neuchateau and Vaucouleurs. The wonderful revolution which she accomplished, by means apparently supernatural, will justify an endeavour to trace the origin and progress of the enthusiasm which, while it deluded, yet nerved and elevated the mind of this young and interesting female (2).

Joan d'Arc was born about the year 1412. Her education did not differ from that of the other poor girls in the neighbour-

(1) In the quaint language of the times, this was called "the battle of herrings;" because salt herrings formed a great portion of the provisions. Monstrel. ii. 42.

(2) The narrative which follows is compiled from the answers of "the maid," and the depositions of the witnesses, which will be found in the volumes of Descharnettes, and the Tome viii. of Petitot's Mémoires.

hood: but she was distinguished above them all by her diligence, modesty and piety. Domremy, like other villages, had its traditionary tales of wonder and supernatural agency. There stood at no great distance an old spreading beech-tree, under the branches of which the fairies were said to hold their nocturnal meetings; near its foot ran a clear streamlet, the waters of which were believed to work astonishing cures; and a little farther off was a still more sacred spot, a solitary chapel called the Hermitage of the Virgin. Joan was accustomed to visit all these places with her companions. But the hermitage was her favourite resort, where every Saturday she hung up a garland of flowers, or burnt a taper of wax in honour of the mother of Christ. These her early habits are worthy of notice, as they probably served to impress on her mind that credulous and romantic character which it afterwards exhibited. The child was fond of solitude: whatever interested her, became the subject of long and serious thought; and in these day dreams the young enthusiast learned to invest with visible forms the creations of her own fancy. She A. D. 1424.
was but twelve years old, when, walking in her father's garden on a Sunday, she thought that she observed a brilliant light on one side, and heard a voice calling on her by her name. She turned, and saw, as she believed, the archangel Michael, who told her to be good, dutiful, and virtuous, and God would protect her. She felt abashed in his presence, but at his departure wept, wishing that he had taken her with him.

Besides religion there was another sentiment, which sprung up in the breast of Joan. Young as she was, she had heard enough of the calamities which oppressed her country, to abhor the unnatural union of the Burgundians with the English, and to bewail the hard fate of her natural sovereign, driven by rebels and strangers from the throne of his fathers. The inhabitants of Domremy were royalists; those of the neighbouring village of Marcey, Burgundians: the two parties frequently met, quarrelled and fought; and these petty feuds served to rivet the attention of the girl on this most exciting subject. At length arrived the news of the disastrous battle Aug. 17.
of Verneuil. She witnessed the despair of her parents and neighbours; and learned from them, that there remained but one source of hope for her country, the possible accomplishment of a traditionary prophecy, that from Bois-chesnu, the adjoining forest of oaks, would come a maid, destined to be the saviour of France.

Such a prediction was likely to make a deep impression on the mind of Joan. One day, when she was alone tending her father's flock, she again heard the voice, and saw the form of the archangel: but he was now accompanied by two females, the saints Catherine and Margaret, names, it should be observed, familiar to her, for they were the patronesses of the parish church. He announced to

her that she was the woman pointed out by the prophecy; that hers was the important commission to conduct her sovereign to Rheims preparatory to his coronation; that with this view she ought to apply to Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, for the means of access to the royal presence; and that Catherine and Margaret would accompany her as guides and monitors, whom it was her duty to obey. It is plain that the enthusiast mistook for realities the workings of her own imagination. Even she herself, in her more sober moments, was appalled at the idea of so extraordinary a mission, and her confidence was shaken by the incredulity and disapprobation of her parents. But "her voices," as she called them, reiterated the command: they reprimanded her for her disobedience; and she began to fear that any longer delay might be a sin which would endanger her salvation.

It chanced that a marauding party of Burgundians compelled the inhabitants of Domremy to seek an asylum in Neufchateau. The village was plundered, and the church reduced to a heap of ruins. On their departure the fugitives returned, and the sight wound up
A. D. 1428. May. the enthusiasm of Joan to the highest pitch. She escaped from her parents, prevailed on an uncle to accompany her, and announced her mission to Baudricourt. Though he treated her with ridicule, she was not discouraged, but remained at Vaucouleurs, where her pretensions gradually transpired, and made her the object of public curiosity. The duke of Lorrain, who laboured under an incurable disease, applied to her as a woman possessed of supernatural powers; but she answered with her characteristic simplicity, that she had no mission to him: he had never been named to her by "her voices."

A. D. 1429. Feb. At length the governor, who had deemed it his duty to communicate her history to the dauphin, received an order to forward her to the French court. To penetrate from Vaucouleurs on the eastern border of Champagne to Chinon in Tourraine, a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues, through a long tract of country, of which one portion was possessed by hostile garrisons, and the other perpetually infested by parties of plunderers, was a perilous and almost
Feb. 19. hopeless attempt. But Joan was confident of success. On horseback, and in male attire, with an escort of seven persons (1), she
Feb. 28. passed without meeting an enemy; and on the tenth day at Fierbois, a few miles from Chinon, announced to Charles her arrival and object. That she should have come safe was thought miraculous: yet two days were spent in deliberation: she might be, it was wisely contended, an emissary of the devil; and to elucidate this important question, a commission was appointed to receive her answers to certain interrogatories. The report proved favourable: after much

(1) The escort consisted of her brother Peter, the seigneurs de Metz and Poulengy, their two servants, Colet, a king's messenger, and Richard, an archer of the royal guard. Mém. 256.

delay and vacillation, an hour was fixed for her admission to the royal presence; and the poor maiden of Domremy was ushered into a spacious hall, lighted up with fifty torches, and filled with some hundreds of knights among whom Charles himself had mixed unnoticed, and in plain attire. Joan entered without embarrassment: the glare of the lights, the gaze of the spectators did not disconcert her. Singling out the dauphin at the first glance, she walked up to him with a firm step, bent her knee, and said, "God give you good "life, gentle king." He was surprised, but replied: "I am not the "king, he is there," pointing at the same time to a different part of the hall. "In the name of God," she exclaimed, "it is not they, "but you who are the king. Most noble lord dauphin, I am Joan "the maid, sent on the part of God to aid you and the kingdom, "by his order I announce to you that you will be crowned in the "and city of Rheims (1).". Charles took her aside; spent some time with her in earnest conversation, and, rejoining the company, affirmed that she had discovered to him secrets of his own, which could not have been communicated to her by agency merely human. The following day, "the maid" (so she was now called) made her appearance in public and on horseback. From her look she was thought to be in her sixteenth or seventeenth year; her figure was slender and graceful, and her long black locks fell in ringlets on her shoulders. She ran a course with the lance, and managed her horse with ease and dexterity. The crowd burst into shouts of admiration: they saw in her something more than human; she was a knight descended from heaven for the salvation of France (2).

Had the pretensions of "the maid" been a political artifice to raise the desponding spirits of his followers, Charles would have seized the present moment to lead them against the enemy. But opposite opinions divided his council. Many instead of seeking to avail themselves of the public delusion, were afraid of being deluded themselves. She was said to be sent to them from heaven: but was it not possible that she might be an imp from hell? To elucidate this grave and obscure question, Joan was examined and re-examined by a committee of theologians, by the parliament of Poitiers, and by the whole body of the privy councillors; and three weeks elapsed before the king would consent to acknowledge her in her supernatural character. That interval she spent in seclusion and prayer; and then was exhibited a second time to the multitude, sitting on a gray charger with her banner borne before her, and armed at all points as a knight. The air resounded with acclamations: men of every rank caught the enthusiasm; and thousands offered their services to follow her to battle. She herself was eager

(1) "Dieu vous doint bonne vie, gentil Roy." ——"Ce ne suis pas qui sui Roy. Voici le Roy""En nom Dieu c'estes vous et non aultres." Mém. viii. 268.

(2) Semble chose toute divine de son faict, et de la voir et de l'ouir. See the enthusiastic letter du sire de Laval à sa mère. Mém. viii. 224. Also 269.

to prove in action the truth of her pretensions: but the king checked her impetuosity, and coolly watched the effect of her presence both on the English as well as on his own subjects.

Care had been taken that the history of "the maid" should be communicated with the due exaggeration to the besieging army before Orleans. At first it was received with scorn and derision; soon it began to make impression on the more credulous: from them the alarm was gradually communicated to their neighbours; and at last men of the stoutest hearts shrunk from the task of encountering a supernatural though female champion. It was in vain that Suffolk and his officers sought to check and subdue this dangerous feeling. If they called her an impostor, appeal was made to the wonders attributed to her by report: if a sorceress, the men replied that they feared no mortal like themselves, but were not a match for the spirits of darkness.

Sixty bastiles or forts, erected in a circle round Orleans, had effectually intercepted the communication with the country; and the horrors of famine were already felt within the walls, when it was resolved by the French cabinet to make a desperate effort to throw a supply of provisions into the city. A strong body of men, under some of the bravest officers in France, assembled at Blois, and "the maid" solicited and obtained permission not only to join, but also to direct, the expedition. She was received as an envoy from heaven, and began the exercise of her supernatural authority by expelling all women of loose character from the army, and calling on the men to prepare for combat by exercises of devotion. To Suffolk, Glasdale and Pole, the English commanders, she sent orders in the name of God to withdraw from France, and return to their native country: to the chiefs of her own nation she promised complete success, if they would cross the Loire, and march boldly through La Beauce and the quarters of the enemy. But they were not disposed to sacrifice their own plans to the suggestions of an
Apr. 29 inexperienced enthusiast. Dunois, the governor of Orleans, taking advantage of her ignorance of the country, proceeded by la Sologne on the left bank, and, prevailing on her to cross the river with him in a boat, led her secretly into Orleans, where she was received by the citizens with lighted torches and acclamations of joy. The relieving party had also embarked in boats, and endeavoured to reach Orleans by water: but the wind and current forced them back: they landed, crossed by the bridge at Blois, and were thus compelled to pursue the route previously pointed out by "the maid." Her promise, however, or prediction was verified. The besiegers did not stir from their entrenchments, and the convoy entered the city.

From this moment it became dangerous to dispute the celestial mission of Joan. Her presence created in the soldiers a spirit of daring and a confidence of success, which might perhaps be guided, but could not be restrained by the authority of their leaders. Day

after day sallies were made, and the strongest of the English forts, the bastiles of St. Loup, and St. Jean le blanc, and Augustus, and les Tournelles, successively fell into the hands of the assailants. On every occasion "the maid" was to be seen in the foremost rank, with her banner displayed, and encouraging her countrymen by her voice and gestures: but at the storming of the Tournelles, whilst she was in the act of planting the first ladder against the wall, an arrow passed through an opening in her corslet, and fixed itself between the chest and the shoulder. Her companions conveyed her out of the crowd; the wound was dressed; and the heroine, after a few minutes spent in prayer, rejoined the combatants. At her appearance the assailants redoubled their efforts, and the fort was won. May 4—6—7.

Suffolk, disconcerted by these repeated losses, and warned by the desponding countenances of his followers, called in the night a council of war, and determined to raise the siege. At dawn the English army was seen at a short distance from the walls, drawn up in battle array, and braving the enemy to fight in the open field; but "the maid" forbad any man to pass the gates of the city. It was Sunday, she said, a day to be spent in prayer and not in battle. Suffolk waited some hours in vain: at length he gave the signal: the long line of forts, the fruit of so many months labour, was instantly in flames; and the soldiers, with feelings of shame and regret, turned their backs to the city. The authority of Joan prevented any pursuit (1), and Suffolk having distributed his men in the neighbouring fortresses, informed the regent that he should be able to maintain his position till the arrival of reinforcements from Paris. May 8.

But it was not the intention of Charles to allow his enemies the leisure to breathe. The earl of Suffolk was soon besieged in Jargeau, and the place on the tenth day was carried by storm. The maid of Orleans (she had now received this addition to her former appellation) led the assailants, and reached the top of the wall, from which, by a stroke on the head, she was precipitated into the ditch. As she lay, unable to rise, she continued to exhort her friends with her voice. "Forward countrymen," she exclaimed, "fear nothing: "the Lord has delivered them into our hands." During the assault an unguarded corner had been discovered; the French poured into the place; more than three hundred of the garrison perished; and Suffolk with the remainder fell into the hands of the enemy. Of the officer, who demanded his sword, he inquired if he were a knight; and being answered in the negative, "Then," said he, "I will make thee one." Having knighted him, he surrendered. Mehun, Baugeney, and other fortresses, experienced the same fate as Jargeau; and the lord Talbot, who had succeeded to the command; retired towards Paris, till he received a reinforcement of four thou- June 12.

(1) "En nom Dieu, laissez les partir, et allons rendre graces à Dieu." Mém. viii. 272.

June 18. sand men. He halted at Patay: but the enemy advanced to the town; and the time for preparation was lost in unavailing debate. Sir John Falstaff proposed to retreat with expedition: Talbot refused to show his back to the enemy. He dismounted, and after a sharp action was made prisoner, with the loss of twelve hundred men. Falstaff fled in the beginning of the action; and in punishment of his cowardice was condemned to forfeit the garter. He proved, however, to the satisfaction of the regent, that to fight with men so dispirited as were the soldiers at Patay, was not to avoid disgrace, but to invite defeat. His excuse was admitted, and he recovered his former honours.

Joan had always declared that the object of her mission was twofold, the liberation of Orleans, and the coronation of the king at Rheims. Of these the first had been accomplished, and she vehemently urged the execution of the second. Though to penetrate as far as Rheims was an enterprise of difficulty and danger, though every intermediate fortress was in the possession of the English or the Burgundians, Charles determined to trust to his own fortune and the predictions of his inspired deliverer. Having sent a strong division of troops to alarm the frontiers of Normandy, and another to insult those of Guienne, he commenced his march with an army of ten thousand cavalry. At Auxerre the citizens refused to admit him within their walls; but they supplied him with provisions, and engaged to imitate the conduct of the other cities. Those of Troyes after a debate of four days, opened their gates. The inhabitants of Chalons spontaneously sent him the keys of the town; and the citi-
July 16. zens of Rheims, having expelled the Burgundian garrison, received him with the most flattering testimonies of joy (1). The coronation was performed in the usual manner: but as none of the peers of
July 17. France attended, Charles appointed proxies to perform their duties. During the ceremony, the maid, with her banner unfurled, stood by the king's side: as soon as it was over, she threw herself on her knees, embraced his feet, declared her mission accomplished, and with tears solicited his leave to return to her former station. But the king was unwilling to lose the services of one who had hitherto proved so useful; and at his earnest request she consented to remain with the army, and to strengthen that throne, which she had in a great measure established. This unexpected revolution in the relative situation of the two parties, while it afflicted the duke of Bedford, stimulated him to new exertions. He obtained fresh assurances of fidelity from the duke of Burgundy, withdrew five thousand men from his Norman garrisons, and received an equal number from his uncle Beaufort, who had raised a small army for the chimerical purpose of suppressing the Bohemian Hussites (2). With these

(1) Rym. x. 432. (2) Rot. Parl. v. 435.

he went in pursuit of Charles, who, unwilling to stake his crown on the uncertain event of a battle, avoided him with equal industry. Weary of this useless labour, he wrote to the king a letter, in which Aug. 7. he charged him with deluding the people with the imposture of a dissolute woman, and the sermons of an apostate friar; required him like a loyal prince to name a day and a place where they might meet in the county of Brie; promised that, if a stable peace could be made with a man who had violated his word to the late duke of Burgundy, and stained himself with innocent blood, he would condescend to reasonable conditions; and if not, he offered to fight him hand to hand, that from the issue of the combat the world might know whose claim was favoured by heaven. To so uncourteous a message Charles did not vouchsafe an answer: but what the duke could not effect, was brought about by accident; and in the neighbourhood of Senlis the two armies undesignedly came in sight of each other. The English, inferior in number, prepared for the fight after their usual manner: the French officers, flushed with success, impatiently demanded the signal of battle. But the defeats of Azincourt and Verneuil had taught Charles not to rely on mere superiority of number. He consulted the maid: her inspiration had deserted her since the expedition to Rheims. Sometimes she advised, at others dissuaded an engagement: two days were passed in deliberation; and on the third, after a few sharp skirmishes, the armies separated as if it had been by mutual consent. The regent hastened into Normandy, and repulsed the constable, who had penetrated into that duchy; and Charles, at the solicitation of his female champion, took advantage of the duke's absence to make an attempt on the capital. Soissons, Senlis, Beauvais and St. Denis opened their gates. He advanced to Montmartre, publish an amnesty, and Sept. 12. directed an assault on the fauxbourg of St. Honoré. The action lasted four hours. At its very commencement Joan received a dangerous wound, was thrown into the ditch, and lay there unnoticed, till she was discovered in the evening, and carried off by a party sent to search after her. Charles, mortified by the obstinate resistance of the Parisians, retired to Bourges: whilst the maid, looking on her wound as an admonition from Heaven that her commission had ceased with the coronation at Rheims, consecrated her armour to God in the Church of St. Denis. Her services, however, were still wanted. At the solicitation of her sovereign she consented to resume the profession of arms, and accepted a patent of nobility for herself and her family, accompanied with a Dec. 29. grant of income equal to that of an earl (1).

While the severity of the weather suspended the operations of war, both parties endeavoured to strengthen themselves by means of negotiation. It was more than suspected that the duke of Bur-

(1) Monstrel. ii. 52. Mém. viii. 337.

gundy began to repent of his alliance with England; and his fidelity was tempted by an honourable embassy from Charles, who offered him every reasonable satisfaction for the murder of his father. By the majority of his council the proposal was cheerfully received: but the influence of his sister, the duchess of Bedford, fixed the wavering sentiments of her brother; and the duke, in consideration of the payment of twenty-five thousand nobles, engaged
A. D. 1430. May. to assume the command of the united army at the commencement of spring. He undertook to reduce the city of Compiegne; and the maid was selected to raise the siege. On her march she met an inferior force of Burgundians, defeated it after an obstinate resis-
May 25. tance, and ordered its commander, Franquet, to be beheaded on the spot (1). On the very evening of her arrival she surprised the post of Marigni: but reinforcements poured in from every quarter, and in a short time the assailants turned their backs. The heroine immediately took the command of the rear-guard, and repeatedly facing about, repulsed the pursuers. At last, however, her men were broken; an archer pulled her from her horse; and, as she lay on the ground, she surrendered to the bastard of Vendôme. The shouts of the allied army announced to the besieged the fate of their heroine, who was conducted to the quarters of John of Luxemburgh, and after some months was sold by him to the regent. Though the garrison was grieved, it was not dismayed by this accident; and the place defied the power of the enemy, till the siege was raised by the approach of the French army under the marshal de Boussac (2).

The unfortunate maid was treated with neglect by her friends, with cruelty by her enemies. If ever prince had been indebted to a subject, Charles VII. was indebted to Joan d'Arc. She had dispelled the terror with which success had invested the English arms, had re-animated the courage of the French soldiery, and had firmly established the king on the throne of his ancestors. Yet, from the moment of her captivity she appears to have been forgotten. We read not of any sum offered for her ransom, or attempt made to alleviate the rigour of her confinement, or notice taken of her trial and execution. Her enthusiasm had produced the promised effect; and when it was no longer wanted, the jealousy of the French commanders was not displeased at the removal of a female and plebeian rival.

By the humanity of later ages, the life of the prisoner of war is considered as sacred: a few centuries ago he remained at the mercy of the captor, who might retain him in custody, liberate him for money, or put him to death (3). Avarice, however, generally pre-

(1) So said her enemies: she says, that she sought to exchange him for de Lours, but the judges of Lagny condemned him to death. Petitot, 286.

(2) Mém. viii. ibid. Monstrelet, 59—67. He was present at the time, and saw "the maid" in the tent of John of Luxemburgh.

(3) Of this a memorable instance occurs in Fenn's collection of original letters, among which is one from Wennyngton the English admiral, stating his determination to kill or drown the crews of one hundred merchantmen, which he had taken, unless the council should think it better to preserve their lives. Vol. i. p. 213.

vailed over cruelty or resentment; and the wealth to be obtained from the ransom of prisoners was one of the most powerful inducements to military service. Yet, even the present war had furnished several instances, in which captives, distinguished for their ferocity or obstinacy, had suffered death; and the recent execution of the celebrated Burgundian leader, Franquet, made it doubtful whether the maid herself did not approve of the practice. Had, therefore, her enemies dealt with her in the same manner, though her partisans might have lamented *her* fate, they could not have charged *them* with injustice (1): but the bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken, claimed the right of trying her in his court on an accusation of sorcery and imposture (2). It is generally supposed that this claim was made at the suggestion of the duke of Bedford, who trusted that the general belief of her supernatural mission would yield to the condemnation of an ecclesiastical tribunal. That he considered her an agent of the devil, is evident from one of his own letters (3): and the history of her trial shows that the same opinion had been imbibed by the credulity of her judges. The inquiry was opened at Rouen: on sixteen different days she was brought to the bar; the questions with her answers, were laid before the university of Paris; and the opinion of that body concurred with the judgment of the court. Still the sentence was delayed from day to day; and repeated attempts were made to save her from the punishment of death, by inducing her to make a frank and explicit confession. But the spirit of the heroine continued undaunted: she proudly maintained that she had been the inspired minister of the Almighty; and repeated her conviction that she was often favoured with visits from the archangel Michael, and the saints Margaret and Catherine. The fatal day, however, arrived, and the captive was placed at the bar: but, when the judge had prepared to pronounce sentence, she yielded to a sudden impulse of terror, subscribed an act of abjuration, and, having promised upon oath never more to wear male attire, was remanded to her former place of confinement. Her enthusiasm, however, revived in the solitude of a prison; her cell was again peopled with celestial visitants, and new scenes of military glory opened to her imagination. An impartial observer would have pitied and respected the mental delusion with which she was afflicted: the credulity of her judges condemned her, on the charge of having relapsed into her former errors. She was led sobbing and struggling to the stake: nor did the expectation of a heavenly deli-

A. D. 1431. Feb. 13.

(1) This is the observation made in a letter written in the name of Henry to the duke or Burgundy. Ainsi que faire nous estoit raisonablement licite, attendu les grans dommages et inconveniens, les horribles homicides, et detestables crimautez, et autres maux innumerables, qu'elle avoit commis à l'encontre de nostre seigneurie, et loyal peuple obéissant. Apud Monstrel. ii. 72.

(2) This bishop was so devoted to the English interest, that in the preceding year he had been recommended by the council to the pope to be translated to the archbishopric of Rouen. Rym. x. 438.

(3) "A disciple and lyme of the fiende, that used false enchauntments and sorceric." Rym. x. 408.

verer forsake her, till she saw the fire kindled at her feet. She then burst into loud exclamations, protesting her innocence, and invoking the aid of the Almighty; and just before the flames enveloped her, was seen embracing a crucifix, and calling on Christ for
May. 30. mercy. This cruel and unjustifiable tragedy was acted in the market-place of Rouen, before an immense concourse of spectators about twelve months after her capture (1).

According to the general persuasion of the age, the ceremony of coronation was believed to consecrate the person, and confirm the right of the sovereign. No sooner had Charles been crowned at Rheims, than the duke of Bedford determined that his nephew
A. D. 1429. should be also crowned at the same place. The young king, as a
Nov. 6. preparatory step, received the regal unction at Westminster in his eighth year; from which moment the title of protector was suppressed, and that of prime counsellor only retained (2). But the
A. D. 1430. poverty of the exchequer, joined to the untoward events of the war,
Apr. 24. retarded his progress: and six months elapsed before he was enabled to leave England. At length the sums necessary for his journey were raised by loan: the cardinal of Winchester consented to accompany him; and the duke of Gloucester was appointed the king's
May. lieutenant during his absence. He proceeded to Rouen: but the prospect of penetrating to Rheims grew fainter every day; and at the end of eighteen months it was determined that the coronation should take place in Paris. In November, 1431, attended by the chief of the English nobility, and three thousand horse, he left Pontoise, and was met on the road by the clergy, the parliament, the magistrates, and the citizens of the capital. Triumphal arches had been erected: mysteries were performed, and devices were exhibited to honour and entertain the young king. But under these public demonstrations of joy, the Parisians could with difficulty
Dec. 17. conceal their forebodings of subsequent calamities. The coronation of Henry bore but little resemblance to the coronation of their native monarchs. The ceremony was performed by an English prelate, the cardinal of Winchester; the high offices of state were filled by foreigners, or by natives of inferior rank; and no prince of the
Dec. 25. blood royal of France, not one of the lay peers, not even the duke
A. D. 1432. of Burgundy attended to grace the court of the new king. After a
Feb. 9. few days Henry was re-conducted to Rouen; where he resided a year, and then returned by Calais to England (3).

During the king's absence in France the duke of Gloucester had displayed his zeal for religion and the public tranquillity, by the suppression of riots and insurrections in several counties, occasioned by the circulation of seditious handbills, and the spread of

(1) Meyer, 316. 317. Mém. viii. 337—402. Twenty-five years later this judgment was reversed by the archbishop of Rheims and the bishop of Paris (7th July, 1456.) whom pope Calixtus had appointed to revise it, at the solicitation of her mother Isabella. Raynald. vi. 77.

(2) Rot. Parl. iv. 337.

(3) Monstrel. ii. 78—80.

the Lollard doctrine, that priests ought not to be "possessioners," and that among Christians all things ought to be in common. He spent the summer in moving from place to place, attended by one of the judges, and inflicting the penalty of death on the guilty: but it appears that his loyalty and religion were inspired and invigorated by his passion for money. In the month of May he demanded and obtained from the council a reward of 500 marks: in July he made another demand, and received an equal sum: his rapacity was not yet satisfied, and in November the lords consented that he should be entitled to a yearly salary of 6000 marks during the king's absence, and of 5000 after the king's return, but on condition that he should perform his duty without making any additional claim for particular services (1).

A. D. 1431. May 11. July 16. Nov. 18—19.

The war languished during the two following years. Its duration had impoverished and exhausted both parties: but, if they were unable through weakness to act with vigour, they were equally unwilling through pride to put an end to the contest. In 1432 happened an event which inclined the balance in favour of Charles. The duchess of Bedford, whose influence with her husband and brother had kept together the discordant materials of which the confederacy was composed, died in November; and the precipitate union of the regent with Jacquetta of Luxemburg, a vassal of the Burgundian, hastened its dissolution. Philip's disapprobation was received by the duke with anger and contempt: officious friends were not wanting to widen the breach by their malicious suggestions; and so marked and public was the alienation of the two princes, that when the cardinal of Winchester laboured to effect a reconciliation, and had brought them both within the walls of St. Omer, he could not induce them to speak to each other (2). This propitious opportunity was not lost by the ministers of Charles, who employed every expedient to detach the Burgundian from his allies. He had now taken ample revenge for the murder of his father: his prejudices and his interest were intimately connected with the cause of his native sovereign; and the wishes of his council and subjects ran in the same channel. If he still adhered to a league which he now hated and condemned, it was in consideration of his oath not to make peace without the consent of the English. To remove the difficulty it was suggested in a conference between him and his brothers-in-law, the duke of Bourbon, and the constable of France, to attempt a general pacification under the mediation of the pope, as the common father of Christian princes.

A. D. 1433. May 16.

To this proposal Eugenius IV. gladly acceded; and in 1435 was

(1) See Fabyan, 602, Chron. of London, 119. Hall, 166. Acts of Coun. iv. 88, 89. 91. 100. 4, 5, 6, 7. Pell Records, 412. 415. It is singular that, though in the minutes of the council 100 marks only are ordered to be paid to the duke in July, yet it appears from the "Issue Roll" that payment of 500 marks was made to him on the same account the next day. Pell Records, 412.

(2) Monstrel. ii. 90.

A. D. 1435. held the congress of Arras, the most illustrious meeting for political purposes which Europe had yet witnessed. The duke of Burgundy, the most magnificent prince of the age, summoned to his court all the nobility of his states; the pontiff was represented by the cardinal of Santa Croce; and the council of Basil, which was then sitting, by the cardinal of Cyprus; the interests of the young Henry were supported by his great-uncle cardinal Beaufort, with
Aug. 19. twenty-six colleagues, half French and half English (1); and Charles sent a legation of twenty-nine noblemen and ministers, at the head of whom were the duke of Bourbon and the constable. To these were added envoys from the kings of Sicily, Norway, Denmark, and Poland, from many of the princes of Germany and Italy, and from the cities of Flanders and the Hanse Towns. The first days were spent in feastings, tournaments, and parties of pleasure: but even in these the cordiality between the Burgundians and French was sufficiently apparent to awaken the jealousy and apprehensions of the English. The cardinal of Santa Croce opened the conferences with a common-place harangue on the ravages and evils of war; and projects and counter-projects were exchanged for several days: but the pretensions of the two courts were so opposite and extravagant, that every hope of pacification speedily vanished (2). Both the cardinals mediators and the Burgundian ministers had been gained by the French. The former openly blamed the inflexibility of the English; the latter had prepared for signature a treaty of amity between their master and Charles. To spare himself the mortification of witnessing so unfavourable a transaction, the cardinal of
Sept. 6. Winchester, with his colleagues, departed from the scene of negotiation; and three weeks afterwards peace was proclaimed between
Sept. 26. France and Burgundy. The conditions had been dictated by Philip; that Charles should express his sorrow for the murder, and engage to punish the murderers of the late duke, and should surrender to Philip several fortresses as a security for the payment of four hundred thousand crowns. As soon as the treaty had been signed, the French negotiators, falling on their knees in presence of the duke, begged pardon for the murder of his father; and he, laying his hands on a golden cross placed before the eucharist, solemnly declared that he forgave the king from his heart. The cardinals then absolved him and his lords from the oath of alliance with England. To conclude the ceremony, the barons on each side, according to the custom of the age, swore to enforce the observance of the treaty. The inutility and impiety of such oaths were shown by the remark of the lord of Launay, who, when it came to his turn, exclaimed; "This is the sixth peace to which I have sworn since the begin-"ning of the war. The five first were all broken. But as for this,

(1) Rym. x. 611. (2) Rot. Parl. iv. 481.

"whatsoever others may do, I declare before God that I will ob-
"serve it (1)."

To detail the complex but unimportant operations of the war during the ten following years would be a tedious and intricate task. The leading particulars under different heads may suffice to gratify the curiosity of the reader. 1. Before the dissolution of the congress of Arras, the duke of Bedford expired at Rouen. He left the reputation of a prudent statesman, and a brave and experienced general; and his name was long and respectfully remembered by his enemies as well as his countrymen. He was buried in the cathedral on the right hand of the high altar; and when some years later it was suggested to Louis XI. to remove his bones to a less honourable situation, the monarch angrily replied: "I will not war "with the remains of a prince who was once a match for your "fathers and mine; and who, were he now alive, would make the "proudest of us tremble. Let his ashes rest in peace, and may the "Almighty have mercy on his soul (2)!" Sept. 14.

2. To the duke of Bedford succeeded Richard duke of York: but before his arrival Paris had returned to the obedience of its native sovereign. The citizens had always been attached to the Burgundians, and with them were willing to transfer their services from Henry to Charles. The gate of St. Jacques was betrayed in the night to Adam de Lisle, and the count de Dunois; chains thrown across the streets prevented the arrival of the English; the lord Willoughby with the garrison retired into the bastile; and an honourable capitulation freed the capital from the dominion of strangers. The duke landed in Normandy with eight thousand men. He soon reduced the towns which had revolted or surrendered to the enemy; and John lord Talbot, afterwards earl of Shrewsbury, by his activity and courage restored the reputation of the English arms. He defeated near Rouen a body of French, who had been invited by the treachery of the inhabitants; and soon afterwards, taking advantage of a fall of snow, surprised the town of Pontoise with a body of men, who, dressed in white, had concealed themselves in the ditch. Thence he spread desolation and terror to the very walls of Paris (3). A. D. 1436. Apr. 13. A. D. 1437.

3. The duke of Burgundy intended to remain neutral: the insults of the English and the inclination of his subjects dragged him into the war. He proved, however, a feeble enemy. Some of his nobles refused to assist him, on the ground of the fealty which they had sworn to the king of England: nor is it improbable that he himself felt some scruple on the same account. This is certain, that he never could be induced to face an English army. At the request of the people of Flanders he undertook to reduce Calais; A. D. 1436.

(1) Monstrel. ii. 108—119. Meyer, 323.
(2) Stow, p. 473. Hall, 129.
(3) Monstrel. ii. 127.

July. Aug. 2. and the duke of Gloucester, who had been ordered to relieve it, sent the Burgundian a challenge to fight in the open field: but four days before his arrival Philip had retired with precipitation into his own territories. It was in vain that he was followed by Gloucester, to whom Henry, as king of France, had ridiculously granted the earldom of Flanders, forfeited, as it was pretended, by the treason of the Burgundian (1). The next year Philip besieged the town of Crotoi at the mouth of the Somme. To succour that fortress Talbot marched from Normandy with a small army of four thousand men. They spent the night at St. Valery: the next morning they plunged into the water at Blanchetaque; and, though it reached to their breasts, crossed the ford without accident. Astonished at their boldness the besiegers retired within their lines, and the duke withdrew to Abbeville. Talbot ravaged the country with impunity: the Burgundians mutinied in the camp; and the garrison seized the opportunity to pursue them to a considerable distance (2).

A. D. 1437. May. 1. A. D. 1439. Apr. 30. In 1437 the duke of York was recalled, and succeeded by Beauchamp, surnamed the good, earl of Warwick, with the title of lieutenant-general, and Governor of France (3). His short administration (for he died at Rouen in less than two years) was not distinguished by any remarkable event. Instead of the ravages of war, both countries were exposed to a more dreadful scourge in the combined operation of famine and pestilence (4).

5. In 1439 the earl of Richemont, constable of France, recovered the city of Meaux in defiance of the lord Talbot, who endeavoured to raise the siege. But this loss was compensated the next year by the capture of Harfleur, which, with the greater portion of Caux, had been wrested from Henry in 1432. The earl of Somerset, with Talbot and many other distinguished officers, lay before it during several months; and so secure did they consider themselves, that the countess with several ladies consented to spend the summer in the midst of the camp. The count d'Eu, by order of Charles, attempted to relieve the place. The besiegers were attacked at the same time in four different points by sea and land: but every effort to break through their intrenchments proved ineffectual; the assailants were repulsed with considerable loss; and the garrison surrendered (5).

6. The complaints of the Parisians stimulated Charles to undertake the siege of Pontoise. He invested it with twelve thousand men,

(1) Rym. x. 693. For the charges brought by the duke against the English, and the answer given by the council, see Monstrelet, ii. 125, and Acts of Coun. iv. 329.

(2) Monstrel. ii. 148—150.

(3) Rym. x. 675.

(4) In England the value of wheat rose to what was then considered the enormous price of three shillings and four-pence the bushel: and the people supported life by making bread of pease, beans, and vetches, though in London the merchants by the importation of rye from the Baltic contributed to lessen the scarcity. In France we are told by an eye-witness that the advance in the price of provisions was tenfold; and that the number of those who expired of want and disease among the lower classes was immense. This calamitous visitation lasted two years. See Wyrcest. 459. Monstrel. ii. 151. 155. Fab. 435. On account of the danger of infection, an act was passed that no person, when he did homage, should, as usual, kiss the king, but the homage should be deemed good in law with the omission of that ceremony. Rot. Parl. v. 31.

(5) Monstrel. ii. 173, 174.

threw up bastiles, and fortified them with batteries. Talbot on two occasions succeeded in throwing supplies and reinforcements into the place. The duke of York, who had been appointed the king's lieutenant a second time, arrived with eight thousand men, and offered battle to Charles. But the French monarch still respected the valour of his opponents, he refused to fight without a manifest advantage, and contented himself with observing the fords over the Oise. In the night Talbot made a false attack on the bridge of Beaumont, while lower down the river four men silently crossed to the opposite side in a boat of leather, and drew after them several others. A bridge of ropes was now thrown across; and before any discovery was made, six hundred men had strongly intrenched themselves on the left bank. A fruitless attempt was made to dislodge them: the French army dispersed, and the duke reinforced the garrison. He returned to Normandy, leaving two thousand of the enemy in one of the bastiles, which was too strongly fortified to be attacked with impunity; and the sarcasm of the Parisians compelled Charles to resume the siege. At length the French got possession of the church of Notre Dame, which overlooked the walls; and three days afterwards a bloody but successful assault restored this important place to the dominion of the French monarch (1). A. D. 1441. May. Sept. 16. Sept. 19.

7. In the two next years Charles reduced several fortresses in Guienne, while the English spread themselves over Picardy, Maine, and Anjou. The pope repeatedly exhorted the rival powers to lay aside their arms; and Isabella, duchess of Burgundy, offered herself as a mediatrix equally attached to each party; to France by her marriage with duke Philip, to England by her descent from John of Ghent, by her mother the queen of Portugal. Her efforts were powerfully seconded by cardinal Beaufort, who, aware that the resources of the country and the patience of the people were exhausted, proclaimed himself the advocate of peace; but were as strenuously opposed by the duke of Gloucester, who would never subscribe to the disgrace of surrendering to the enemy what his brother had won at the cost of so much treasure and blood. The cardinal might rely on a majority in the council and among the people; but was effectually thwarted by the obstinacy of the French cabinet, to whom the continuation of war promised greater advantages than any peace which the English ministers dared to conclude. Hence the frequent attempts at negotiation served only to show the superiority assumed by one nation, and to excite irritation and despondency in the other (2). But the quarrel with Burgundy, as it A. D. 1439. Jan. 31.

(1) Monstrel. ii. 187—191.

(2) The instructions delivered to the English negotiators on one of these occasions (at Calais, 1439) are still extant, and present a most curious specimen of diplomatic finesse. They were ordered, 1°. To demand from Charles a formal recognition of Henry's title to the throne of France, and to enforce this demand, not by any inquiry into the king's right, (that had been placed beyond the reach of doubt by the decision of his royal father and Edward III.) but by insisting on the pacification of Troyes, and the judgment of God, manifested by the victories which he had given to small bodies of Englishmen over the

involved so great national interest, was more easily appeased. It had arisen from resentment for the apostacy of the duke: but England, in her endeavour to punish him, had, by the interruption of the trade with Flanders, inflicted a severe injury on herself. In 1443 Isabella (with her husband Henry seems to have refused to treat) (1) concluded a suspension of hostilities for an indefinite period with the
Apr. 24. duke of York (2). In the next year her efforts to extend that benefit to all the belligerents were seconded by the more powerful influence of the duke of Orleans, who had been made prisoner at the battle of Azincourt, and after a captivity of twenty-four years had been permitted to revisit his country. Before his departure he paid down forty thousand nobles, gave security for the payment of eighty thousand more in the course of six months, and bound himself to return at the expiration of the year, unless he should prevail on Charles to consent to a final peace; and Henry on his part engaged to repay him the money on the signature of the treaty, or, in failure
A. D. of that, on his return to captivity (3). He was released about the end
1440. Nov. 13. of the year 1440; and instead of effecting the purpose of his mission, found himself excluded from the court by the intrigues of the royal favourites. Henry was compelled to enlarge the time fixed for his return; and he at length gained that influence in the council which was due to his rank and abilities. Charles now listened to his
A. D. suggestions in favour of peace. The duke himself and the earl of
1444. Suffolk were the principal negotiators; and though they could not induce their respective courts to agree to any general basis of pacification, concluded an armistice for two years, during which it was hoped that some way might be discovered of adjusting the opposite claims, and reconciling the interests, of the contending sovereigns (4).

immense hosts of their enemies. But 2°. If the demand were refused, they were to make an offer to Charles of a principality beyond the Loire with an annual income of twenty millions of crowns. 3° These, however, were but preliminary flourishes, proposals made that they might be rejected. The lord cardinal of Winchester was now to address the ambassadors of both parties, not as a negotiator, (he was not even named in the commission,) but as a prince of the church, whom his desire to stop the effusion of human blood had induced to assume the character of mediator with the duchess of Burgundy. In a set speech he was to exhort both parties to terminate a quarrel, which had now lasted a hundred years, and which had sacrificed the lives of more men than were at that time alive in the two kingdoms. He was to paint in strong colours the evils of war, both as to the temporal calamities which it inflicts, and the spiritual loss of souls, sent before the tribunal of God in the midst of their sins; he was to observe that the question could be decided only by one of these two ways, the destruction of the English or French people, which was impracticable, or by an equitable adjustment of claims, which, if it were to be adopted, could not be adopted too soon. 4°. The English ministers were to be marvellously affected by this speech, and in consequence of it to relax in their pretensions, and to offer to Charles the whole of France beyond the Loire, with the exception of Guienne. Nay: rather than incur the guilt of contributing to the evils so feelingly deplored by the cardinal, they were to suffer themselves to be satisfied with the faithful accomplishment of the great peace of Bretigny. But the French envoys were not to be blinded by so flimsy an artifice. They insisted that Henry should cede all his conquests besides Normandy, and hold that duchy, with Guienne, of the crown of France. The proposal was received as an insult; and the duchess proposed a peace for a limited number of years, on condition that Henry should not take, during that time, the title of king of France, nor Charles make any claim of homage during the same period. The ambassadors separated to receive the commands of their sovereigns on this project. At the appointed time the English returned with instructions to refuse, because it would show in the king a lack of might or of right, or of courage; but they had no opportunity of delivering their answer; for the French did not think it worth their while to return at all. See Rym. x. 724, and Acts of Coun. v. 384.

(1) Many conferences were held with her, none with him, as appears from the instruments in Rymer, x. 713. 720. 761. 767. 802, etc.

(2) Rym. xi. 24.

(3) Ibid. x. 820—829.

(4) Rym. xi. 59—67.

Hitherto the attention of the reader has been occupied with the conduct of the war in France: this temporary suspension of hostilities will afford him leisure to revert to the domestic occurrences of the last twenty years, and the miscellaneous incidents, which diversify the history of that period. I. Before James of Scotland was restored to his throne, a truce of seven years had been concluded between the two kingdoms (1). By the king it was carefully observed; not that he retained any warm attachment for the place of his captivity, but that he wished for peace, in order to curb the factious spirit of his nobles, and to encourage habits of industry and subordination among his people. Hence his connexion with England did not prevent him from receiving the ambassadors of the French monarch. He renewed the ancient league between the two crowns, and agreed to give the princess of Scotland in marriage to the dauphin, as soon as the parties should have attained the age of puberty. His poverty did not enable him to offer with his daughter a portion becoming her rank: but he assented to what was still more acceptable, an aid of six thousand Scottish troops, whenever a fleet for their conveyance should arrive from France (2). To secure his friendship, Charles made him a grant of the county of Xaintogne, and the lordship of Rochefort, which the king of Scots condescended to hold of the French crown, with an engagement to send the first prince of his blood to perform the accustomed homage (3). These treaties alarmed the English government. The cardinal of Winchester obtained a personal interview with James at Durham; and, whether it were owing to his suggestions, or to the difficulty of providing a sufficient number of vessels, the stipulated auxiliaries never left Scotland (4). James even threw out some hint of a final peace in lieu of the existing truce, to be founded on a marriage between Henry and one of his daughters. The council hastened to profit by the suggestion, and lord Scrope was authorised to negotiate a peace "by way of marriage and other "lawful and honourable means;" but at the same time, whether it were through pride or policy, he was instructed not to make the proposal himself, but to draw it artfully from the Scottish commissioners. He failed; made his report to the council in England and to the king in France, and returned to Scotland with new powers to conclude a peace "on any terms and in any manner;" an alteration which sufficiently proved the great anxiety of the English government to withdraw James from his alliance with Charles, as long as that prince should be at war with England (5). But the Scottish king

A. D. 1424. Mar. 28.

A. D. 1428. July 17.

Nov.

A. D. 1429. Feb.

A. D. 1430 Jan. 24.

July.

(1) Rym. x. 329—332.

(2) Du Tillet, 138. Ford. xvi. 11. Thresor des Chartres, 128. By mistake the date of 1448 has been substituted for 1428 in this and the other articles under the head of "huictiesm piece."

(3) Du Tillet, ibid. The next month by a new agreement it was stipulated that after the expulsion of the English from France, the Scottish king, in lieu of Xaintogne and Rochefort, should receive either the duchy of Berri or the county of Evreux, to be held on the same terms. Ibid. Dec. 10, 1428.

(4) Rym. x. 409, 410. Pell Records, 407. 8.

(5) The words in the first commission are, "per medium sponsaliorum sive matrimonii, ac "per media quæcumque alia licita et honesta." —In place of all these in the second we read, "per quæcumque media quoque modo." Rot. Scot. ii. 269. 272.

adhered firmly to his engagements with France; and the utmost which the envoy could accomplish was to renew the truce for five
Dec. 15. years, with an understanding that, if any Scotsmen should sail to the assistance of the enemies of Henry, they might be treated as enemies themselves, without any interruption of the harmony between the two crowns (1).

A. D. 1433. Oct. It was not long, however, before the French ministry reminded the Scottish king of his engagements: whilst the lord Scrope, if we may believe the Scottish historians (2), offered on the part of England the cession to Scotland of Berwick, Roxburgh, and the debateable lands, as the price of a perpetual peace and alliance. This proposal divided the Scottish parliament. During a debate of two days one party maintained that the king by his previous treaty with France was precluded from listening to the offers of England: the other, that no prince could conscientiously bind himself to follow the dicates of another in the matter of war and peace, contrary to the commands of the gospel, and the interests of his people. They separated without coming to any result; and both the French and English envoys failed in the object of their missions (3).

Two years later Sir Robert Ogle had the presumption to pass the borders, and assist a Scottish lord, who had taken up arms against the king. He was defeated at Piperdan by the earl of Angus. James, irritated by this breach of the armistice, demanded reparation; but, though commissioners were appointed by Henry, and a letter was written by him to the king of Scots with his own hand, the difference
A. D. was not accommodated (4). Suspicious of his intention, the council
1435. ordered a fleet of one hundred and eighty sail to cruise in the German
Mar. 7. ocean, and intercept the princess of Scotland in her way to the French coast. She was, however, more fortunate than her father had been in similar circumstances; and by steering round the north of Scotland, eluded the English squadron, and reached the port of Rochelle (5). This new insult determined James to seek revenge with the sword. He summoned every Scot between the ages of sixteen and sixty to join his banner; and, if we may believe a native and contemporary writer, more than two hundred thousand men followed him to the siege of Roxburgh (6). The fall of the fortress was prevented by the inconstancy of the king, who, after a few days, on the approach of the earl of Northumberland, disbanded the army, and hastened to Edinburgh. It were idle to enumerate all the motives

(1) Rym. and Acts of Coun. iv. 19—27. 53. 75. Ibid. x. 482—488. By a curious clause were excepted from the truce all the lands in England south of St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and all the lands in Scotland, north of the river Forn, between Moray and Ross to the sea (Ibid 484); that is, as far as I can understand it, no lands at all.

(2) Major, vi. 13. Leslie, 246. Buchan, ix. 50. Drummond (p. 30) adds an offer of marriage with a Scottish princess, but on what authority is unknown. That there is no great improbability in these statements appears from the commissions mentioned in the last note but one: there may, however, be some mistake either as to the exact time, or to the name of the negotiator.

(3) Ford. xvi. 23, 24.

(4) Rym. 635. Ford. xvi. 9.

(5) For. xvi. 9

(6) Ford. xvi. 26.

to which different writers have attributed his conduct: the most plausible conjecture supposes him to have received a hint of the dark and mysterious conspiracy, which within six months deprived him of life (1). He was succeeded by his son, James II., who had only completed his fifth year; and one of the first acts of the new reign was the conclusion of a truce with Henry till the year 1447 (2).

II. England, during this period, exhibited the unusual spectacle of two princesses, who, despising the pride of birth, had married into the families of commoners. 1°. Jacquetta of Luxemburgh, after the death of the duke of Bedford, married Sir Richard Wydeville, an English gentleman, distinguished by the extraordinary beauty of his person. Wydeville was immediately cast into prison for the offence of marrying a tenant of the crown without the royal license; but obtained his liberty on the payment of a fine of one thousand pounds, and was afterwards, out of respect to his wife, created baron Rivers (3). 2°. Catherine, a daughter of France, the widow of the last, the mother of the present sovereign, married Owen ap Tudor, a Welsh gentleman, said to be descended from the celebrated Cadwallader (4). It does not appear that this marriage was ever formally acknowledged; but it was followed by an act of parliament, by which to marry a queen dowager without license from the king was made an offence punishable with the forfeiture of lands and goods (5); and, as soon as Catherine was dead, Tudor received a summons at Daventry to appear in person before the king. At his demand a safe conduct was granted him, but afterwards violated. He escaped from prison, was retaken, and escaped a second time.

A. D. 1435. Mar. 3.

A. D. 1413.

A. D. 1437. Jan. 3. Mar.

(1) It was in August that he raised the siege: at Christmas he repaired to his favourite residence in the Dominican convent at Perth. On the evening of the 20th of February, after drinking the vaidee, or parting cup, with his company, he retired to his bed-chamber, and as he stood in his gown before the fire, conversing with the queen and her attendants, he was suddenly alarmed by the clash of arms. Aware of the danger, he called to the ladies to bolt the door, while he should escape by the window. But the iron bars were too close to admit a human body between them; and the king, seizing the fire-tongs, rushed into an adjoining closet, wrenched up one of the boards from the floor, and let himself through the aperture into the privy. The board immediately dropped into its former place; and it soon appeared that the noise proceeded from sir Robert Graham, who, with three hundred highlanders had scaled the defences of the monastery. They burst open the door, broke the arm of Catherine Douglas, who attempted to exclude them, and wounded the queen, when a voice exclaimed, "For shame! She is but a "woman. Look after her husband." Not finding him in the bed-chamber, they parted in separate directions to search the adjoining rooms; and James, seizing the opportunity, called to the ladies to draw him out. In the attempt Elizabeth Douglas fell through the aperture; and during the confusion caused by this event one of the assassins entered the closet. He informed his associates. Sir John Hall leaped below, and was followed by his brother; but the king, an athletic man, seized each in the descent, and attempted to throttle them on the floor. Graham sprang to their assistance. At the entreaties and promises of James he began to waver; but his confederates above terrified him by their threats; and the unarmed monarch was despatched with sixteen wounds. See the contemporary relation of this tragical event; published by Pinkerton, vol. i. App. No. xiii.

(2) Rym. x. 689.

(3) This offence was common, and always punished with fine, and often with imprisonment also, if the husband were of inferior rank to the wife. In the acts of the Council we meet with such fines of 1,000*l.* or 12,000 marks, etc. See Acts, iii. 130. 145. 164. 252.

(4) The Chronicle of London asserts the Tudor was "no man of birthe, nother of lyflod," (p. 123.) Yet the council in an official instrument gives him the title of "armiger." Rym. x. 709. His sons Edmund and Jasper were placed under the care of Catherine de la Pole, abbess of Barking.

(5) There can be no doubt that such act was passed, though it is not found on the Rolls now. But sir Harris Nicolas informs us that the membrane, on which it ought to be found, is wanting, and that the numbers of the following membranes have been altered. Acts of Coun. v. xvii. not. 2.

With the real cause of this severity we are not acquainted: the act of parliament had passed after his marriage, and there is no mention made of it in the acts of the council: from the expressions used there it may perhaps be inferred that he had done or said something to raise apprehensions, that sprung, as was pretended, from the ancient princes of Wales, and proud of his alliance by marriage with the royal families of England and France, Owen ap Tudor might be tempted to re-enact the part of Owen Glendower, and might, like that chieftain, meet with willing and enthusiastic support from the national predilections of his countrymen (1). However that may have been, Tudor, after his second escape, was suffered to remain without molestation. Henry acknowledged his
A. D. 1452. sons by Catherine for brothers, and created Edmund, earl of Richmond, and Jasper, earl of Pembroke. Owen, the youngest, became a monk in the abbey of Westminster.

III. It was probably owing to this marriage that Henry, when he was only in his third year, had been taken out of the hands of his
A. D. 1424. Feb. 21. mother, and intrusted to the care of dame Alice Botiller, to whom as his governess the infant monarch was made to give authority by special warrant, and with the advice of the council, to chastise him from time to time, in reasonable wise, as the case might require,
A. D. 1428. June 1. without being subsequently called to account (2). From the tuition of dame Alice he passed in his seventh year to the charge of the earl of Warwick, who, in his patent of appointment, was ordered to look to the health and safety of the royal person, to watch over the education of his pupil in morals and virtue, in literature and the languages, in manners and courtesy, and in all the acquirements which become a great king; and to chastise his negligence or disobedience in such manner as other princes of the same age were wont to be chastised (3). But when Henry had reached his eleventh year, Warwick applied to the council for more ample powers. He found that officious persons, to make their court to the sovereign, had filled his mind with notions of his own importance, and that he would no longer submit to the punishments, which it was occa-
A. D. 1432. Nov. 29. sionally deemed necessary to inflict. The earl therefore demanded authority to appoint or dismiss the persons composing the royal household; to prevent any stranger from speaking with the king unless it were in presence of one of the four knights of the body; and to remove him from place to place as he saw it necessary for his health or security. He also required the council to admonish the

(1) We meet with these expressions; "his "malicious purpos and ymagination;" the danger of "rebellion, murmur, or inconvenience from "his enlargement;" "the disposition of Walys." Ibid. p. 50.

(2) De nous resonablement chastier de temps en temps ainsi comme le cas requerera. Ibid. iii. 143. This lady in return for her services received a pension for life of 40*l.*, to which another of thirty marks was afterwards added. I may observe that king John gave pensions of two pence per day to the nurses of his children. Rot. Claus. 1. 150. 175; but the nurses of Henry V. VI. VII. received 20*l.* per annum as long as the king pleased, which was, in fact, for life. Acts of Coun. iii. Pell Records, 384. Ellis, 2. ser. i. 171.

(3) Rym. x. 399. Rot. Parl. iv. 411.

king in a body, of the necessity of obedience to his preceptor, and to promise that they would stand by him, if on account of chastisement his pupil should conceive any antipathy against him (1). All these demands were granted. It was, however, impossible to exclude flatterers from the prince; who, at their suggestions, in his fourteenth year demanded to be admitted into the council, and to be made acquainted with the manner in which the concerns of his kingdom were conducted. This claim was resisted with firmness, but with respect (2). Yet Henry, though he acquisced for the present, three years afterwards renewed his demand. To satisfy him, it was resolved, that the pardon of offences, the collation of benefices, and all special graces should be reserved to the king; that he should be made acquainted with all debates of importance respecting his crown and prerogatives; and should decide in all matters, regarding which the council should be so far divided in opinion that the majority did not exceed two-thirds of the members (3). Thus the government remained till he became of full age.

A. D. 1434. Nov. 12.

A. D. 1437. Nov. 13.

IV. The reader has already noticed the commencement of the quarrel between the duke of Gloucester and his uncle the bishop of Winchester. Their mutual rivalry converted these near relations into the bitterest enemies, and gave insensibly an opposite direction to their views of national polity. The duke proclaimed himself the warm and inexorable advocate of war: the bishop contended with equal vehemence for peace; and, as the council perpetually oscillated between the influence of the one and of the other, the war was never conducted with vigour, and obstacles were constantly opposed to the conclusion of peace. The bickerings between these two ministers are of themselves beneath the notice of history; but they derive importance from their consequences, which were felt through the greater portion of Henry's reign.

When Beaufort, during the life of the last monarch, visited the council of Basil, he was named by Martin V. cardinal and apostolic legate in England, Ireland, and Wales, with a promise that his creation and appointment should be afterwards published in the accustomed manner (4). The intelligence alarmed the jealousy of

(1) Rot. Par. 433, 434. If we believe Hardyng, though

"Th'erle Richard in mykell worthy heade
Enformed hym, yet of his symple heade
He coulde little within his breast conceyve,
The good from eivill he could uneth perceyve."
p. 394.

(2) The members of the council (the duke of Gloucester alone was absent) replied, that, "God, "indeed, had endowed the king with as great "understanding and feeling as ever they saw or "knew in any prince or other person of his age: "nevertheless, to quit them truly to God, to the "king, and to his people, they dare not take "upon them to put him in conceit or opinion "that he is yet endowed with so great feeling, "knowledge, and wisdom, the which must in "great part grow of experience, nor with so "great foresight and discretion to depart and "choose in matters of great weight and difficulty, as is expedient and behoveful to him "and his people. They therefore think it would "be perilous and harmful to change the rule and "governance that afore this in his tender age "hath been appointed for the good and surety "of his noble person, and of this land: and "trust, that if any such motion be again made "to him, before he agree to it, he will take the "advice of his great council, or of his continual "council, for the time being: the which manner "of his demeaning, it is trowed and thought, "will be the best that can be advised." Ibid. 438.

(3) Rym. 438, 439.

(4) Ang. Sac. i. 800.

A. D. 1417. Dec. 29. archbishop Chichely. Other legates were foreigners, whose stay was too short to create any permanent prejudice to the rights of the metropolitan: but Beaufort would fix his residence in England, and by his superior authority suspend or limit for years that jurisdiction which belonged to the successors of St. Augustine. On this account A. D. 1419. Mar. 6. he wrote a long letter to the king, who, persuaded by his arguments, forbade the bishop of Winchester to accept the dignity which had been offered him (1). Thus the matter rested, till the quarrel arose between that prelate and his nephew of Gloucester. It has been already mentioned that Beaufort condescended to make him an apology, resigned the chancellorship, and obtained permission to travel: but it is probable that by these concessions he purchased the royal license to accept the preferments to which he had been named in the court of Rome. He was soon afterwards declared car- A. D. 1426. June 26. dinal priest of St. Eusebius, was invested with the usual habit at 1427. Feb. 2. Calais, received the hat at Mechlin, and was appointed captain- Mar. 18. general of the crusaders destined to oppose the Bohemian Hussites (2). His absence perhaps encouraged, or his promotion stimulated the ambition of the duke of Gloucester, who at the next meeting of Oct. 15. parliament required of the lords a declaration of the powers invested in him as protector. Whether it was on this or some other account, is uncertain, but the parliament was soon afterwards prorogued. When it opened again, the duke repeated his demand, adding that A. D. 1428. Mar. 3. he would not take his seat till it was answered, and admonishing the house not to pass any bill in his absence. The reply must have proved most mortifying to his ambition. They reminded him that the act which gave him the title of protector invested him with no authority except in the two cases of foreign invasion, and internal revolt; "marvelled from their hearts" that after he had subscribed this act he should pretend to any additional power; declared that in parliament he was no more than any other peer; and exhorted him to resume his seat, and attend to the business of the nation, as he was bound to do in obedience to the king's writ. The duke reluctantly acquiesced (3).

About six months later the cardinal ventured to return to Eng- Sept. 1. land; and at his entry into the metropolis was met in solemn procession by the clergy, the mayor, and the citizens. But it soon appeared that though he had been received with honour, his new dignity had made him an object of suspicion. In the presence of the council, and at the requisition of the king's attorney, he was compelled to promise that he would abstain in the execution of his

(1) After alluding to the ambition of Beaufort, he tells the king that, "There never was no "legate a latere sent into no land, and specially "into the realm of England, without great and "notable cause. And they, when they came, "abiden but little while, not over a year, and "some a quarter or two months, as the needs "required; and yet over that he was treated with "ere he came into the land, when he should have "exercise of his power, and how much should "be put into execution." See the whole letter apud Duck. Vit. Chich. p. 129.

(2) Ang. Sac. 318. Raynald. vi. 92, 93.

(3) Rot. Parl. iv. 326, 327.

office from every act which might derogate from the rights of the crown or of the subject (1); and when the feast of St. George arrived, was forbidden to attend as chancellor of the order of the garter, on the ground that he ought to have vacated that office, together with the bishopric of Winchester, from the day on which he accepted the dignity of cardinal (2). When he remonstrated, the council replied, that it was at least a difficult and doubtful question, which they dared not solve during the minority of the king; and to this answer he was content to submit, that he might not by opposition defeat the project in which he was now engaged. As soon as Cunzo, the papal envoy, had delivered the letters of Martin V. to the council, the cardinal exhibited the bull appointing him captain-general against the Hussites, and solicited the royal license to publish the crusade, and to raise an army of five hundred lancers, and five thousand archers for the expedition. Both petitions were granted, but on condition that the troops should be reduced to one half of the number demanded, and the donations of the people should be expended in the purchase of arms and provisions within the realm (3). But soon a transaction occurred most disgraceful to all the parties concerned. For a bribe of one thousand marks the cardinal consented that the men whom he had raised for the crusade should be led against the king's enemies in France; and the council, on their part, engaged to indemnify him to the pontiff for this breach of his duty. He received their bonds; but promised to keep this part of the transaction secret, and not to apply for payment from them till he should fail in his attempt to procure it from the regency of France (4). When Charles found the crusaders arrayed against himself, he complained most bitterly to the pontiff, who loudly protested his ignorance of this fraudulent transaction, and upbraided the cardinal with having injured the cause of religion, and stained the reputation of the holy see. Beaufort attempted to justify himself by allegations which it is difficult to believe; that the orders of his sovereign were intimated to him in such terms that he durst not disobey; and that the men themselves declared to his face that they would not march against the Hussites, but were determined to restore the superiority of the English arms in France (5).

A. D. 1429. Apr. 17. May 10. June 11. July 1. Aug. 11.

If the conduct of the cardinal on this occasion irritated the court

(1) The protest of Caudray, the king's attorney, is still extant. He maintains that it is the right of the crown, founded on special privilege and prescription, with the knowledge and tolerance of the pontiffs, that no legate should come to England unless at the petition of the king; and that, as the cardinal had come without being asked for, it was not the intention of the king or council to approve of his entrance in derogation of the laws or rights of the kingdom, or to admit him as legate contrary to law and right, or to consent that he should exercise his legation in opposition to the same. Fox. i. 920.

(2) Rym. x. 414. Acts of Coun. iii. 324.

(3) Rym. x. 419—423.

(4) Rym. 424—426. I suspect that the whole business was a fraud from the very beginning. The cardinal's petition to raise men was granted, and the agreement signed on the 18th of June; and yet on the 15th and 16th of the same month orders had been given to prepare quarters for him and his army in Kent, and to provide a fleet for their passage to foreign parts, *on the king's service*: in obsequium nostrum. Id. 418.

(5) Raynald, vi. 73, 74.

of Rome, it served to add to his popularity in England; and when the parliament assembled, both houses seemed to contend which
Sept. 22. should heap upon him the most distinguished honours. The same objection which excluded him from the feast of St. George had also
Dec. 18. excluded him from the king's council: but the lords now requested him, for the service of the king, and the benefit of the nation, to resume his seat at that board, and to absent himself only when
Dec. 20. subjects were debated which concerned the court of Rome (1). To this flattering request he willingly assented; and two days later the commons, when they presented to the king a grant of a second supply, took the opportunity to preface it with a panegyric on the virtues and services of the cardinal (2).

It is generally believed that the duke of Gloucester, finding himself unable to exclude his rival from the cabinet by force, undertook to remove him by policy. So much is certain, that Beaufort, at the repeated instances of the council, consented to accompany the young king to France; and that during his absence an ungenerous attempt was made to ruin him for ever. In a
A. D. 1431. Nov. 6. numerous meeting of the peers, the king's attorney, on the ground that the dignity of cardinal was incompatible with the possession of a bishopric, proposed that he should be removed from the see of Winchester, and condemned to refund its revenues from the day of his promotion in the court of Rome. Gloucester immediately rose, charged his uncle with having obtained for himself and his diocese a bull of exemption from the jurisdiction of Canterbury, and contended that by such act he had incurred the penalties of premunire. But of this charge no satisfactory evidence was produced; and the lords after a long debate resolved, that the cardinal should be heard in his own defence, and that in the interval the records should be searched for precedents, and the judges be required to
Nov. 28. deliver their opinions (3). The duke, however, was not discouraged. Three weeks later the subject was again brought forward in a meeting of the privy council, in which the majority of the members belonged to his party: but the abbot of Chertsey, the cardinal's vicar general, pleaded successfully for delay, urging among other reasons the indecency of condemning in his absence a prelate so nearly related to the king, and actually attendant on

(1) Rot. Parl. iv. 338.

(2) Facta prius speciali recommendatione reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Henrici, permissione divina titulo S. Eusebii, presbyteri cardinalis de Anglia vulgariter nuncupati, per prolocutorem suum ulterius declarabant, etc. Ibid. p. 337. I quote the words of the record, because they have generally been misunderstood to mean, that the commons granted a second subsidy at the recommendation of the cardinal.

(3) Rym. x. 497. The objections now made were the cause, that when Eugenius in 1440 named the archbishops of York and Rouen cardinals, both these prelates refused that dignity; and to relieve them from all apprehension, Henry granted them the royal license to retain their bishoprics together with the cardinalate, and the pope solemnly declared that it had not been his intention by introducing them into the sacred college, to remove them from their churches of York and Rouen. The writs issued on this occasion show how difficult it was for ecclesiastics at this period to secure themselves from the operation of the statutes of premunire. Rym. x. 758. 840.

the royal person beyond the sea at the request of the council; and the lords, though, to gratify the duke, they ordered the sealing of the writs of premunire and attachment, prevailed on him to consent that the execution should be suspended till the return of the king (1).

It was not to be expected that Beaufort, with such writs hanging over his head, would venture upon English ground till he was secure of protection from the enmity of his nephew. He accompanied the young Henry from Rouen to Calais: but there, having obtained permission to travel to Rome, he took leave of his sovereign. His intended journey was probably a pretence. He felt too seriously interested in the proceedings against him in England to leave the coast of Flanders. Two months after the arrival of Henry a parliament assembled, and a bill of indemnity, to protect him from the penalties of premunire, if they had been incurred, was brought into the commons, and met with no opposition in its progress through either house. Shortly afterwards he appeared in his place, on a day when Henry was present (2). He had obtained, he said, the king's leave to proceed to Rome at the requisition of the sovereign pontiff, when he heard that it was intended to charge him with treason in his absence. As his reputation was dearer to him than any other treasure, he had returned to face his accuser. Let him come forth, whosoever he might be, and he should find him ready to answer. After some deliberation between the duke and the lords, it was replied; that no one appeared to make such a charge, and that the king held him to be a good and faithful subject. Beaufort thanked his sovereign for his gracious declaration, and demanded that it might be delivered to him in writing under the king's signature: not that he meant to plead it on a future occasion—he scorned to depend on any thing but his own innocence—but that it might be publicly known that no one dared to support such an accusation against him. His request was granted, and the declaration was entered on the rolls (3).

A.D. 1432. Feb. 9.

May 12.

A seizure of jewels, belonging to the cardinal, had lately been made at Sandwich by order of Gloucester, and probably under the pretence of a false entry at the custom-house, as to their description or value (4). Beaufort now demanded the restoration of his property: which after a long debate was ordered in parliament on the following singular condition; that he should deposit 6000*l.* in the king's hands; that Henry within the six next years should determine

(1) For the knowledge of this circumstance, and for some alterations in the narrative, I am indebted to the researches of sir Harris Nicolas. Acts of Coun. iv. Pref. xxxi—xlii.

(2) We know not the exact order in which these events occurred. On the rolls the act of indemnity occupies the last place: but in the exemplification granted at the time to the cardinal it occupies the first.

(3) Rot. Parl. iv. 390, 391. Rym. x. 516, 517.

(4) That the seizure was made by order of the duke appears to me plain from the proviso at the end of the act; and I think it probable that the jewels had been condemned in the exchequer under pretence of the entry, from the non obstante clause. Rym. x. 517.

whether the seizure was just and legal or not, and that in accordance with such determination he should retain or repay the money. At the same time the cardinal made to the king a loan of 6000*l.*, in addition to 8000*l.* previously advanced, to be repaid out of the first supply granted by parliament (1).

From this period, during several years, the uncle and nephew, equally jealous of each other, laboured to strengthen their own influence by the advancement of their dependents. Gloucester on all occasions brought forward Richard duke of York, in whom were now centred the rights of the family of Clarence: the cardinal espoused on all occasions the interests of his nephew, Henry Beaufort, earl, and afterwards duke of Somerset. The former continued to preside in the cabinet, and to gratify his rapacity by obtaining grants from the crown: the latter annually aided the government with loans, and conducted in person almost every negotiation with foreign powers. Though these, as far as regarded peace, had been hitherto unsuccessful, they served to augment his popularity. The nation, exhausted by a long and ruinous contest, naturally transferred its attachment from the patron of war to the advocate of peace.

A. D. 1439. At length the two rivals made the grand trial of their strength. The duke of Orleans had often and earnestly sued to obtain his liberation, promising to exert all his influence to bend the French cabinet to proposals of peace. The cardinal favoured, the duke opposed his petition. The former argued, that in the present exhausted state of the nation, it was prudent to employ every probable expedient to put an honourable termination to the war; and that at all events the ransom of the duke would enable the king to continue the contest for two years without any additional burden to the people. Gloucester built his opposition on the abilities of the prisoner, and his acquaintance with the policy and resources of England. Charles and his son, he observed, were princes of slender capacity, guided by their ministers, and placed in opposition to each other by the intrigues of their favourites: but were the duke of Orleans to obtain his liberty, he would unite the two parties, assume the direction of the cabinet, and teach the English to condemn their own folly in supplying the enemy with so able a counsellor (2). To lessen the influence of the cardinal, Gloucester delivered to the king a memorial, containing the real or supposed transgressions of that prelate, under twenty different heads: but though it is probable that out of so great a number some charges

(1) Ibid. Two years later, in a great council, the king at the request of the lords admitted that he had no right in conscience to the jewels, and ordered the 6,000*l.* to be repaid: on which the cardinal lent him 1,000 marks towards the war in France. Acts of Coun. iv. 238. Notwithstanding the compromise in parliament the jewels had not been restored; for the king paid for them to the cardinal 8,000*l.*, their estimated value, on June 10, 1434. Pell Records, 425.

(2) Rym. x. 765.

may have been founded in fact, the majority prove rather the enmity of the nephew than the guilt of the uncle (1). The king read the memorial: but it seems not to have made on his mind any impression unfavourable to Beaufort. The negotiation with the duke of Orleans continued; and, as the council was divided in opinion, the arguments on both sides, according to the late arrangement respecting such cases, were laid before Henry in writing. He decided in favour of the cardinal. Gloucester, who could ill brook his defeat, lodged on the rolls of chancery a solemn and argumentative protest against the measure (2); and, to give the greater publicity to his disapprobation, retired to his barge on the river, as soon as the mass began, during which the duke of Orleans was to swear on the sacrament that he would fulfil his engagements (3). Oct. 28.

The duke was, however, destined to experience a still more cruel disgrace. Though, by his marriage with his mistress he had legitimated their union, he had not raised her character in the estimation of the public; and the pride, the avarice, and the licentiousness of dame Eleanor (so she was called) ultimately led to her ruin. There have been in all ages professors of the black art; nor is it so very long since men have had the good sense to laugh at their pretensions. One of the duke's chaplains, Roger Bolingbroke, was accused of nocromancy, and exhibited with the instruments of his art to the admiring populace on a platform before St. Paul's, "arrayed in marvellous attire," bearing in his right hand a sword, and in his left a sceptre, and sitting in a chair, on the four corners of which were fixed four swords, and on the points of the swords four images of copper (4). The second night af- A. D. 1441. June 28. July 25. July 27.

(1) He accuses him of ambition in seeking the dignity of cardinal after he had been prohibited by the late king, and of contempt of the royal authority in receiving the papal bulls, retaining his bishopric of Winchester, and procuring an exemption from the authority of the primate, without the king's permission. But if these offences subjected him, as Gloucester maintained, to the penalties of premunire, it should be remembered that they had been long ago pardoned by act of parliament. In the next place he complains of Beaufort's avarice, whose riches are too great to have been honestly procured. He makes, indeed, loans to the king, but seldom executes his engagements with fidelity, seeking pretexts to appropriate to himself the securities which he obtains, and defrauding the crown by means of his officers, who receive the customs in the port of Southampton. The cardinal's services in foreign embassies, so frequently applauded by the parliament, have, he maintains, produced advantage to no one but the king's enemies. By the congress at Arras he furnished the means of reconciliation to Charles and the duke of Burgundy; and by the late negotiation at Calais, to the duke of Burgundy and the duke of Bourbon. It was the private interest of his family that induced him to liberate without authority the king of Scots; and some similar motive urges him now to insist so earnestly on the release of the duke of Orleans. In short he has contrived to arrogate all the powers of government to himself and his creature the archbishop of York; keeps at a distance from the king all those prelates and lords that are sincerely attached to the royal person; and has on all occasions opposed the offers of the duke of Gloucester to lead an army into France and recover for Henry the whole of his inheritance. See his memorial at length in Hall, (161—166) who has placed it in the wrong year. From internal evidence it appears to have been composed after the negotiation at Calais in June, 1439, and before the renewal of that negotiation in May, 1440, or the assumption of the cardinalate by the archbishop of York on 4th February, 1440. I conceive therefore that it was presented to the king about the close of 1439.

(2) Rym. x. 765—767.

(3) See Fenn's original Letters, vol. i. p. 3.

(4) Clericus famosissimus unus illorum in toto mundo in astronomia et arte nigromantica. Wil. Wyrces. 461. It was probably on account of his learning that he had been admitted into the duke's family. That prince is celebrated by contemporaries as the great patron of learned men. Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II., in a letter to Adam Molins, whom he praises for his eloquence, says: "Sed magnæ ob hanc causam grates claris-"simo illi et doctissimo principi Glocestriæ duci, "qui studia humanitatis summo studio in regnum "vestrum recepi, qui, sicut mihi relatum est, "poetas mirifice colit, et oratores magnopere ve-"neratur." Ep. 64. p. 584.

terwards dame Eleanor secretly withdrew into the sanctuary of Westminster, a step which naturally excited suspicion. She was confronted with Bolingbroke, who declared that it was at her instigation that he had first applied to the study of magic. From the inquiry which followed, it appeared that Eleanor was a firm believer in the mysteries of the art; that, to secure the affection of the duke, she had employed love-potions furnished by Marjory Jourdemain, the celebrated witch of Eye; and that, to learn what would be her subsequent lot (her husband was presumptive heir to the throne) she had charged Bolingbroke to discover the duration of the king's life. Soon afterwards an indictment of treason was found against Bolingbroke and Southwell, a canon of St. Paul's, as principals, and the duchess as an accessary. The former were said, at the solicitation of the latter, to have formed an image of wax, and to have exposed it to a gentle heat, under the persuasion, that as the image melted away, the health of the king would gra-
Oct. 29. dually decline. The two women, however, were arraigned before the ecclesiastical court. Jourdemain, as a relapsed witch, was condemned to be burnt: Eleanor, out of twenty-eight articles brought
Oct. 23. against her, confessed some and denied others; but when the testimony of the witnesses had been heard, withdrew her plea, and submitted to the mercy of the court. She was compelled, on three days of the week, to walk hoodless, and bearing a lighted taper in
Nov. 13. her hand, through the streets of the capital; and was afterwards confined a prisoner for life, with an annuity of one hundred marks for her support (1). Southwell died in the Tower before his trial: two others obtained their pardon: but Bolingbroke was convicted
Nov. 18. and executed, acknowledging the guilt of necromancy, but denying that of treason (2). Though the duke himself does not appear to have been implicated in this ridiculous but tragical business, he must have deeply felt on account of the disgrace of his wife, and the notion generally entertained that he was looking forward to the succession for himself.

The character which the duke of Gloucester had attributed to Charles of France belonged with more justice to his own nephew, the king of England. Henry was free from vice, but devoid of capacity. Gentle and inoffensive, he was shocked at the very shadow of injustice, but easy and unassuming, was always ready to adopt the opinion of his advisers. He was now twenty-three years old: his council suggested that it was time he should marry; and every one foresaw that the queen, whoever she might be, would possess

(1) See different payments on her account in the Pell Records, 440, l. 6. She is described as "Eleanor Cobham, lately called duchess of Gloucester."

(2) Wil. Wyrcester, 460. 461. Ellis, 2nd ser. i. 107. Stow, 379. 380. Fabyan, 438, 439. Some writers have attributed the prosecution of dame Eleanor to Beaufort's enmity to her husband. But their assertion stands on the slightest foundation, a mere conjecture of Fox that it might be so, because the witch lived, according to Fabyan, in the neighbourhood of Winchester, of which Beaufort was bishop. See Fuller, 174.

the control over the weak mind of her husband. When the count of Armagnac quarrelled with the king of France, it was thought that the power of that nobleman might form a bulwark of defence to the province of Guienne; and commissioners were appointed to offer to his daughter the hand of the English monarch (1). But the transaction did not elude the vigilance of Charles, who immediately invaded the territories of the count, and made him and his family prisoners. Two years later the choice of Henry was directed towards Margaret, the daughter of Réné, king of Sicily and Jerusalem, and duke of Anjou, Maine, and Bar. In personal beauty she was thought superior to most women, in mental capacity equal to most men of the age. But it was not the charms of her person, nor the powers of her mind that recommended her to the notice of the king's ministers. She was a near relation to Charles, who had always treated her with marked partiality; and a hope was cherished that through her mediation a satisfactory and permanent peace might be established between the two kingdoms. The charge of conducting the negotiation was intrusted to William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and was accepted by him with real or affected reluctance. He professed to believe himself unequal to the task. Perhaps he feared the subsequent resentment of Gloucester, who opposed the measure: perhaps he felt uneasy under the menaces of an act of parliament, passed in the reign of Henry V., which made it highly penal in any man to conclude a peace with Charles, unless the consent of the three estates in both realms had been previously obtained. To tranquillize his mind a singular instrument was signed by the king, and approved by the parliament, which authorized the earl to conduct the treaty to the best of his abilities, and pardoned beforehand every error of judgment into which he might fall (2). He met the duke of Orleans at Tours: a truce preparatory to a peace was concluded, and the question of the marriage repeatedly discussed. On the part of the French no opposition was raised: but several alarming difficulties suggested themselves to the mind of the English negotiator. The father of the princess with all his sounding titles was in reality a pauper. This nominal king of Jerusalem and Sicily possessed not one foot of land in either country; his duchies of Maine and Anjou were, and had long been, in the possession of the English; and his territory of Bar was mortgaged to the duke of Burgundy for the payment of his ransom. Suffolk consented to take the lady without a marriage portion. But it was asked, could the king of England think of marrying the daughter, while he kept the father out of his patrimonial dominions? The earl felt the force of the objection, but foresaw the danger of making the cession. At length he yielded: it was stipulated that

A. D. 1442. May 20.

A. D. 1444. Feb. 20.

(1) Rym. xi. 6—8. Beckington's Journal, 8vo. 1828. (2) Rym. xi. 53.

Maine and Anjou should be restored; and at his return he prevailed on the majority of the council to approve of his conduct. In a general promotion of the chief nobility he was created marquess of
Oct. 28. Suffolk, and measuring back his steps, was solemnly contracted, as
A. D. 1445. proxy for Henry, with Margaret in the cathedral of Nanci. Justs
Apr. 18. and tournaments for eight days testified the joy of the court:
May 30. Charles attended his fair kinswoman some miles from the city, and parted from her in tears. Her father accompanied her to Bar le Duc. She landed at Porchester, was married to Henry at Tichfield, and crowned with the usual ceremony at Westminster (1).

If Henry had flattered himself that his marriage would be followed by a peace, his expectations must have been grievously disappointed. Charles had determined to exclude, if it were possible, the English from the soil of France, and would only consent to short prolongations of the armistice, that he might improve the first opportunity, which should be offered by chance, or by the imprudence of the English monarch. His hopes were encouraged by the disputes in the council of his adversary, whose ministers were too busily employed in struggles for power at home to support with vigour the national interests abroad. The queen had already gained the ascendency over the easy mind of her husband; and Suffolk, the favourite of them both, gradually supplanted all his colleagues. The cardinal, who had retired to his bishopric soon after the last dispute with his nephew, appeared no more on the scene, unless it were to relieve the urgent wants of the crown with advances of money. Gloucester still attended the council occasionally: but, if we may believe the unauthenticated accounts of some writers, was chiefly employed in opposing the plans, and protecting himself against the intrigues of the favourite. We may however question their accuracy. Certain it is that he publicly testified his approbation of the king's marriage; and that, when Suffolk in parliament detailed the particulars of the treaty, and the commons petitioned Henry to approve the conduct of that minister, the duke on his
June 4. knees seconded their request (2). Of his conduct from that period we are ignorant; and our ignorance prevents us from unravelling the causes of the mysterious transaction which followed. It may be that Gloucester, harassed by the accusations of his enemies, had formed a plan to make himself master of the royal person (3); or that Suffolk, to screen himself from the resentment of the duke, infused into the mind of Henry suspicions of the loyalty of his uncle (4). However it were, Henry summoned a parliament to

(1) Will. Wyrces. 462, 463.
(2) Rot Parl. v. 73.
(3) We are told that he was accused in the council of illegal executions, and of having unjustly enriched himself at the expense of the crown. From a singular instrument in Rymer it appears that he had been compelled to resign some possessions in Guienne, which were immediately given to John de Foix, who had married a niece of Suffolk; both circumstances of a nature to irritate a proud and ambitious mind. Rym. xi. 147, 22, Aug. 1446.
(4) What evidence the king had we know not: but nothing could persuade him that his uncle was innocent. Whethamstede, 367.

meet, not as usual, at Westminster, but at Bury St. Edmund's. The precautions which were taken excited surprise, and gave birth to numerous conjectures. The knights of the shire received orders to come in arms; the men of Suffolk were arrayed; numerous guards were placed round the king's residence; and patrols during the night watched all the roads leading to the town. The duke of Gloucester left his castle of Devizes, and was present at the opening of parliament; the next day he was arrested in his lodgings on a charge of high treason, by the lord Beaumont, constable of England; and seventeen days later was found dead in his bed, without any exterior marks of violence. Reports were spread that he died of apoplexy, or of a broken heart: suspicion whispered that he had been privately murdered (1). Several knights and esquires in his service, most of them Welshmen, had assembled at Greenwich on the very day of his arrest, and purposed to join him at Bury. They were, however, made prisoners, and five of their number were brought to trial, and convicted, on a charge of having conspired to release dame Eleanor, to come to the parliament in arms, to destroy the king, and to raise Gloucester to the throne (2). But the humanity of Henry did not permit them to suffer. He had been much affected by a sermon of Dr. Worthington, a celebrated preacher, on the forgiveness of injuries; and declared that he could not better prove his gratitude for the protection afforded to him by the Almighty, than by pardoning in obedience to the Divine command the persons who, so he believed, had plotted his destruction (3). Dame Eleanor, on account of "her former misgovernment of her-"self," was rendered, by act of parliament, incapable of claiming as the duke's widow (4), and a great part of his estates was distri-

A. D. 1447. Feb. 10. Feb. 11. Feb. 26. July 8. July 14.

(1) I am inclined to believe that he died a natural death, on the authority of Whethamstede, abbot of St. Alban's. That writer, who had received many benefits from the duke, was much attached to his memory, which he vindicates on all occasions, and equally prejudiced against his enemies, whom he calls canes, scorpiones, impii susurrones, p. 366. And yet, though he wrote when the royal party was humbled in the dust, and he had of course nothing to fear from their resentment, he repeatedly asserts that the duke fell ill immediately after his arrest, and died of his illness. Fecit eum arrestari, ponique in tam arta custodia, quod præ tristitia decideret in lectum ægritudinis, et infra paucos dies posterius secederet in fata, p. 365. Of course he could not be in perfect health on the evening preceding his death, as we are told by some writers. Again, Whethamstede says: "This great warrior and "second David, præ tristitia modo deposuit arma "sua, recessitque ad regionem illam, ubi pax est "et tranquilla requies sine inquietudine ulla," p. 366. Also Hardyng, 400.

(2) Rym. xi. 178. Ellis, 2nd ser. i. 108.

(3) They were, however, tied up, instantly cut down, stripped, and marked for dismemberment by the knife of the executioner. At that moment Suffolk announced to them the king's mercy. Stow, 386. This pardon, however, has been represented, on mere conjecture, as an artifice of Suffolk to lessen the odium which he had incurred by the murder of Gloucester. But it is well known that Henry's humanity abhorred the punishment usually inflicted for treason. One day seeing the quarter of a person, who had been executed, fixed on the Tower, he exclaimed: "Take it away. It is a shame to use any Chris-"tian so cruelly on my account." (Blackman, 301.) In the present case the king asserts that the pardon had not been suggested to him by any person, either layman or clergyman, but that it originated from religious considerations, principally because God seemed to have taken the cause into his own hands, having during the late year "touched and stricken certain of those who "had been disloyal to him;" supremus judex nonnullas personas nobis infideles tetigit et percussit. Rym. xi 178. Who were the persons whom God had stricken? Of course Gloucester was one; and the expression is a proof that in the opinion of Henry he died a natural death: for this religious prince would never have used it, if the duke had been murdered. But who were the others?

(4) Rot. Parl. v. 135.

boted among the marquess of Suffolk, and Suffolk's relatives and adherents (1). But Gloucester, though he had no issue, left many friends, who laboured to clear his memory from the stain of treason. In each successive parliament they introduced a bill declaratory of his loyalty: but no arguments could subdue the conviction or prejudice of the king; the bill was repeatedly thrown out by the influence of the crown; and, if the attempt at last succeeded, it was under the protection of the duke of York, who had by force invested himself with the powers of government (2).

Apr. 11. Within six weeks the duke was followed to the grave by his uncle and former competitor, cardinal Beaufort. That prelate, since his retirement from court, had resided in his diocese, and applied himself to the exercise of his functions. That he expired in the agonies of despair, is a fiction, which we owe to the imagination of Shakspeare: from an eye-witness we learn that during a lingering illness he devoted most of his time to religious exercises (3). According to the provisions of his will, his wealth was chiefly distributed in charitable donations: no less a sum than four thousand pounds was set aside for the relief of the indigent prisoners in the capital; and the hospital of St. Cross, in the vicinity of Winchester, still exists a durable monument of his munificence (4).

The deaths of the duke and the cardinal removed the two firmest supports of the house of Lancaster, and awakened the ambition of Richard, duke of York, who by the paternal line was sprung from Edward Langley, the youngest son of Edward III., and by the maternal had become, after the death of the earl of March, in 1424, the representative of Lionel, the third son of the same monarch. But, if he now began to turn his eyes towards the throne, he had the prudence to conceal his intentions till the incapacity of Henry, or the imprudence of his ministers, should offer him an opportunity of seizing the splendid prize. He had been appointed regent of

(1) Rym. xi. 158.
(2) Whethamstede, 367, 368.
(3) Hall tells us that, according to his chaplain John Baker, he lamented on his death-bed that money could not purchase life and that death should cut him off when he hoped, now his nephew Gloucester was gone, to procure the papal tiara. Hall, p. 152. It is not, however, probable that such an idea could be entertained by a man eighty years of age, and labouring under a mortal disease. Three weeks after the death of the duke, the cardinal ordered himself to be carried into the great hall of his palace of Wolvesey, where the clergy of the city and the monks of the cathedral were assembled. There he sat or lay while a dirge was sung, the funeral ceremony performed, and his will publicly read. The next morning they assembled again: a mass of requiem was celebrated, and his will was again read with the addition of several codicils. He then took leave of all, and was carried back to his chamber. What was the object of this singular ceremony, I know not; but it was much admired by the writer, who was present; and sufficiently disproves the story of his having died in despair. Cont. Hist. Croyl. 582.

(4) His executor offered the king a present of 2000*l.* Henry refused it, saying, "He was always "a most kind uncle to me, while he lived. God "reward him! Fulfil his intentions. I will not "take his money." It was bestowed on the two colleges founded by the king at Eton and in Cambridge. Blackm. 294. It should be remembered that he received no interest on the monies which he lent to the king: whatever benefit he could derive from them, seems to have arisen from the forfeiture of pledges if not redeemed, and the repayment in gold instead of silver coin. Thus he demands "that paiement be maad in "golde of the coigne of Englond of juste weighte; "elles I not to be bounde to delyver ayene the "seide weddes (pledges) though the seide paie-"ment were offrede to be maad in silver." The king in consequence orders the treasurer to make repayment "en ore a nos coustages." Acts of Coun. iv. 234. 248.

France during five years: but the duke of Somerset, who sought to succeed to the influence of his relatives, the late cardinal and the duke of Gloucester, expressed a wish to possess that command; and York was reluctantly induced to exchange it for the government of Ireland. The affront sank deep into his breast: he began to consider Somerset as a rival; and, to prepare himself for the approaching contest, sought to win by affability and munificence the affections of the Irish.

If Henry felicitated himself on the acquisition of so accomplished and beautiful a wife, his dreams of happiness were disturbed by the murmurs of the people. It was said that his union with Margaret had been purchased at too great a price; that no minister could be authorized to give away the inheritance of the crown; and that the cession of Anjou and Maine, the keys of Normandy, would inevitably draw after it the loss of all the conquests made by the king's father. At first these complaints were despised: insensibly they grew louder and more frequent; and Suffolk for his own protection May 25. demanded to be confronted with his accusers in presence of the king and the council. His request was granted; the pleadings of each party were heard; and the favourite, as was to be expected, triumphed in the judgment of Henry. A proclamation was published, declaring Suffolk to have acted the part of a true and loyal servant, and imposing silence on his accusers under the penalty of losing the offices which they held under the crown (1). Still, however, obstacles were opposed to the cession of Maine by the persons holding grants of land in that country; and Charles, weary of the tergiversation of the English government, resolved to cut the knot with the sword, and invested the capital of the province with an army. Henry was in no condition to recommence the war; and the bishop of Chichester hastened to the scene of hostilities; surrendered the whole province with the exception of Fresnoi, and obtained in return a truce to last for two years, and an assurance that the grantees of the English crown should receive from France a sum of money equal to ten year's value of the lands which they had lost. At the same time a protestation was made, that Henry did not resign his right to the sovereignty of the province, but only its actual possession, on condition that the revenue might be enjoyed by the father and uncle of his queen (2).

June 17.

A. D. 1448. Mar. 11.

Maine was soon filled with French troops, and the duke alarmed at their approach, represented to the council that almost every fortress under his command had been suffered to fall into ruins; that the three estates of Normandy had, under the plea of poverty, refused any aid; and that, unless speedy and plentiful assistance were furnished from England, the province would in all probability be

(1) Rym. xi. 173. (2) Ibid. 203—6.

Mar. 24. lost (1). Charles, however, did not allow his adversaries time to furnish such assistance. It had chanced that the soldiers, who had withdrawn from the ceded territory, finding themselves without quarters and without subsistence, surprised and pillaged Fougères, a town in Bretagne. Somerset, aware of the consequences, hastened to disavow the act; and Charles, with equal promptitude, demanded instant and satisfactory reparation. As, however, such reparation would have deprived him of a decent pretext for war before the end of the armistice, he was careful to estimate the damages at one million six hundred thousand crowns, a sum which he knew could not be raised. While the English envoys were offering excuses and re-
May 16. monstrances, Pont de l'Arche, a fortress within twelve miles of Rouen, was surprised by a small band of adventurers, and a proposal was made to exchange it for Fougères. This might have been accepted; but the indemnification of sixteen hundred thousand crowns was still demanded and refused; and the king and the duke of Bretagne resolved to unite their forces, and sweep the English
A. D. 1449. from the soil of France. The campaign opened with the surprisal
July 29. of Verneuil through the treachery of a townsman: soon afterwards Dunois, commonly called the bastard of Orleans, took the command; and within two months one half of Normandy was in his possession. The duke of Somerset, surrounded with disaffection and treason, unable to face the enemy in the field, and forbidden to hope for assistance from England, was compelled to shut himself up in the capital, and to behold from the walls of the castle the fall of the fortresses around him. Encouraged by his correspondents within the city, Dunois approached with his army: at the end of three days he de-
Oct. 16. camped, was recalled by his friends, and had the satisfaction to see the walls scaled by his men between two towers, which had been intrusted to the care of the citizens. Rouen, would that day have been taken had not Talbot hastened with his banner to the spot, hurled the enemy into the ditch, and put the guards to the sword. But a garrison of twelve hundred men could not protect an extensive and populous city against a powerful army without, and a still more dangerous enemy within. The duke with a guard of sixty men was
Oct. 18. surrounded in the street by more than eight hundred armed citizens, who extorted his assent to their proposal of treating with Charles. It was agreed between the archbishop and the king that Rouen should open its gates, that the English should retire with all their effects, and that such as should prefer it might remain unmolested. The duke, however, refused these terms, and was besieged by the citizens and the French troops in the citadel. After two fruitless attempts to obtain the conditions which had been rejected, he consented to pay fifty-six thousand francs, to surrender most of the
Nov. 4. fortresses in the district of Caux for his ransom and that of his com-

(1) Rot. Parl. 147.

panions, and to deliver Talbot and several other knights as hostages for the faithful performance of his engagements (1).

At length, the English ministry made a feeble attempt to succour the duke, who had fixed his head-quarters at Caen; and sir Thomas Kyriel, having landed with three thousand men, and drawn about an equal number from the neighbouring garrisons, marched forward to join that commander. But near Fourmigni he was intercepted by the earl of Clermont; and after a contest of three hours his men were alarmed by the arrival of a new army under the constable of France. Some saved themselves by flight: the rest, after a bloody resistance, were either slain or made prisoners. As this was the first victory which, for many years, had been gained over the English in the open field, the account was industriously circulated throughout France, and was everywhere received with the loudest acclamations of joy. Avranches, Bayeux, Valonges, immediately opened their gates; the duke was besieged in Caen; the town, after several breaches had been made, surrendered; and a capitulation was concluded for the citadel, unless it were relieved within a certain period. Cherbourg alone remained to the English: it was taken after a short siege; and within the space of a year and six days, Normandy, with its seven bishoprics, and one hundred fortresses, was entirely recovered by the French monarch (2).

A. D. 1450. Apr. 1. Apr. 18. June 5. July 1. Aug. 12.

Charles, however, was not satisfied with the conquest of Normandy: the moment Cherbourg surrendered, his army began its march towards Guienne. The inhabitants were by principle attached to the descendant of their ancient dukes: but the absence of succour, and the pressure of immediate danger, induced the most opulent to submit, as the only means of preserving their honours and property. Not a man was sent from England for the protection of the duchy; not a battle was fought to expel the invaders; not a governor defended his charge against the enemy. Uniformly each fortress, as soon as a respectable force made its appearance, was surrendered. Before Christmas all the territory on the banks of the Dordogne had fallen into the possession of Charles: by the following August the French banner waved in triumph, from the mouth of the Garonne to the very borders of Spain. When nothing but Calais remained to England, Charles offered to treat of peace. The proposal was rejected with an idle threat, that Henry would never sheath his sword till he should have reconquered all that had been lost (3).

A. D. 1451.

The public mind had been sufficiently exasperated by the cession of Maine and Anjou: but when that cession was followed by the invasion of Normandy; when each messenger brought fresh ac-

(1) Monstrel. iii. 721. Hall, 163, 164. Will. Wyrcest. 465.

(2) Monstrel. iii. 21—32. Hall, 165, 166. Will. Wyrcest. 469.

(3) Monstrel. iii. 32—38. Hall. 161, 162.

counts of the rapid progress of the enemy; every tongue was employed in bewailing the fallen glory of England, and every place resounded with cries of vengeance on the head of the minister. He was described as the queen's minion, who, to please a foreign mistress, did not hesitate to betray his sovereign, and to sacrifice the inheritance of the crown. To him were attributed the release of the duke of Orleans, the death of the duke of Gloucester, the poverty of the treasury, and all the calamities which had befallen
Nov. 6. the English arms on the continent. In this state of public opinion a parliament had been called to provide for the defence of Normandy: but it had hardly assembled, when the news of the loss of Rouen arrived to inflame the discontent of the people, and to multiply the embarrassments of the government. Six weeks were spent in violent but useless altercation; and nothing more was concluded before the holidays than to send sir Thomas Kyriel with a small force to the aid of the duke of Somerset. But during the recess two events
Dec. 24. occurred which foreboded the ruin of Suffolk. One evening William Tailbois was discovered lurking with several armed men near the door of the council chamber. It was in vain that the favourite took him under his protection. Tailbois was committed to the Tower at the requisition of the lord Cromwell, the most active among the enemies of the minister; was tried on a charge of plotting the death of that nobleman, and was condemned to pay him damages to the amount of three thousand pounds (1). Soon afterwards the bishop of Chichester, keeper of the privy seal, proceeded to Portsmouth to pay the soldiers and sailors engaged for the expedition: but it was no sooner known that he was the man who
A. D. 1450. had delivered Maine to the French king, than the populace rose,
Jan. 9. and the prelate lost his life in the tumult (2). Whether it was that this prelate sought to divert their indignation from himself, or that the story was invented by the opponents of Suffolk, he is said to have declared before his death that the favourite was a traitor, who had sold Maine to the enemy, and had boasted of having as much influence in the French as in the English council. It was thought necessary that the duke (he had lately been raised to that dignity)
Jan. 22. should notice this report; and, as soon as the parliament assembled after the recess, rising in his place, he besought the king to recollect that his father had died in the service of his country at Harfleur, his elder brother had fallen in the battle of Azincourt, his second and third brothers had perished at Jargeau, and his youngest brother had expired a hostage in France; that he himself had been a knight of the garter thirty years, had spent thirty-four years in arms, during one half of which time he had never visited his native country; that he had been fifteen years sworn of the

(1) Will. Wyrcest. 466, 467. (2) Will. Wyrcest. 467.

king's council; that he was born in England; that his inheritance, and the inheritance of his children and posterity, lay in this country. Was it then possible, he asked, that for any promises of an enemy he could become a traitor? "Whereupon," he added, "I "beseech your highness in the most humble wise I can bethink, "that if any man will charge me with the report aforesaid, or any "other thing against your royal person and land, he may come "forth, and say to me in these matters what he wills; and that in "your presence, my sovereign lord, I may be heard in my excu-"sations and defences reasonable, the which I trust shall be so "open and so plain, that your highness and your land shall be "content of me; for God knoweth I am, and shall be, and never "was other but true to you, sovereign lord, and to your land." At his request the speech was entered on the rolls (1).

But, by this time his enemies in the lower house had formed themselves into a powerful party, which was entirely, though secretly, guided by the counsels of the lord Cromwell (2). Four days after the duke had so solemnly declared his innocence, a deputation from the commons requested, that since, according to his own confession, he lay under the suspicion of treason, he might be immediately committed to the Tower. But the lords, having consulted the judges, replied that they had no power to order any peer into confinement, unless some specific charge were brought against him. Two days later the speaker returned, and accused him of having furnished the castle of Wallingford with stores and provisions for the purpose of aiding the king of France, who, he pretended, was then making preparations to invade the country. On this incredible and ridiculous charge he was arrested, and confined in the Tower. The archbishop of Canterbury immediately resigned the office of chancellor, which was given to the cardinal archbishop of York (3).

Jan 26.

Jan. 28.

Ten days were employed in framing the bill of impeachment, which, when it was finished, left the delinquency of the prisoner more problematical than before. Most, indeed, of our ancient writers, borne along by the torrent of popular prejudice, have pronounced him guilty; but the improbability or insufficiency of the eight articles of treason alleged against him will establish his innocence in the mind of the impartial reader. The first, and therefore we may suppose the most important charge, was, that he had plotted to dethrone the king, and place the crown on the head of his own son, whom for that purpose he intended to marry to the only daughter of the late duke of Somerset, that he might be allied to the royal family; and that for this purpose he had soli-

Feb. 7.

(1) Rot. Parl. v. 176.
(2) Domino Cromwell secrete laborante. Will. Wyrcest. 467.
(3) Rot. Parl. v. 172. 176, 177.

cited the aid of the French king. Next followed the usual charges of his having liberated the duke of Orleans against the opinion of the council, and surrendered Maine and Anjou without consulting his colleagues; and the weakness of these accusations was bolstered up with vague assertions, that he had betrayed the king's secrets, and conveyed intelligence to the king's enemies. Sensible,
Mar. 7. however, of their inability to prove these eight articles, the commons a month afterwards sent to the lords a new impeachment, in which the duke was charged with misprision of treason under sixteen heads, by improvident waste of the public money; by diverting the supplies from the purposes for which they had been originally voted; by advising the king to impoverish himself by unnecessary grants; by bestowing offices under the crown on suspicious or disloyal persons; and by screening from the pursuit of justice a notorious outlaw, named William Taillbois. The duke was now removed from his prison to a tower in the garden of the palace, that he might be nearer the parliament (1).

On the day appointed for his answer he was introduced into the house of lords, and falling on his knees before the king, so-
Mar. 13. lemnly declared his innocence. To the first article he replied that it was ridiculous and impossible, and appealed to several of the peers present, who knew that he intended to marry his son to a daughter of the earl of Warwick. For the cession of Anjou and Maine, if it were a crime, he was not more responsible than the other lords of the council, or the other peers of the parliament; since the first had authorised, the second had approved the measure. The remaining charges, he contended, were frivolous and vexatious, resting on no other proof than the reports raised by his enemies, or on acts of the council, emanating from many of his judges equally with himself. The second impeachment he did not notice (2).

But whatever might be the guilt or innocence of Suffolk, it was evident that his enemies thirsted for his blood: nor would the commons grant any supply till their cry for vengeance had been appeased. It became therefore the policy of the court to devise the means of satisfying them without endangering his life. He was
Mar. 17. again called before the king and lords; and the chancellor, observing that he had not claimed the privilege of the peerage, asked if he had any thing more to say in his defence. It was his hope, he replied, that he had sufficiently established his innocence; he had shown that the charges against him were false, and some of them impossible; he had denied the facts, the times, the places, and the conversations; he repeated that he was as ignorant of them

(1) Rot. Parl. v. 174—182. Will. Wyrcest. 468. In neither of these impeachments is there any allusion to the death of the duke of Gloucester, a pretty plain proof that there was no evidence of his having been murdered.

(2) Rot. Parl. v. 182.

as "the child still in the mother's womb," and therefore threw himself without reserve on the will of his sovereign. The chancellor immediately: resumed "Sir, since you do not put yourself on your "peerage for trial, the king will not hold you either guilty or innocent of the treasons with which you have been charged: but "with respect to the second impeachment, not as a judge advised "by the lords, but as one to whose control you have voluntarily "submitted, he commands you to quit this land before the first "of May, and forbids you ever to set your foot during the five "next years on his dominions either in this kingdom or beyond "the sea." The lords immediately protested by the mouth of the constable, the viscount Beaumont, that this was the act of the king alone, and should form no precedent to bar them or their heirs of the privilege of the peerage. The parliament was soon afterwards prorogued, to meet again in a month's time in the city of Leicester (1).

During these proceedings the public mind had been kept in a continual ferment; and, as soon as the king's decision was published, the most incredible reports were circulated, inflammatory libels were affixed to the doors of the churches, and the life of the duke was openly threatened (2). To intercept him on his discharge Mar. 18. from confinement, two thousand persons assembled in St. Giles's: but though they surprised his servants, the object of their hatred fortunately escaped, and proceeded to his estates in the county of Suffolk (3). On the day fixed for his departure he assembled the Apr. 30. knights and esquires of the neighbourhood, and in their presence swore on the sacrament that he was innocent of the crimes with which he had been charged by his enemies (4). At the same time he wrote to his son a most eloquent and affectionate letter, laying down rules for his conduct, and inculcating in the most forcible terms the duty of piety towards God, loyalty to the king, and obedience to his mother. Whoever has read this affecting composition will find it difficult to persuade himself that the writer could have been either a false subject or a bad man (5). He sailed from Ipswich with two small vessels, and sent a pinnace before him to inquire whether he might be permitted to land in the harbour of Calais. But the pinnace was captured by a squadron of men of Apr. 30. war; and immediately the Nicholas of the Tower, one of the largest ships in the navy, bore down on the duke's vessels. He was ordered on board, and received on deck by the captain with the

(1) Rot. Parl. v. 182, 183. If the king ordered this judgment to be pronounced of his own authority, it was certainly illegal: but it appears to have been in consequence of a compromise between the two parties. Wyrcester says it was with the consent of parliament (p. 468); and the continuator of the history of Croyland hints that Suffolk's enemies intended to make away with him before he could leave the realm. Insidias ei ponentes ad tempus, p. 525.

(2) Rym. xi. 288.

(3) Will. Wyrcest. 468.

(4) Will. Wyrcest. 469.

(5) It is published among Fenn's original Letters, i. 33.

ominous salutation of "Welcome, traitor." It is probable that a messenger was sent on shore to announce his capture, and require instructions; for the duke remained two nights in the Nicholas, during which he spent much of his time in conversation with his confessor, wrote a long letter to the king, and underwent a mock trial before the sailors, by whom he was condemned to suffer
May 2. death. On the second morning a small boat came alongside, in which were a block, a rusty sword, and an executioner: the duke was lowered into it: and the man, telling him that he should die like a knight, at the sixth stroke smote off his head. His remains were placed on the sands near Dover, and watched by the sheriff of Kent, till the king ordered them to be delivered to his widow, by whom they were interred in the collegiate church of Wingfield in Suffolk (1).

From the preceding narrative it is evident that there existed a party which had sworn the destruction of this unfortunate nobleman. Not deterred by the failure of the prosecution in parliament, nor by the escape of their victim from St. Giles's, they even despatched an armed force to assassinate him at sea. But of the leaders of this party we know no more than that they were persons of the first consideration in the state; and of their immediate motives we are entirely ignorant. By some writers the murder has been attributed to disappointed ambition, which could not brook the ascendency of the favourite in the councils of his sovereign: by others to the policy of the duke of York, who deemed it necessary to remove so faithful a minister before he should openly take any measure to place himself on the throne. The last hypothesis has been thought to derive confirmation from the fact, that some of the noblemen, who afterwards espoused his interests, came to the parliament at Leicester, accompanied by hundreds of armed men (2).

The news of this tragical event plunged the king and queen into the deepest distress: in a few days they were awakened from their sorrow by the danger which threatened themselves. Whether the men who had taken the life of Suffolk had any part in kindling this flame which now burst forth, or whether it sprung spontaneously from the irritation of the public mind, it is difficult to determine. Intelligence had just arrived of the defeat of sir Thomas Kyriel; the commons in several counties threatened to rise and reform the government; and the people of Kent were goaded to madness by repeated rumours of the signal vengeance which Henry had determined to inflict on them for having furnished the
May 28. ships which intercepted his friend. It was a crisis most favourable

(1) Will. Wyrcest. 469. 477. Croyl. cont. 525. Two letters, apud Fenn, i. 38—45. It may be observed that there are many mistakes in the remarks of the editor on these letters.

(2) "Upon the iiiith day of this monthe the "erle of Deveneschire come hydre wt. iiic. men "well byseen, and upon the morrow after my "lord of Warrewyke wt. iiiic. and moo. Ley- "cestr the vi. day of May." Fenn's Letters, i. 44. 46.

to the views of artful and designing men; and an Irish adventurer, whose real name was John Cade, but who had assumed that of Mortimer, cousin to the duke of York, seized the moment to unfurl the standard of insurrection. At the head of twenty thou- June 17.
sand men he marched to Blackheath. Henry instantly dissolved the parliament, and summoning his forces, advanced to London (1). Many messages passed between the king and the feigned Mortimer, June 20.
who delivered the wishes of his followers in two papers, entitled "The Complaints of the Commons of Kent," and "The Requests "by the Captain of the Great Assembly in Kent." The complaints stated that the king purposed to punish the men of Kent for a murder of which they were not guilty; that he gave away the revenues of the crown, and took for his own maintenance the goods of the people; that he excluded from his council the lords of his own blood, to make place for men of low rank, who oppressed his subjects; that the sheriffs, under-sheriffs, and collectors of taxes were guilty of intolerable extortions; that in the election of knights of the shire the free choice of the people was superseded by the influence of the lords; and that numerous delays and impediments had been introduced to prevent the speedy administration of justice. Their "requests" demanded that the relatives of the duke of Suffolk should be banished from the court, and the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, with the earls and barons, be employed about the king's person: that the traitors should be punished who contrived the death of the duke of Gloucester, of the holy father the cardinal, of the duke of Exeter, and of the duke of Warwick, and who occasioned the loss of Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, and Maine: and that all extortions should be abolished, and the great extortioners, Sleg, Cromer, Lisle, and Robert Est, be brought to justice (2).

Henry had levied between fifteen and twenty thousand men, with whom he marched to suppress the insurgents; but Cade withdrew June 23.
before the king's arrival, and was pursued by a detachment of royalists under sir Humphrey Stafford. At Sevenoaks he turned on June 24.
his pursuers, put them to flight, killed their commander, and arrayed himself in the knight's armour. When the news was brought to Blackheath, the royalists began to waver: the requests of the Kentish men they now thought reasonable; and it was asked why they should fight against their own countrymen, who had taken up arms in defence of the national liberties. At the persuasion of the lords, who distrusted, or pretended to distrust, the fidelity of their followers, Henry sent to the Tower his chamberlain the lord Say, one of the most obnoxious ministers, disbanded his forces, and retired to the castle of Kenilworth. Lord Scales, with a thousand June 29.

(1) Will. Wyrcest. 469, 470.

(2) See both these instruments in Stow, 388—390.

July. 1 men, undertook the defence of the Tower; Cade resumed his former position on Blackheath, and two days later took possession of Southwark (1).

The mayor had summoned a common council, in which, after a July 3. long debate, it was resolved to offer no resistance; and in the afternoon Cade entered in martial array, cutting with his sword the ropes of the drawbridge as he passed. He preserved the strictest discipline among his followers, and in the evening, to prevent July 4. disorder, led them back into the Borough. He acted in the same manner the next day; but compelled the mayor and judges to sit in the Guildhall; and having, by some means which are not mentioned, got possession of lord Say, arraigned him before them. Bills of indictment were immediately found against the prisoner, the duchess of Suffolk, the bishop of Salisbury, Thomas Daniel, and several others, who in the parliament of Leicester had been pointed out as the accomplices of the late minister. Fortunately the rest were absent: lord Say pleaded the privilege of the peerage, but was hurried to the standard in Cheapside, and immediately beheaded. His son-in-law Cromer, sheriff of Kent, was soon afterwards discovered, and underwent the same fate (2).

On the third day a few houses were pillaged; and the citizens fearing the same violence on the next morning, determined with the assistance of lord Scales to defend the bridge and exclude the July 5. insurgents. Cade received intelligence of their design, and a bloody conflict ensued during the night: sometimes the citizens, sometimes the men of Kent prevailed: but at the end of six hours the royalists were in possession of the bridge, and a short truce was taken by mutual consent. The archbishops of Canterbury and York, who were in the tower, deemed this a favourable moment to divide the insurgents; and the bishop of Winchester, crossing the river, carried with him pardons under the great seal for all who should July 6. immediately return to their own homes (3). The offer, after some demur, was gratefully accepted, and the army immediately dis- July 8. persed. Cade, however, repenting of his credulity, again unfurled his banner, and found men prepared to rejoin it. But their number was too small to attack the city: they retired from Southwark through Deptford to Rochester, and there quarrelled among July 9. themselves respecting the partition of their plunder. The captain in despair mounted his horse, and fled in the direction of Lewes, but was hotly pursued by Iden, the sheriff of Kent, and taken and July 11. beheaded in a garden at Heyfield (4). The chief of his followers

(1) Will. Wyrcest. 470. Fab. 449, 450.

(2) Will. Wyrcest. 471. Fab. 451. But the bishop of Salisbury had suffered already. He had been pointed out to public resentment by the commons at Leicester, and on the 29th of June was seised by his own tenants at Eddington, just as he had finished mass, was dragged out of the church in his vestments, and carried to an eminence, where one of them clove his skull with a bill. Fab. 448. 453. Stow. 392.

(3) Will. Wyrcest. 470. Fenn's Letters, 60. Fab. 452, 453.

(4) That Cade accepted the pardon, but afterwards repented of it, is stated in the proclamation against him, dated July 10. (Apud Stow, p. 391.) Hence in his attainder no mention is

were afterwards executed; of whom some, if we may believe a subsequent act of attainder against the duke of York, confessed on the scaffold that it had been their intention to place that prince on the throne (1). July 11.

During his absence the interests of the duke had been intrusted to the care of his friends: now it was deemed time that he should appear on the scene in person. Leaving his government of Ireland without permission, he landed in England, and, to the terror of the court, hastened towards London with a retinue of four thousand men. On his road through Northamptonshire he sent for William Tresham, the speaker of the late house of commons, a partisan who had distinguished himself by his zeal in the prosecution of Suffolk: but Tresham had hardly left his own home, when he was intercepted and murdered by a party of armed men belonging to the lord Grey of Ruthyn, probably in revenge of the part which he had acted in procuring the death of the late minister. York pursued his journey, was introduced to Henry, behaved with insolence in his presence, extorted a promise that he would summon a parliament, and in the interval before its meeting, retired to his castle of Fotheringay (2). He was scarcely gone, when the duke of Somerset returned from France. The king and queen hailed his arrival as a blessing. He was the nearest of kin to Henry (3), and it was hoped that his fidelity and services would prove a counterpoise to the ambition of Richard. But unfortunately he came from the loss of Normandy, and in the opinion of the people was already numbered among those who were supposed to have sold to the enemy the inheritance of the crown (4). Sept. 1. Sept. 30. Oct.

The session of parliament was unquiet and stormy. The rival leaders boldly opposed each other; and, though the life of Somerset was threatened, though his treasures were pillaged by the populace, his opponents could not obtain any decided advantage. Young, one of the members for Bristol, moved that, as Henry was without children, the duke of York should be declared heir apparent: but the motion met with very feeble support, and the mover was afterwards committed to the Tower (5). A bill was carried through the Nov. 6.

made of any act of treason committed by him before the 8th of July (Rot. Parl. v. 224). Iden conveyed the dead body to London for the satisfaction of the king and council, and claimed the reward of 1000 marks for himself and his companions according to the promise in the king's proclamation. Rym. xi. 275. Pell Records, 467.

(1) Rot. Parl. v. 346.

(2) "Unto yeure presence, and there bette "down the speres and walles in your cham- "ber," etc. Ibid.

(3)

John of Ghent, duke of Lancaster.

John Beaufort, earl of Somerset.

Henry, earl of Somerset, died young.	John, duke of Somerset, died 1444.	Edmund, duke of Somerset.

(4) Will. Wyrcest. 473. Rot. Parl. v. 211.

(5) Will. Wyrcest. 475.

lower house to attaint the memory of the duke of Suffolk, and another to remove from the court the duke of Somerset, and the duchess of Suffolk, and most of the king's friends: but Henry refused his assent to the first (1), and replied to the other, that he could not dispense with the services of the lords, and a few others who had for years been near his person, but would order the rest to absent themselves for twelve months, during which their conduct might be investigated, if any charge could be brought against them (2). At the same time the duchess of Suffolk, and the persons indicted of treason at the Guildhall during the insurrection, demanded to be brought to trial, and were instantly acquitted (3).

A. D. 1451. During the parliament the duke of York held frequent consultations with his friends; the result of which was a determination to appeal to the sword on the first favourable occasion (4). For several months the nation was agitated by quarrels between the adherents of the two parties, by acts of violence and bloodshed, and by fruitless attempts to effect a reconciliation (5). At length the duke repaired to his castle at Ludlow; and while, under the pretext of opposing the pernicious projects of the duke of Somerset, he raised the tenants of the house of Mortimer in the marches of Wales, published a proclamation containing strong professions of loyalty, and offered to swear fealty to Henry on the sacrament before the bishop of

A. D. 1452. Jan. 9. Feb. 16. Hereford, and the earl of Shrewsbury. The king at the head of an army immediately marched against him: but York, avoiding the direction of the royalists, advanced to London by a different road, and finding the gates shut against him, proceeded as far as Dartford, in the hope of alluring to his standard the men of Kent. Henry followed him, and from Blackheath sent the bishops of Winchester and Ely to demand an explanation of his conduct.

(1) In this bill was adopted the language of the Kentish insurgents: that Suffolk had been the cause of the arrest and death of the duke of Gloucester; and of "abridging the days of other "princes of the blood." Rot. Parl. v. 226. Yet while he was alive, they never ventured to produce these charges; an omission which, considering all the circumstances, is a proof of Suffolk's innocence The other princes mentioned in Cade's memorial were, the duke of Warwick, who was descended from Edmund Langley duke of York, and died 11th June, 1445; cardinal Beaufort, who died April 11th, 1447; and Holand duke of Exeter, who had married the granddaughter of the duke of Gloucester, and died 5th of August, 1447.

(2) Rot. Parl. v. 216.

(3) The duchess was tried before the peers, according to an act passed in 1442 (Rot. Parl. v. 56); the rest before the judges. Will. Wyrcest. 475. The murderers of Tresham were outlawed. Rot Parl. 211.

(4) He had married Cecily, daughter of Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, and grand-daughter of John of Ghent. This marriage secured to him the services of the earl of Salisbury, and the lords Falconberg, Bergavenny, and Latimer, the brothers of his wife. He was also supported by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Devon, and the lords Cromwell and Cobham.

(5) I have omitted in the text the three principal events of the year, as, in our ignorance of their causes, it is difficult to connect them together. 1. In this spring the earl of Devon besieged the castle of Taunton, held by the lord Bonville, a royalist. The duke of York joined the earl, and Bonville surrendered. Wyrcest 475. 2. In August, Thomas Nevil, son of the earl of Salisbury, married a niece of lord Cromwell. In returning from the marriage, Percy lord Egremont quarrelled with the earl of Salisbury near York. It was, says the writer, the commencement of the greatest calamities to England. Id. p. 476. 3. A great council was held at Coventry. Several men were killed in an affray between the servants of Somerset and the armed townsmen. It was proposed to arrest the duke of York. The duke of Buckingham, a stanch loyalist, prevented it. It was agreed that all differences should be left to the decision of the peers. Id. 476. Fenn's Letters, i. 26. The editor appears to me to have affixed to this letter a wrong date.

The duke's answer began with the usual protestation of his loyalty; he then complained that both before his departure to Ireland, and since his return to England, attempts had been made to arrest him for treason; and concluded with asserting that he was come to vindicate his innocence, and set the question at rest for ever. The king in reply reminded him, that since he had unlawfully slain the bishop of Chichester (1), his adherents had openly boasted of his pretended claim to the succession, whence it was not surprising if the advisers of the crown should occasionally adopt measures of precaution: but added, that to set his mind at ease on that subject, he still held him to be a true and faithful subject, and his own well-beloved cousin. York now demanded that all persons "noised or indicted "of treason" should be apprehended and imprisoned in the Tower till they could be brought to trial; and the king replied that a new council should be appointed, in which *he* should be included, and that all matters of debate should be decided by the majority of that council (2). To satisfy him, however, he ordered the duke of Somerset into custody; on which York disbanded his army, and submitted to visit Henry in his tent unarmed and bare-headed. Mar. 1. There the two rivals met; the charge of treason was retorted from one to the other; and the duke, as he left the king, was immediately arrested. Had the advice of Somerset been followed, he would have been brought to his trial, or terrified into a confession, and executed. But Henry recoiled from the idea of shedding the blood of a relation: the report, that the earl of March was advancing with an army to liberate his father, intimidated the council, and an offer of his liberty was made to the duke on condition that he would again swear fealty to the king. He took the oath on the sacrament in St. Paul's before the lords and a numerous audience, and was permitted to retire to his castle of Wigmore (3).

At this moment, when Henry was relieved from all apprehension of a contest for the throne, arrived a deputation from the inhabitants of Guienne, who, impatient under the yoke of their new masters, offered to renew their allegiance, and solicited the aid of an English army. The invitation was accepted with eagerness, and the command given to Talbot, the veteran earl of Shrewsbury, who had reached his eightieth year. With four thousand Oct. 17. men he sailed to Guienne; his son lord Lisle brought him a reinforcement of an equal number; and before winter Bordeaux, with the whole of the Bordelais, and Chatillon in Perigord, had submitted. The next spring he opened the campaign with the capture of the town of Fronsac: but there the tide of victory turned; the French marshals Loheac and Jalagnes advanced with twenty-

(1) The murder of the bishop at Portsmouth was attributed to the emissaries of the duke.

(2) These instruments have been preserved by Stow, 393—395. The last is also in Fenn, i. 65.

(3) See the oath in Stow, 395. Whethamstede, 349, and Rot. Parl. v. 346.

two thousand men; and the count of Penthièvre invested the important fortress of Chatillon. Talbot hastened to its relief: early in the morning he surprised and defeated a numerous body of the enemy: but the fugitives gave the alarm, and the French retired into an intrenched camp lined with three hundred pieces of cannon (1). Talbot, yielding to the ardour of his followers, ordered an
A. D. 1453. July 20. assault; and his opponents were seen to waver, when the count of Penthièvre, arriving with a new body of men, determined the fate of the battle. The English commander, who had his horse killed under him, and his leg broken, was slain as he lay on the field, with a bayonet; his son, though repeatedly urged to retire, fell in attempting to rescue his father; and the army, after the death of its leader, dispersed in every direction. A thousand men, who had fought their way into the fortress, were made prisoners.

From Chatillon Charles, who now took the command, pursued his victorious career till he reached the gates of Bordeaux. That city was obstinately defended by six thousand armed citizens, and
Oct. 19. four thousand English: but famine compelled them to surrender after a siege of seven weeks, on condition that the English should retire with all their property, and the natives with a few exceptions should be received under the protection of the conqueror. From that moment Guienne was incorporated with the dominions of the French monarch (2).

Mar. 6. While the nation was intoxicated with joy caused by the first success of Talbot, Henry summoned a parliament, which, besides liberal supplies of money, voted an army of twenty thousand archers to be raised and paid at the expense of the several counties (3). It had been intended that the king should put himself at the head of this force: but the design was at first postponed, and ultimately abandoned on account of the declining state of his health. If that circumstance raised, another occurred to lower the
Oct. 13. hopes of the Yorkists. In autumn the queen was delivered of a son, whom she called Edward. It was in vain that the king's enemies attempted to throw doubts on the legitimacy of the young prince. Their suspicions were silenced by the concurrent voice of the nation; and the prospect of an undisputed succession was hailed with joy by the friends of tranquillity (4).

Unfortunately, however, Henry by this time had sunk into a state of mental, as well as bodily incapacity (5). His melancholy

(1) Æneas Sylv. oper. p. 441. He says these bombards had been brought on carriages, and discharged three hundred stones into the midst of the English.

(2) Monstrel. iii. 41—59. Hall, 165, 166. Æneas Sylv. ibid.

(3) Rot. Parl. 230—233. On what principle the different proportions were fixed is not mentioned: but if on that of population, it will follow that Norfolk contained more inhabitants than any other county. It had to raise 1012 men: the next in number were, Lincoln 910, York 713, Kent 575, and Wilts 478. The cities and towns, which were counties at the same time, were rated as follows: London 1137, York 152, Norwich 121, Bristol 86, Coventry 76, Newcastle 53, Hull 50, Southampton and Lincoln 44, and Nottingham 30. Ib.

(4) Fab. 456.

(5) Apud Claryngtone subito occidit in gravem infirmitatem capitis, ita quod extractus a mente videbatur. Wyrcest. 477. Ut sensu pro tempore

situation, which could not be concealed, rendered it necessary to prorogue the parliament, and recalled the duke of York into the cabinet. He soon gained the ascendency over his rival, and Somerset was committed to the Tower (1). When the parliament reassembled, he opened the session in the king's name, with the title of his lieutenant. The commons had already shown themselves stedfastly attached to the royal cause: but the duke had contrived to throw into prison their speaker, Thomas Thorpe, one of the barons of the exchequer. In an action for trespass (whether it were real or feigned is unknown) he had obtained a verdict in his own favour with damages to the amount of one thousand pounds; and Thorpe had been committed to the Fleet, till he should give security for that sum, and pay a proportional fine to the crown. It was in vain that the commons petitioned for the release of their speaker; the lords refused their assent; and a new speaker was chosen (2). From the confused order and imperfect nature of the notices entered on the rolls, it is difficult to collect the proceedings of this session of parliament. It appears that many of the lords had absented themselves, and were compelled to attend by heavy fines (3). The lord Cromwell obtained an act to bind the duke of Exeter to keep the peace under a severe penalty (4); and the earl of Devonshire, another of the Yorkists, having been charged with treason, was tried and acquitted by his peers. The duke, conceiving that the accusation was aimed at himself, arose and said: "As far as this "indictment toucheth me, I say that it is false and untrue; and "that I am, all the days of my life have been, and to the end "thereof shall be, true and humble liegeman to the king, my "most dread sovereign lord, and never privily nor apertly thought "nor meant the contrary, whereof I call unto witness God, and all "the saints of heaven." The lords of course replied, that they gave full belief to so solemn a protestation (5).

Nov. 25. A. D. 1454. Feb. 14. Feb. 16. Feb. 28. Mar. 9. Mar. 14.

A committee of peers was now chosen to visit the king; and as soon as they had reported that he was incapable of transacting business, an act was passed appointing the duke protector with a yearly salary of two thousand marks. The Lancastrians, however, had sufficient influence to preserve the king's rights inviolate. It was declared, agreeably to former precedents, that

Mar. 27.

careret et memoria... nec valeret pedibus pergere, nec sursum erigere verticem, nec de loco in quo sedebat, bene se movere. Whetham. 349.

(1) Rym. xi. 362. Rot. Parl. v.

(2) Rot. Parl. v. 238—240. The lords consulted the judges, who declined to give their opinion, "for the court of parliament is so high and so "mighty in its nature, that it may make law, "and that that is law, it may make no law: and "the determination and knowledge of that privi-"lege belongeth to the lords of parliament and "not to the justices." Ibid.

(3) Ibid. 248. The duke of Somerset and lord Cobham were exempted, because they were in prison. Cobham was a partisan of York's.

(4) Ibid. 264. From Fenn's letters it appears that the duke of York, in one part of this year, had the duke of Exeter in his own custody: and that he was afterwards at large, and had come secretly to London. "God," adds the writer, "send him good council hereafter." Fenn, i. 72. 76. He was afterwards confined at Pontefract. Rym. xi. 365.

(5) Rot. Parl. v. 249, 250.

the title of protector imported no authority; that it merely gave the precedence in the council, and the command of the army in time of invasion or rebellion; that it was revocable at the will of the king; that it should not prejudice the rights of his son, who had already been created prince of Wales and earl of Chester: and that, if Henry's incapacity were permanent, the protectorate should devolve on the prince, as soon as he came of age (1).

Apr. 16. The custody of the sea was intrusted for seven years to five noblemen selected from the two parties, the earls of Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Wiltshire, and the lord Stourton (2), but the government of Calais, a most important asylum in case of misfortune, was taken from Somerset, and bestowed on the duke of York for the same period (3).

The king's malady was not permanent. About Christmas he recovered his health, and with it the use of his reason (4). Though he received the duke of York with his usual kindness, he put an end to the protectorate, and liberated the duke of Somerset from the Tower. At first that nobleman gave bail for his appearance at Westminster to answer the charges laid against him: but on his appeal to the council that he had been committed without any lawful cause, the recognizances were discharged.

A. D. 1455. Feb. 5.

Mar. 4. Henry laboured most earnestly to reconcile the two dukes. As the government of Calais, which had been taken from Somerset and given to York, was likely to prove a new source of dissension, the king assumed it himself, and prevailed on both to submit, under the penalty of twenty thousand marks, their other differences to the decision of eight arbitrators, who should present their award before the twentieth of June (5).

York, however, had no intention to await that award, but took the first opportunity to retire from court, invited his friends to meet him in the marshes of Wales, and soon saw himself at the head of three thousand men, with the duke of Norfolk, the earl

(1) Ibid. 242—244.

(2) Ibid. 244—246. Of the manner in which provision was usually made for the safeguard of the sea, we have an instance on the rolls for the year 1443. The fleet consisted of 8 large ships with fore stages, each carrying 150 men; 8 barges, carrying 80; 8 balyngers, 40; 4 pinnaces, 25. Each of the large ships had a captain, who was a knight, besides a master. The barges and balyngers had also masters. The expense of provisions for each man was estimated at two-pence the day, his pay at two shillings the month. The masters had in addition a reward of 3*s.* 4*d.* per month. The ships were to be on the sea from Candlemas to Martinmas; and in case they made any captures, the value was to be divided into two halves, of which one belonged to the masters, quarter-masters, shipmen and soldiers; the other was to be subdivided into three equal parts, of which two were to be given to the owners of the ships, barges, balyngers, and pinnaces, and one to the captains, by whom it was to be apportioned into eight shares, two for the commander-in-chief, and one for each of the others. Ibid. 59, 60.

(3) Rot. Parl. v. 254—256. On the death of Kempe, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, York gave the seals to his great friend, the earl of Salisbury, Ap. 2. 1454. See Rym. xi. 344.

(4) Fenn's letters. i. 80. "And on the Monday "afternoon the queen came to him, and brought "my lord prince with her, and there he asked "what the prince's name was, and the queen told "him Edward, and then he held up his hands and "thanked God thereof. And he said he never "knew till that time, nor wist not what was said "to him, nor wist not where he had been, whilst "he hath been sick till now." Ibid.

(5) Rym. 361—364. The arbitrators were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, the duke of Buckingham, the earls of Wiltshire and Worcester, the Viscount Beaumont, and the lords Cromwell and Stourton. Ibid. The duke of Exeter was also liberated from his confinement in the castle of Pontefract. Rym. xi. 366.

of Salisbury, and his son the celebrated earl of Warwick. At the news Henry left London, and early the next morning, as May 22. he entered St. Alban's, was surprised to behold the banners of the Yorkists advancing towards the town. They halted in a neighbouring field; and, after a pause of three hours, sent a message to the king with strong professions of attachment and loyalty, but demanding the immediate surrender of Somerset and his associates, and declaring that they would die themselves, or pursue their enemies to the death. Henry refused with firmness, declaring that, "sooner than abandon any of the lords who were "faithful to him, he was ready that day in their quarrel to live "and die (1)." Though the barriers at the entrance of the town were gallantly defended by the lord Clifford, Warwick forced his way through the gardens into the street, and his followers rent the air with shouts of A Warwick! a Warwick! At the sound alarm spread among the royalists; the barriers were abandoned; the Yorkists poured through the opening; and the victory was won.

Henry had taken refuge in the house of a tanner, where the duke immediately visited him. He bent his knee with apparent humility, bade the king rejoice that the traitor (meaning Somerest) had met with his desert, and, taking him by the hand, led him first to the shrine of St. Alban, and then to his apartment in the abbey. The battle seems to have been won by the archers. Henry was wounded in the neck, the duke of Buckingham and lord Dudley in the face, the earl of Stafford in the arm, all of them with arrows. The duke of Somerset, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford were slain; and, as soon as they fell, their men threw down their arms and fled (2). Some writers tell us that the slain amounted to many thousands: but a letter written three days after the battle reduces it to six score, and sir William Stonor, at that time steward of the abbey, seems to make the number still smaller (3).

The unfortunate king, in the hands, and at the mercy of his enemies, was compelled to lend the sanction of his authority to the very acts by which he had been deprived of his liberty. When the July 9. parliament assembled, he was told that York and his adherents had in all their proceedings been actuated by sentiments of the purest loyalty; that their only object had been to explain to him the disgraceful practices of his ministers, and to assist him with their advice in redressing the grievances of the nation; that previously to the battle they had announced their motives and views in letters, which had been withheld from his notice by the arts of the late duke of Somerset, of Thorpe, formerly speaker of the house of

(1) Whetham, 352. Stow, 398.
(2) Rot. Parl. v. 347.
(3) Hall has 8000 (p. 168), Stow 5000 (p. 400), but Crane in his letter to his cousin John Paston, dated Whitsunday, had at first written ten score, which he afterwards corrected to six. Fenn's Letters, i. p. 100. According to sir William Stonor forty-eight were buried in St. Alban's Arch, xx. 522. Numbers are generally exaggerated in the ancient writers.

commons (1), and of William Joseph, the confidant of these traitors; that at last they determined to lay their complaints before him in person, but, as they entered the town of St. Alban's for that purpose, were opposed by Somerset, who, in the affray which followed, paid with his life the penalty of his treason. The king, affecting to give credit to this incredible tale, acquitted York, Warwick, and Salisbury, of all disloyal practices, pronounced them good and faithful subjects, and granted them a full pardon for all offences committed
July 18. before the first day of the session. The peers renewed their oath of fealty, the spiritual lords laying their right hands on their breasts, the temporal placing their hands between those of the king. On the last day of July the parliament was prorogued to the twelfth of
July 31. November (2).

Nov. 12—13. About the end of October it was rumoured that Henry had relapsed into his former disorder, and the session was opened by the duke
Nov. 15. of York as his lieutenant. The next day the commons requested the lords to petition the king, that, if he were unable to attend to the public business himself, a protector might be immediately appointed. Two days later they renewed their request, adding, that till it was granted they should suspend the consideration of every other subject. As soon as they left the house, the lords conjured the duke of York to undertake the charge; but he, with affected humility, alleging his own incapacity, and solicited them to select from their body a peer more worthy of the honour, and more equal to the burden. They in return renewed their prayer with many compliments to his abilities and wisdom. When this farce had been acted for a considerable time, he condescended to accept the protectorate, but on condition that it should not be, as before, revocable "at the will of the king, but by the king in parliament, with the "advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal (3)." Still the powers of government were vested, not in him, but in the members of the council: but this provision was intended merely to blind the eyes of the nation; for he had previously secured a majority in the council, and the office of chancellor, and the government of Calais, were bestowed on his associates, the earls of Salisbury and Warwick (4).

(1) Thorpe was in the battle; "he and many "other ffiede, and left her harneys behynde him "cowardly." Ibid. The very letter or remonstrance said to have been kept back, was lately in the possession of Mr. Thorpe.

(2) Rot. Parl. v. 275—283. The Yorkists appear to have quarrelled among themselves. On the day on which they swore fealty "there was lan- "guage between my lords of Warwick and Crom- "well afore the king, insomuch as the lord Crom- "well would have excused himself of all the stir- "ring or moving of the mal journey (the battle) "of St. Alban's, of the which excuse making my "lord of Warwick had knowledge, and in haste "was with the king, and swore by his oath that "the lord Cromwell said not truth, but that he "was beginner of all that journey at St. Alban's: "and so between my said two lords of Warwick "and Cromwell there is at this day great grud- "ging, insomuch as the earl of Shrewsbury hath "lodged him at the hospital of St. James beside "the Mews, by the lord Cromwell's desire, for "his safeguard." Fenn's Let. i. 110. In this session was passed an act, declaring the duke of Gloucester to have been till his death a loyal subject. Whetham. 365. Rot. Parl. v. 335.

(3) In the act confirming this appointment, as well as that which confirmed the former, a clause was introduced transferring it to the prince of Wales, as soon as he should come to the years of discretion. Ibid. 288.

(4) Rot. Parl. v. 283—290. 441. Young, who

After these arrangements the protector might think himself secure, A. D. 1456. and might expect at a convenient time to exchange his present for a still higher title. But the meek and inoffensive character of Henry had preserved him friends, who were unwilling that he should be stripped of his authority; and the lofty spirit of the queen sought every opportunity to oppose the rival pretensions of the Yorkists. When the parliament met after the holidays, Henry had recovered his health. To strengthen his party York had called sir Thomas Jan. 14. Stanley and sir Richard West to the house of peers: but the current ran in the king's favour: Henry proceeded in person to the parliament, and the protector's commission was formally revoked (1). Feb. 25.

With apparent willingness the duke descended from his high station; the earl of Salisbury resigned the great seal; and the offices of government were again filled by the king's friends. Two years passed without any important occurrence: but they were years of distrust and alarm; the relatives of the lords slain at St. Albans loudly demanded vengeance; and their adversaries surrounded themselves with bands of armed and trusty retainers. Henry called A. D. 1457. a great council at Coventry, and by the mouth of his chancellor repeatedly communicated his complaints and intentions to the duke of York. At length the duke of Buckingham, as speaker of the house, rehearsed all the real or supposed offences with which that prince had been charged; and at the conclusion, the peers falling on their knees, besought the king to declare that he would never more "show grace" to the duke or any other person, who should oppose the rights of the crown, or disturb the peace of the realm. Henry assented; and York repeated his oath of fealty, and gave a copy of it under his own signature to the king. The same was exacted from the earl of Warwick. In conclusion, all the lords bound themselves never for the future to seek redress by force, but to remit their quarrels to the justice of their sovereign (2).

In consequence of this resolution Henry, who had long acted as the only impartial man in his dominions, laboured to mitigate the resentments of the two parties: and at last had reason to hope that his endeavours would be crowned with complete success. By common agreement they repaired with their retainers to London (3): the royalists were lodged without, the Yorkists within the walls; and A. D. 1458. the mayor, at the head of five thousand armed citizens, undertook Jan. 26. to preserve the peace. The duke assembled his partisans every morning at the Black Friars: their resolves were communicated by

had been imprisoned for his bold motion in favour of the duke of York, presented a petition for damages on account of his imprisonment. Ibid. 337.

(1) Rot. Parl. v. 421.

(2) Such is the account on the rolls, v. 347. Our chroniclers tell us that York, Salisbury, and Warwick had arrived near Coventry, when they received advice of a conspiracy against their lives, and immediately fled, York to Wigmore, Salisbury to Middleham, and Warwick to Calais. Fab. 462. Stow. 402.

(3) The duke of York had only 140 horse, the new duke of Somerset 200, the earl of Salisbury 400, besides fourscore knights and esquires. Fenn's Letters. i. 151.

the primate and other prelates to the royalists, who met at the White Friars every afternoon; and the proceedings of the day were in the evening laid before the king, who with several of the judges
Mar. 24. resided at Berkhamstead. At length, as umpire between them, he pronounced his award; that within the two following years a chantry should be founded at the expense of the duke of York, and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, for the souls of the three lords slain in battle at St. Alban's; that both those who were dead, and the lords who had been the cause of their death, should be reputed faithful subjects; that the duke of York should pay to the dowager duchess of Somerset and her children the sum of five thousand, and the earl of Warwick to the lord Clifford that of one thousand marks; and that the earl of Salisbury should release to Percy lord Egremont all the damages he had obtained against him for an assault, on condition that the said lord Egremont should enter into a sufficient
Mar. 25. recognizance to keep the peace for ten years (1). The next day Henry, attended by his whole court, walked in procession to St. Paul's. In token of their reconciliation the queen was conducted by the duke of York; and the lords of each party walked before them arm in arm as friends and brothers. To the beholders it was a spectacle which appeared to promise harmony and peace: but no external ceremony could extinguish the passions of ambition and revenge, which yet lay smouldering in their breasts (2).

The king a short time before had taken the custody of the sea from the duke of Exeter, and given it to the earl of Warwick for a term of five years. His object probably was to attach that enterprising nobleman to the throne, or to remove him to a distance from his associates. In May intelligence was brought to Calais, that
May 26. a strange fleet of twenty-eight sail had been met at sea; and Warwick, with his characteristic intrepidity, hastened to intercept it with only five large and seven small vessels. The battle lasted from four in the morning till ten; and the English, though they had captured six sail, were compelled to retire with considerable loss into Calais (3). The fleet, or at least the merchandise, belonged to the citizens of Lubeck, whose commerce had been hitherto con-
July 31. ducted under the faith of treaties with England. On the complaint of the sufferers a commission was appointed to inquire into the causes of the engagement; and Warwick was in consequence sum-
Nov. 9. moned to attend the council at Westminster (4). One day, as he left the court, a quarrel arose between one of his livery and one of the king's servants: the affray gradually became more alarming; and the earl believed, or affected to believe, that his life was in

(1) It is given at length in Whethamstede, 418—428. See also Rot. Parl. v. 347.

(2) Fab. 464. Holinshed, 647. Hall, 172.

(3) John Jerningham, who was in the battle, acknowledged the defeat. "Men says, there was "not so great a battle upon the sea this forty "winters: and forsooth we were well and truly "beat." Fenn's Letters, i. 161.

(4) Rym. xi. 415.

danger. He hastened into the north to consult his father the earl of Salisbury and the duke of York; and having settled with them the plan of his future operations, returned to his command at Calais (1).

The winter was passed in preparations for the subsequent contest. The three lords actively solicited the aid of their partisans; and Warwick in particular called under his banner the veterans who had served in the late wars in Normandy and Guienne. The court distributed with profusion collars of white swans, the badge of the young prince, and by letters under the privy seal invited the king's friends to meet him in arms in the city of Leicester (2). The dissension was no longer confined to the higher classes: it divided almost every family in the nation; it had penetrated into the convents of the monks, and the cottages of the poor. One party maintained that the duke of York was an injured prince, who with his associates was trampled under foot by the minions of the court, and was compelled to arm in order to preserve his own life: the other pronounced him a traitor, who under false pretences sought to place himself on the throne, and who owed to the king's clemency that life which he had already forfeited to the laws (3). The greater part of the summer passed without any important event. At last the earl of Salisbury moved from his castle of Middleham to join the duke of York on the borders of Wales. The lord Audley with ten thousand men interposed himself between them at Bloreheath in Staffordshire. Salisbury, whose force was small, pretended to fly; the royalists pursued in confusion; and, as soon as one half of them had crossed a rapid torrent, the fugitives turned, fell on the pursuers in the glen, and obtained with ease a complete victory. Audley with more than two thousand men remained on the field of battle: the Lord Dudley with many knights and esquires was made prisoner. The earl led his troops without further molestation to Ludlow, where he found the duke of York, and was in a few days joined by his son from Calais with a large body of veterans under sir John Blount and sir Andrew Trollop (4).

A. D. 1459. May 16.

Sept. 23.

The king with an army of sixty thousand men lay at Worcester, and had sent the bishop of Salisbury to his opponents with offers of reconciliation and pardon, if they would submit within six days. They replied that they had no reliance on his promises; that his friends, depending on their own favour, transgressed his commands; and that the earl of Warwick had the last year nearly lost his life by their treachery. He advanced to Ludiford, within half a mile of their camp: when they sent him a second message, declaring that, if they had taken up arms, it was solely in their own

Oct. 10.

(1) Hall. 172, 173.
(2) Fenn. i. 175.
(3) Cont. Croyl. i. 529. Whetham. 454.
(4) Hall, 173. Stow, 405. Whetham. 445. Rot. Parl. v. 384.

defence; that though they could have revenged themselves on their enemies, they had refrained through respect to him; and that even now, when they had retired to the very borders of his kingdom, they had determined not to draw the sword against their sovereign,
Oct. 13. unless they should be compelled by necessity (1). The Yorkists were intrenched behind several batteries of cannon, which played incessantly on the royal army. To keep up the spirits of his men, the duke had spread a report that Henry had died the day before, and in the morning had ordered mass to be chanted for the repose of his soul. But the same afternoon sir Andrew Trollop, marshal of the army, who, though attached to his sovereign, had hitherto been deceived by the fair speeches of the insurgents, discovered the real object of the duke. He did not hesitate a moment; but, taking with him his veterans, departed to offer his services to the king. Distrust and consternation instantly spread through the camp; and the confederate lords about midnight fled with precipitation into
Nov. 2. the heart of Wales. There they separated, York with one of his sons sailing to Ireland, the rest accompanying Warwick into Devonshire, whence he made his way back to Calais (2).

This bloodless victory was most gratifying to the merciful disposition of Henry, who the next morning granted an amnesty to the insurgents abandoned by their leaders, and convoked a parliament to meet at Coventry. Its principal employment was to pass an act
Nov. 20. of attainder against the duke and duchess of York, and their children the earls of March and Rutland, against the earl and countess of Salisbury, and their son the earl of Warwick, the lord Clinton, and a few other knights and esquires (3). It was with pain that Henry acquiesced in this act of severity. When it was read before him preparatory to the dissolution, he insisted on the addition of a clause enabling him to dispense with the attainder, whenever he should think proper, and refused his assent to that part of it which confiscated the property of the lord Powis and two others, who had thrown themselves on his mercy the morning after the flight of their leaders (4).

In this desperate situation the hopes and fortunes of the Yorkists rested on the abilities and popularity of the earl of Warwick, who by a most fatal error had been permitted to retain the command of the fleet with the government of Calais. He was now superseded in both; in the former by the duke of Exeter, in the latter by the duke of Somerset. But when Somerset prepared to enter the harbour, he was driven back by the fire from the batteries; and as soon as he had landed at Guisnes, his ships were carried off by his own mariners to their favourite commander at Calais. They were a

(1) Whetham. 468. Stow, 406.
(2) Rot. Parl. v. 349. Whetham 461. Hall, 174. Fab. 466.
(3) Rot. Parl. v. 345—351.
(4) Ibid. 350. Whetham. 473.

most valuable acquisition to Warwick, who while Somerset and his veterans were uselessly detained in Guisnes, suprised two successive armaments fitted out by the royalists in the ports of Kent. He sailed even to Dublin to concert measures with the duke of York, and in his return was met by the duke of Exeter: but that commander, alarmed at symptoms of disaffection in his fleet turned into Dartmouth, and Warwick rejoined his friends in Calais (1). A. D. 1460. June 1.

The result of the conference at Dublin was soon disclosed. Emissaries were sent to all the friends of the party to hold themselves in readiness for action; and reports were spread that Henry had not given his assent to the act of attainder; that he was still convinced of the innocence of the exiles; and that, instead of being free, he was a reluctant captive in the hands of a faction. At the same time was circulated an appeal to the nation by the duke of York, enumerating all the grievances under which the people were said to labour; accusing the earls of Shrewsbury and Wiltshire and the lord Beaumont of guiding the king contrary to his own interests; complaining of the act of attainder against himself and his friends; asserting that letters had been sent to the French king to besiege Calais, and to the natives of Ireland to expel the English; and declaring that the fugitive lords were faithful subjects, and intended to prove their innocence before their sovereign (2). This manifesto was followed by the arrival of Warwick, who with fifteen hundred men landed in Kent, a county much attached to the house of York. He was joined by the lord Cobham with four hundred followers, by the archbishop of Canterbury, who owed his dignity to the favour of the duke during the protectorate, and by most of the neighbouring gentlemen. As he advanced, his army swelled to the amount of twenty-five, some say to forty thousand men; London opened its gates; and the earl going to the convocation, asserted his loyalty upon oath, and prevailed on five of the bishops to accompany him, for the purpose of introducing him to his sovereign. Henry had collected his army at Coventry, and advanced to Northampton, where he intrenched himself. The royalists seemed confident of victory, but were betrayed by the lord Grey of Ruthyn, who instead of defending his post, introduced the Yorkists into the heart of the camp. Though the combat lasted but a short time, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, lord treasurer, the viscount Beaumont, the lord Egremont, with three hundred knights and gentlemen were slain (3); for it had long been and still was the policy of Warwick to direct his followers to spare the people, but June 5. July 2. July 10.

(1) Wyrcest. 478, 479. Whethamstede, 476. In one of these expeditions the lord Rivers was surprised in bed. "He was brought to Calais and "before the lords with eight score torches, and "there my lord of Salisbury rated him, calling "him Knave's son, that he should be so rude as "to call him and those other lords traitors; for "they should be found the king's true liege men, "when he should be found a traitor." Fenn's Letters, i. 187.

(2) Stow, 407, 408.

(3) Wyrcest. 481. Whetham. 479—481. Hardyng, 403.

to refuse quarter to the nobility. Henry retired to his tent, where he received from the victors every demonstration of respect: his queen and her son fled towards Chester, and though they were rifled by their own servants, escaped into Wales, and thence after many adventures sailed to one of the Scottish ports (1).

The captive monarch was conducted to London. But though he entered the capital in great pomp; the earl of Warwick riding bareheaded and carrying the sword before him, he was compelled to give the sanction of his authority to such measures as the victors proposed, to issue writs in approbation of the loyalty of those who had borne arms against him, and to call a parliament for the pretended purpose of healing the dissensions between the two parties. It had scarcely repealed all the acts passed by the last
Oct. 10. parliament at Coventry (2) when the duke of York entered the city with a retinue of five hundred horsemen, and riding to Westminster, passed through the hall into the house, and stood for a short time with his hand on the throne. To the spectators he appeared to wait for an invitation to place himself on it. But every voice was silent. He turned and surveyed the assembly, when the primate ventured to ask him if he would visit the king, who was in the queen's apartment. "I know no one in this realm," he replied, "who ought not rather to visit me;" and leaving the house, appropriated to himself that part of the palace which had been usually reserved for the accommodation of the monarch (3).

This was the first time that the duke had publicly advanced his claim: but though he was really in possession of the royal authority, the people were not prepared to deprive Henry of the crown. The meek and inoffensive character of the king strongly interested the feelings of men in his favour. His family had been seated on the throne for three generations; he had filled it himself thirty-nine years; most of his opponents owed their honours, many of them their estates to his bounty. York himself, on succeeding to the inheritance of the earl of March from whom he claimed, had sworn fealty and done homage to Henry; when he accepted the government of Normandy, when he was appointed lieutenant in Ireland, when he was raised to the protectorate during the king's incapacity, he had, under his own seal and on the rolls of parliament acknowledged him for his sovereign; and of late he had repeatedly sworn, on the sacrament, that he would be faithful to him, would maintain him on the throne, and would even augment, if it were

(1) Wyrcest. 481, 482.

(2) Rot. Parl. v. 374. The reasons given are, that it was not duly summoned, and that many of the members were returned, some without due and free election, and some without any election at all. Ibid. How far this was true in the present instance we know not: it should, however, be observed that the sheriffs prayed for a bill of indemnity, not because they had made false returns, as some writers have imagined, but for having held the elections in obedience to the writ after the year of their shrievalty was expired, contrary to the statute of the 23d of the king. Ibid. 367.

(3) Whetham. 483. Wyrcest. 483.

possible, his royal dignity. On these accounts many of his adherents would never be persuaded that he intended to dethrone Henry; and when he made the attempt, he found his hopes unexpectedly checked by their apathy, and the murmurs of the people (1).

On the ninth day of the session the duke of York by his counsel delivered to the bishop of Exeter, the new chancellor, a statement of his claim to the crown, and requested that he might have a speedy answer. The lords resolved that, since every man who sued in that court, whether he were high or low, had a right to be heard, the duke's petition should be read, but that no answer should be returned without the previous command of the king. In this writing, having first derived his descent from Henry III., by Lionel third son to Edward III., he stated, that on the resignation of Richard II., Henry earl of Derby, the son of John of Ghent, the younger brother of the said Lionel, had, against all manner of right, entered on the crowns of England and France and the lordship of Ireland, which by law belonged to Roger Mortimer earl of March, great-grandson to the said sir Lionel; whence he concluded that of right, law, and custom, the said crown and lordship now belonged to himself, as the lineal representative of Roger Mortimer, in preference to any one who could claim only as the descendant of Henry earl of Derby (2). Oct. 16.

The next day Richard demanded an immediate answer, and the lords resolved to wait on the king, and to receive his commands. Henry, when the subject was first opened to him, replied: "My "father was king; his father was also king; I have worn the crown "forty years from my cradle; you have all sworn fealty to me as "your sovereign, and your fathers have done the like to my fathers. "How then can my right be disputed (3)?" In conclusion, he recommended his interests to their loyalty, and commanded them to "search for to find, in as much as in them was, all such things as "might be objected and laid against the claim and title of the said "duke." The lords the next day sent for the judges, and ordered them to defend to the best of their power the king's claims. They, however, demanded to be excused. By their office they were not to be of counsel between party and party, but to judge according to law of such matters as came before them: but the present question was above the law; it appertained not to them; it could be decided only by the lords of the king's blood and the high court of parliament. An order was then made for the attendance of the king's serjeants and attornies: they also presented their excuses, which, however, were not admitted, because by their office they were bound to give advice to the crown. Oct. 17. Oct. 18. Oct. 20—22.

(1) Et illo die paucí dominorum sibi favebant sed solummodo absentabant. Wyrcest. 484. Cœpit protinus status omnis et gradus, ætas et sexus, ordo et conditio contra eum murmuranter agere. Whetham. 485.

(2) Whetham. 375.

(3) Blackm. 305.

After several debates, in which each lord gave his opinion with apparent freedom, the following objections were sent to the duke: 1°. That both he and the lords had sworn fealty to Henry, and of course he by his oath was prevented from urging, they by theirs from admitting, his claim: 2°. That many acts, passed in divers parliaments of the king's progenitors, might be opposed to the pretensions of the house of Clarence, which acts, "have been of au- "thority to defeat any manner of title:" 3°. That several entails had been made of the crown to the heirs male, whereas he claimed by descent from females: 4°. That he did not bear the arms of Lionel the third, but of Edmund, the fifth son of Edward III.; and, 5°. That Henry IV. had declared that he entered on the throne as the true heir of Henry III. To the three first objections the duke's counsel replied; that as priority of descent was evidently in his favour, it followed that the right to the crown was his; which right could not be defeated by oaths or acts of parliament, or entails. Indeed the only entail made to the exclusion of females was that of the seventh year of Henry IV., and would never have been thought of had that prince claimed under the customary law of descents; that the reason why he had not hitherto taken the arms of Lionel was the same as had prevented him from claiming the crown, the danger to which such a proceeding would have exposed him; and lastly, that, if Henry IV. pronounced himself the rightful heir of Henry III., he asserted what he knew to be untrue. As, however, the principal reliance of his adversaries was on the oaths which he had taken, and which it was contended were to be considered as a surrender of his right by his own act, he contended that no oath contrary to truth and justice is binding; that the virtue of an oath is to confirm truth and not to impugn it; and that as the obligation of oaths is a subject for the determination of the spiritual tribunals, he was willing to answer in any such court all manner of men, who should bring forward his oath in bar of his claim.

At length the lords resolved that the title of the duke of York
Oct. 24. could not be defeated; yet they refused to proceed to the next step of dethroning the king. To "save their oaths and clear their "consciences," they proposed a compromise; that Henry should possess the crown for the term of his natural life, and that the duke and his heirs should succeed to it after Henry's death. To this both parties agreed. The duke and his two sons, the earls of March and Rutland, swore not to molest the king, but to maintain him on the
Oct. 31. throne; and Henry gave the royal assent to the bill declaring the duke heir apparent, allotting certain estates to him and his sons on that account, and pronouncing any attempt against his person a crime of high treason. On the conclusion of this important affair the king with the crown on his head, and attended by the duke

as heir apparent, rode in state to make his thanksgiving at St. Paul's (1).

But though the unfortunate monarch had consented to surrender the interests of his son, they were still upheld by the queen, and the lords who had always adhered to the house of Lancaster. The earl of Northumberland, the lords Clifford, Dacres, and Neville, assembled an army at York; and the duke of Somerset and the earl of Devon joined them with their tenants from those counties. This union alarmed the victorious party: York and Salisbury hastened to Dec. 2. anticipate their designs; and though Somerset surprised the vanguard of the Yorkists at Worksop, they reached before Christmas the strong castle of Sandal. Whether it were that the duke of York Dec. 21. was compelled to send out strong parties to forage, or that his pride could not brook the taunts of his enemies, he fought them with inferior forces near Wakefield, and was either killed in the battle, or taken and beheaded on the spot. Two thousand of his men with Dec. 30. most of their leaders remained on the field; and the earl of Salisbury was taken during the night, and decapitated the next day at Pontefract. But no one was more lamented than the earl of Rutland, who had only reached his eighteenth year (2). Accompanied by one to whose care he had been entrusted, he fled from the conflict, but was stopped on the bridge of Wakefield. When he was asked his name, unable to speak through terror, he fell on his knees; and his attendant, thinking to save him, said that he was the son of the duke. "Then," exclaimed Clifford, "as thy father slew mine, so "will I slay thee, and all of thy kin," and plunging his dagger into the breast of the young prince, bade the tutor go, and bear the news to the boy's mother. The queen on her arrival was presented with the head of her enemy, the duke, and ordered it to be encircled with a diadem of paper, and placed on the walls of York (3).

From this moment the war assumed a new character; and the A. D. 1461. thirst for revenge gave to the combatants of each party a ferocity to which they had hitherto been strangers. Edward earl of March, and heir to the late duke of York, was at Gloucester when he received the melancholy intelligence of the fate of his father and brother; and having completed his levies, hastened to interpose an army between the royalists and the capital. He was closely followed by an inferior force of Welsh and Irish, under the king's uterine brother, Jasper earl of Pembroke: but, apprehensive of being surrounded, Feb. 2.

(1) Rot. Parl. 375—383. From the history of this controversy, as it is entered on the rolls, it is plain that both the feelings and the opinions of the lords were in favour of Henry. The original defect in his descent had been supplied by the consent of the nation, the undisturbed possession of the crown by his family during sixty years, and the numerous oaths of fealty taken by all men, even his very competitor. No considerations could induce them to dethrone him; all that could be extorted from them by the victorious party was a compromise, which secured the crown to him during his life, and then took it from his son, to whom they had never sworn fealty, and gave it to another branch of the royal family.

(2) He was born 17th May, 1443. Wyrcest. 462.

(3) Rot. Parl. v. 466. Wyrcest. 484, 485. Whetham. 489. Cont. Croyl. 530. Hall, 183.

he suddenly faced about and obtained the bloody victory of Mortimer's Cross, near Wigmore. The royalists are said to have lost about four thousand men. Pembroke himself escaped: but his father Owen Tudor was taken, and with Throgmorton and seven other captains beheaded at Hereford, as a sacrifice to the manes of those who had been executed after the battle of Wakefield (1).

While Edward was thus occupied in the west, the queen with her victorious army advanced on the road to London, and met with no opposition till she had reached the town of St. Albans. It was held by the earl of Warwick, who had drawn up his troops on the low
Feb. 17. hills to the south. The royalists penetrated as far as the market cross, but were repulsed by a strong body of archers. They next forced their way by another street as far as Barnet heath, where, after a long conflict, they put to flight the men of Kent. Night saved the Yorkists from utter destruction. They separated and fled in different directions, leaving the king in his tent under the care of the lord Montague, his chamberlain. He was soon visited by Margaret and his son, and embraced them with transports of joy. There fell
Feb. 18. in this battle about two thousand men. The next day the lord Bonville and sir Thomas Kyriel were beheaded in retaliation for the executions at Hereford (2).

Thus by another unexpected revolution Henry was restored to his friends, and placed at the head of a victorious army. Could he have conducted that army immediately to the capital, the citizens must have opened the gates: but his soldiers were principally borderers, accustomed to live by rapine, and had been allured to the royal standard by the promise of plunder. No entreaty could prevail on them to march forward; no prohibition prevent them from dispersing to pillage the country; and the necessity of protecting their property attached to the banners of the house of York the citizens of London and the inhabitants of the neighbouring counties. Henry announced by proclamation that his assent to the late award had been extorted by violence, and issued orders for the immediate arrest of Edward, late earl of March, and son to the late duke of
Feb. 22. York (3). But Edward had now united his forces with those of the earl of Warwick; and their superiority of numbers induced the royalists to retire with expedition into the northern counties. They were not pursued. Edward had a more important object in view,
Feb. 25. and entered London with all the pomp of a victorious monarch. His youth (he was in his nineteenth year), his beauty and accomplishments, the unfortunate fate of his father and brother, the fame of

(1) Wyrcest. 486. Contin. Croyl. 550.

(2) Wyrcest. 486. Whethamst. 497—504. Cont. Croylan. 550. It is often said that Bonville and Kyriel attended the king, and would have fled, but were persuaded to remain by Henry, who gave them his word that they should not suffer. These contemporary writers do not mention it, and Wyrcester expressly asserts that it was the lord Montague who was taken with Henry. However, in the act of attainder passed in the 1st of Edward IV., it is said they had received from him a promise of protection. Rot. Parl. v. 477.

(3) Rot. Parl. v. 466.

his late success, and the ravages of the royalists, conspired to multiply the number of his adherents. To sound the disposition of the citizens, the lord Falconberg reviewed four thousand men in the fields, and Neville, bishop of Exeter, seized the opportunity to harangue the spectators on the unfounded claim, and the incapacity of Henry, the just title and the abilities of Edward. The acclamations which followed his speech were considered as a proof of the public feeling; and the next day it was resolved, in a great council, that Henry, by joining the queen's forces, had violated the award, and forfeited the crown to Edward, the heir of Richard late duke of York. As soon as this resolution was announced the prince rode in procession to Westminster-hall, and mounting the throne, explained to the audience the rights of his family. He then entered the church, repeated his speech, and on both occasions was frequently interrupted with cries of "Long live king Edward." He was immediately proclaimed in the usual style by the heralds in different parts of the city (1).

Mar. 2. Mar. 3. Mar. 4.

On that day expired the reign of Henry VI., a prince, whose personal character commanded the respect of his very enemies, and whose misfortunes still claim the sympathy of the reader. He was virtuous, and religious; humane, forgiving, and benevolent; but nature had refused him that health of body and fortitude of mind which could have enabled him to struggle through the peculiar difficulties of his situation. It would be unjust to ascribe those difficulties to his misconduct: they arose from causes over which he had no control, the original defect in his title, the duration of his minority, the dissensions of his uncles, and the frequent recurrence of corporal debility, generally accompanied with the privation of reason. Some of these causes, however, gave birth to proceedings most interesting to those who wish to investigate the principles of our ancient constitution. From them it appears that, though the king, in the case of temporary absence from the realm, might appoint a regent with delegated authority during his absence, yet he could not, without the concurrence of the three estates, provide for the government during the minority of his successor—that whenever the reigning monarch, either through extreme youth or mental disease, was incapable of performing the functions of royalty, the exercise of his authority devolved exclusively on the house of lords, who appointed the great officers of state and the members of the council, giving to them powers to transact the ordinary business of government, but resuming those powers, as often as they themselves were assembled either in parliament or in a great council; and that the recognition of these doctrines was required from the first princes of the blood, the dukes of Bedford, Gloucester, and York,

(1) Contin. Croyl. 550. Whetham. 511—514. Wyrcest. 488, 489.

who at different times acknowledged that, during the king's minority or incapacity, they were entitled to no more authority than any other peer, unless it were conferred upon them by the whole body (1). For the same reason, when the succession to the crown was disputed, the claims of each party were brought before the house of lords, as the only legitimate tribunal, which possessed the authority to pronounce on so important a question. The commons neither presumed, nor would have been suffered to interfere. They might indeed represent the urgency of the case to the upper house, might ask to be made acquainted with its resolutions, and if an act of parliament were necessary, might give their assent; but the nomination of the protector and the counsellors was made, and their powers were determined by the peers alone; and the functions of the two houses were accurately distinguished in the language of the statutes, which attribute the appointment to the king by the advice and assent of the lords, and with the assent only of the commons (2).

The commons, however, during this reign were careful to maintain that importance in the state which they had inherited from their predecessors. They continued to vote and appropriate the supplies; their concurrence was deemed necessary in the enactment of statutes; and they exercised the right of impeaching those ministers who had forfeited the confidence of the nation. If they suffered their claims of liberty of speech and freedom from arrest to be invaded by the imprisonment of Thorpe through the influence of the duke of York, and of Young by the order of the king, it should be remembered that these illegal acts were committed when the minds of men were heated by a contest for the crown, and therefore could form no precedents for more peaceable times. From Henry the commons obtained what had been refused or eluded by former sovereigns, a law for the personal security of all members of parliament while they attended their duty (3); and several statutes were enacted to regulate the manner of elections, to prevent false returns, and to fix the qualifications both of the candidates and the voters. The sheriff was ordered to proceed to the election in the first county court after the receipt of the king's writ, between the hours of nine and eleven in the morning; to admit no longer the votes of all who attended, but to examine them upon oath, and to exclude those who did not both reside in the country, and possess within it a free tenement of the yearly value of forty shillings after the reduction of all charges; to return no candidate who was not a knight, "or "notable esquire, or gentleman of birth, able to be a knight;" and to write the names of the persons returned in an indenture under the seals of all the voters. It was also provided that the representa-

(1) See Rot. Parl. iv. 326. v. 242. 409—411.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Rot. Parl. iv. 453. The same privileges were granted to the clergy called to convocation, and to their servants by act of parliament, of the 8th of the king. Stat. of Realm, ii. 238.

tives of the cities and burghs should be inhabitants of the same cities and burghs; that when the mayors or bailiffs made the return to the sheriff, he should give them his receipt; and that for every false return he should be liable to imprisonment, to a fine to the king, and to payment of damages to the injured candidate (1).

The hereditary revenue of the crown had during several reigns been continually on the decrease: under Henry it was more rapidly diminished by the enormous expenses incurred during the war in France, and by the numerous grants which were easily obtained from the benevolence of his disposition. In 1429 it was ascertained that the monies annually absorbed by the war exceeded the whole amount of the revenue by twenty thousand marks (2), and four years later the receipts fell short of the expenses of government by the yearly sum of thirty-five thousand pounds: to which were to be added the outstanding debts of the crown, amounting to more than one hundred and forty-four thousand (3). The only mode of relief which occurred to the financiers of the age was a general resumption of the grants made by the king since his accession; but, though such resumptions were repeatedly enacted, they were always rendered nugatory by the introduction of exceptions, at the demand of the king, or of the members, who sought to screen their friends from the operation of the act (4). In the mean while the ordinary revenue of the crown dwindled to the paltry sum of five thousand pounds; and it became necessary to make parliamentary provision for the support of the royal household. This was effected on some occasions by authorizing the treasurer to devote to that purpose a certain sum out of the monies voted for different objects; at others by appropriating a certain portion of the revenue to the royal use before any other claims upon it should be satisfied (5). In defiance, however, of these precautions, the king's debts continued to increase, and long before the termination of his reign they amounted to the sum of three hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds (6).

(1) Rot. Parl. iv. 331. 350. 402. v. 7. 115.

(2) Rym. x. 413. The receipts in the eleventh year of Henry amounted to about thirty-five thousand pounds; but this sum was reduced to less than one-fourth by fees, wages, and annuities, which had been granted by the crown to different individuals, and had been made payable out of these funds, before they were transferred to the royal treasury. But to the ordinary must be added the extraordinary revenue, which consisted of the customs on wool, and skins, and the tonnage and poundage, which, though not always, yet generally were granted by parliament. This, after the usual deductions had been made, amounted on an average of three years to about twenty-seven thousand pounds. The annual expenses to be defrayed by these funds were classed under the heads of the household about 13,700*l.*, of the government of Ireland, Aquitaine, and the marches of Scotland 10,900*l.*, of Calais 11,000*l.*, of the navy, prisoners, etc., 3,700*l.*, of fees and annuities payable at the exchequer 11,150*l.*, and other annuities at will 5,500*l.* Rot. Parl. iv. 433—438.

(3) Ibid. 436—438.

(4) Ibid. v. 183—199. 217—224. 300—320.

(5) Ibid. v. 7. 32. 174. 214. 246.

(6) Rot. Parl. v. 183. 217.

CHAPTER V.

EDWARD IV.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor of Germany.	*King of Scotland.*	*Kings of France.*	*Kings of Spain.*
Frederic III.	James III.	Charles VII.... 1461. Louis XI.	Henry IV..... 1474. Isabella Ferdinand

Popes.

Pius II., 1464. Paul II., 1471. Sixtus IV.

Edward is crowned—Misfortunes of the Lancastrians—Henry VI. is made prisoner—Edward's marriage—Insurrection—the king imprisoned by the Nevilles—His release—Another insurrection—Clarence and Warwick leave the realm—Return—Expel Edward—And restore Henry—Edward returns—His victory at Barnet—Capture and death of Henry—Battle of Tewksbury—War with France—Peace—Attainder of Clarence—Death of the king.

THOUGH Edward had assumed the title of king, he was not ignorant that he held it by a very precarious tenure. The losses and advantages of the two parties were still nearly balanced; and if *he* was acknowledged by the southern, his rival could depend on the support of the northern counties. The earl of Warwick, anxious to bring the question to an issue, marched from London at the head of a body of veterans; Edward in a few days followed with the main army; and by the time of his arrival at Pontefract, forty-nine thousand men had arrayed themselves under his banner. The preparations of the house of Lancaster were equally formidable. The duke of Somerset with sixty thousand infantry and cavalry lay in the neighbourhood of York; and the queen, who with her husband and son had consented to remain within the city, employed all her address to confirm their loyalty, and animate their courage. Both armies advanced towards Ferrybridge. The passage had been gained by the lord Fitzwalter on the part of Edward (1); but that nobleman was surprised and slain by lord Clifford, who within a few hours met on the same spot with a similar fate from the lord Falconberg. The next day between the villages of Towton and Saxton was fought the battle which fixed the crown on the brow of

A. D. 1461. Mar. 7—12.

Mar. 28.

Mar. 29.

(1) Who this lord Fitzwalter was is unknown. Monstrelet makes him uncle to Warwick. The earl, when he heard of Fitzwalter's death, exclaimed, "Je prie Dieu, qu'il ayt les ames de ceux qui sont morts en celle bataille. Beau sire Dieu, ores n'ay je recours au monde sinon à toy, qui es mon Createur, et mon Dieu; si te requiers vengeance." Et lors, en tirant son espée, baisa la croix, et dit à ses gens, "qui veult retourner, si s'en voise: car je vivray ou mourray aujoud'huy avec ceux qui demeurront avec moy." A celle paroles il saillis à pied, et tua son cheval de son espée. Monst. iii. 84.

Edward. The engagement began at nine in the morning amidst a heavy fall of snow: the obstinacy of the combatants protracted it till three in the afternoon. At that hour the Lancastrians began to give way, at first leisurely and in good order; but finding their retreat interrupted by the river Cock, they abandoned themselves to despair, and while some plunged into the torrent, others offered themselves without resistance to the swords of the enemy. Edward had forbidden his followers to give quarter, and, as the pursuit and slaughter continued all the night and great part of the following day, one half of the Lancastrians are said to have perished. The earl of Northumberland and six barons fell in the battle: the earls of Devon and Wiltshire were taken in their flight and beheaded. The dukes of Somerset and Exeter had the good fortune to reach York, and conducted Henry and his family to the borders. The victory was decisive; but it cost the nation a deluge of blood. Besides those who perished in the waters, a contemporary writer assures us that thirty-eight thousand men remained on the field(1): nor can we reasonably accuse him of exaggeration, since Edward himself, in a confidential letter to his mother, while he conceals his own loss, informs her that the heralds, employed to number the dead bodies, returned the Lancastrians alone at twenty-eight thousand (2).

From this scene of carnage the conqueror rode towards York, which he entered the next morning. The escape of Henry disappointed his hopes: but during his stay in the city he gave orders that several of his prisoners should be executed, and their heads substituted on the walls for those of his father and brother. From York he proceeded to Newcastle, receiving in his progress the homage of the inhabitants, and watching the motions of the fugitives. Henry, to purchase the aid of the Scots, had delivered to them the Apr. 25.
town of Berwick, and, while they with a powerful army, undertook the reduction of Carlisle, penetrated with a few faithful friends into the county of Durham. He narrowly escaped being taken by the superior number of his enemies; and Carlisle was relieved by the lord Montague, who slew six thousand of the besiegers. Edward, June 1.
who had already left the theatre of war, and hastened to London, was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity, and cre- June 29.
ated his two younger brothers, George and Richard, who had returned from their asylum in Flanders, dukes of Clarence and Gloucester (3).

When the parliament assembled, both houses were eager to dis- Nov. 4.
play their attachment to their new sovereign. They first pronounced the reigns of the three last kings a tyrannical usurpation, and declared that Edward had been rightfully seized of the crown and the

(1) Cont. Hist. Croyl. 533.
(2) Fenn's Letters, i. 217.
(3) Hall, 86—89. Monstrel. iii. 84. Rym. xi. 476. Fenn, i. 230—235.

profits of the realm, from the fourth day of March last, in the same manner as they had been enjoyed by Richard II. on the feast of St. Matthew in the twenty-third year of his reign. With certain exceptions the grants of Henry IV., V., and VI., were revoked, but their judicial acts were ratified, and the titles of honour which they had conferred were allowed (1). Next followed a long and sweeping bill of attainder, which extended to almost every man who had distinguished himself in the cause of the house of Lancaster. Henry VI., his queen, their son Edward, the dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the earls of Northumberland, Devon, Wiltshire, and Pembroke, the viscount Beaumont, the lords Roos, Neville, Rougemonte, Dacre, and Hungerford, with one hundred and thirty-eight knights, priests, and esquires, were adjudged to suffer all the penalties of treason, the loss of their honours, the forfeiture of their estates, and an ignominious death, if they had not already fallen in the field of battle (2). In defence of such unexampled severity was alleged the advantage of annihilating at once the power of the party; and to this motive was probably added another, the necessity of providing funds from which Edward might satisfy the demands and expectations of those to whose services he owed the present possession of the crown. Before he dissolved the parliament
Dec 21. he addressed the commons in the following terms: "James Strang-
"ways" (he was the speaker), "and ye that be come for the
"commons of this land, for the true hearts and tender considera-
"tions that ye have had to my right and title, I thank you as
"heartily as I can. Also for the tender and true hearts that ye have
"shewed unto me, in that ye have tenderly had in remembrance
"the correction of the horrible murder, and cruel death of my lord
"my father, my brother Rutland, and my cousin of Salisbury, and
"other, I thank you right heartily, and I shall be unto you, with
"the grace of Almighty God, as good and gracious sovereign lord
"as ever was any of my noble progenitors to their subjects and
"liegemen. And for the faithful and loving hearts, and also the
"great labours that ye have borne and sustained toward me in the
"recovering of my said right and title which I now possess, I
"thank you with all my heart, and if I had any better good to re-
"ward you withal than my body, ye should have it, the which shall
"always be ready for your defence, never sparing nor letting for
"no jeopardy, praying you all of your hearty assistance and good
"countenance, as I shall be unto you very rightwise, and loving
"liege lord (3)."

(1) Rot. Par. v. 463—475. 489. Stat. of Realm. ii. 380. But the titles were allowed only on condition that the holders should receive from the king new grants of the annuities attached to them. Ibid.

(2) Rot. Parl. v. 476—486. In the February following the earl of Oxford, the lord Aubrey, and three knights of the Lancastrian party were beheaded on Tower Hill. Fabyan, 652.

(3) Ibid. 487. In this parliament it was enacted that no lord or other should allow playing at dice or cards in his house or elsewhere if he could hinder it, except during the twelve days at Christmas. Ibid. 488.

The cause of the red rose now appeared desperate; but it was still supported by the courage and industry of Margaret. The surrender of Berwick had given her a claim to the protection of the Scottish government; and the promise of an English dukedom, with lands to the yearly value of two thousand marks, had secured to her the services of the powerful earl of Angus; while Edward, as a counterpoise, purchased with an annual pension the fealty of the earl of Ross, lord of the isles, and sought to amuse Mary the queen dowager of Scotland (1), with a deceitful offer of marriage (2). To aid her cause Margaret resolved to visit the continent, and invite all true knights to avenge the wrongs of an injured monarch. Sailing from Kirkcudbright, she landed in Bretagne; and the duke made the royal suppliant a present of twelve thousand crowns. From Bretagne she repaired to the French court at Chinon. Lewis XI. (his father Charles was lately dead) seemed insensible to the tears of beauty and the claims of relationship; but, when she offered Calais as a security, he lent her twenty thousand crowns, and permitted Brezé, the seneschal of Normandy, to follow her fortunes with two thousand men. After an absence of five months she returned, eluded the pursuit of the English fleet, and summoned to her standard her Scottish allies on the borders, and the friends of her family in Northumberland. Her hopes were cheered with a temporary gleam of success. Three strong fortresses, Bamborough, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh, fell into her hands (3). But when the earl of Warwick arrived with twenty thousand men, and intelligence was received of the advance of Edward with an equal number, the Lancastrians separated to garrison their conquests, and the queen with her French auxiliaries repaired to their ships. The winds and the waves now seemed to have conspired against her: part of her fleet with all her treasures was dashed against the rocks; five hundred foreigners, who intrenched themselves in Holy Island, were killed or made prisoners by the lord Ogle; and Margaret and Brezé in a fishing boat carried the melancholy intelligence to their friends in Berwick. Edward proceeded no further than Newcastle. He laboured under diseases caused by immoderate indulgence. But Warwick, dividing the royal army into three bodies, besieged at the same time the three fortresses, which made a brave and obstinate resistance (4). At length Bamborough and Dunstanburgh were surrendered on condition that the duke of Somerset, sir Ralph Percy, and some others, should take an oath of fealty to Edward and recover their estates and honours, and that the earl of Pembroke, the lord Roos, and the rest of the two garrisons should be conducted in safety to Scotland (5). Alnwick still bade defiance to the besiegers;

A. D. 1462. Mar. 17.

A. D. 1463. Apr. 8.

Oct.

Nov. 3.

Dec. 9.

Dec. 24.

(1) Her husband James II. had been accidently killed in 1460 by the bursting of a cannon.

(2) Hume, Douglas, ii. 21. Rym. xi. 484—488. Wyrcest. 493.

(3) Wyrcest. 493, 494. Duclos, Hist. of Lew. XI. Monstrel. iii. 95.

(4) Fab. 493. Fenn. i. 273—279. Stow, 416.

(5) The reason of this difference was that the

A. D. 1463. Jan. 5. and an army of Lancastrians advanced apparently to its relief. Warwick drew up his forces to receive them; but the lord Hungerford, the son of Brezé, and a few knights, having cut their way to their friends in a sally from the walls, Margaret's army retired, and the garrison, deserted by its leaders, capitulated. Edward was satisfied with the conduct of Somerset and Percy on this occasion. He repealed their attainders with the consent of parliament, restored to them their lands, granted a pension to Somerset, and re-established Percy in the possession of Bamborough and Dunstanburgh. But Alnwick was given to sir John Ashley, to the great offence of sir Ralph Grey, a partisan of the Yorkists, who had formerly won it for Edward, and now expected to possess it again (1).

The spirit and activity of Margaret exposed her during this winter campaign to numerous privations and dangers. On one occasion it is said that, as she was riding secretly with her son and the seneschal through a wild and mountainous district, they were surprised by a party of banditti, who despoiled them of their money, jewels, and every other article of value. It is probable that the queen concealed her quality, or such distinguished captives would have been more carefully guarded. The ruffians quarrelled about the partition of the booty: menaces were uttered, and swords drawn, when Margaret, watching her opportunity, grasped her son by the arm, and plunged into the thickest part of the wood. She had not proceeded far when another robber made his appearance. The queen, with the intrepidity of despair, advanced to meet him; and taking the young Edward by the hand, "Friend," said she, "I intrust to your loyalty "the son of your king." This address awakened his generosity. He took them both under his protection, and conducted them to the quarters of the Lancastrians (2). Henry for security had been conveyed to the castle of Hardlough in Merionethshire, commanded by David ap Jevan ap Eynion, who in defiance of repeated acts of attainder refused to submit to Edward (3): the queen, accompanied by the duke of Exeter, Brezé, and two hundred exiles, sailed to
Apr. Sluys, in Flanders, and was received with real kindness by the count of Charolois, and with outward distinction by his father the duke of Burgundy. To her solicitations in favour of her husband that prince refused to listen: but he gave her a supply of money for her present expenses, and forwarded her in safety as far as the duchy of Bar in Lorrain, belonging to her father. There she fixed her residence, watching with anxiety the course of events, and consoling her sorrows with the hope of yet placing her husband or her son on the English throne (4).

king had it not in his power to restore the lands of the latter, because they had been given away to his friends. So I understand Wyrcester, 495.

(1) Wyrcest. 494—496. Rot. Parl. v. 511.

(2) Monstrel. iii. 29.

(3) Rot. Parl. v. 486. 512. Monstrelet says that Henry was in Wales in one of the strongest fortresses in the island. I have therefore placed him at Hardlough. Monst. iii. 96.

(4) Wyrcest. 496, 497. It was said that the

The Lancastrians, though by the conclusion of an armistice with France and another with Burgundy Edward had cut off the hope of foreign assistance (1), resolved to try again the fortune of war. Henry was summoned to put himself at the head of a body of exiles and Scots; Somerset, notwithstanding his submission, hastened from his own country, through Wales and Lancashire, to join his former friends; Percy assembled all the adherents of his family; and the resentment of Grey prompted him to surprise the castle of Alnwick, and to hold it against Edward. But their designs were disconcerted by the promptitude of Neville lord Montague, the warden of the east marches. He defeated and killed Percy at Hedgley moor, near Wooller (2), and advanced with four thousand men to surprise Somerset in his camp on the banks of the Dilswater, near Hexham. That unfortunate nobleman, whose forces did not exceed five hundred men, endeavoured to save himself by flight, but was taken, beheaded the same day, and buried in the abbey. Three days later the lords Roos and Hungerford met with the same fate on the Sandhill at Newcastle; and many of their followers were successively executed in that town and at York (3). Of those who escaped, the major part followed Grey to the castle of Bamborough, which was immediately besieged by the earl of Warwick. This impregnable fortress might have defied his efforts, had not a wall by accident fallen on the commander; and the garrison not expecting him to recover, hastened to surrender without requiring any stipulation in his favour. But Grey was carefully nursed by the cruelty of the victors, and reserved for the more disgraceful death of a traitor. He was conducted to the king at Doncaster, and received the following judgment from Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and constable of England: "Sir Ralph Grey, for thy treason the king had ordained that thou "shouldest have thy spurs stricken off by the hard heels, by the "hand of the master cook, who is here present. Moreover, he had "ordained here as thou mayest see, the kings of arms and heralds, "and thine own proper coat of arms, which they should tear off thy "body, that thou mightest be degraded as well of thy worship, "noblesse, and arms, as of thy knighthood. Also here is another "coat of thine arms reverse, the which thou shouldest wear on thy "body going to thy death-wards, for that belongeth to thee after "the law. Notwithstanding, the degrading thee of knighthood, and "of thine arms, and thy noblesse, the king pardoneth for the sake "of thy noble grandfather, who suffered trouble for the king's "most noble predecessors. Now, Sir Ralph, this shall be thy "penance. Thou shalt go on thy feet to the town's end, and there

A. D. 1464. Apr. 25.

May 18.

July.

duke of Burgundy gave to her 2000 crowns, 1000 to Brezé, and one hundred to each of her maids. Monstrel. iii. 96.

(1) Rym. x. 508.

(2) The others fled: Percy refused, "and died "like a man." Come home fuit occise. Year-book, Term. Pasch. 4 Ed. IV. 19.

(3) Wyrcest. 497, 498. Fab. 494. Fenn, i. 284.

"thou shalt be laid down, and drawn to a scaffold made for thee, "and thou shalt have thy head smitten off, thy body to be buried "in the Friars, and thy head where the king's pleasure shall be." This sentence was immediately executed (1).

Henry, who had fled from Hexham before the arrival of Montague, was so closely pursued that three of his henchmen were taken clothed in gowns of blue velvet, and on them was found his bycoket or cap of state, embroidered with two crowns of gold, and ornamented with pearls. He had however the good fortune to escape, and sought an asylum among the natives of Lancashire and Westmoreland, a people sincerely devoted to his interests (2). Their fidelity enabled him for more than a year to elude the vigilance and researches of the government: but he was at last betrayed by the perfidy of a monk of Abingdon, and taken by the servants of Sir James Harrington, as he sate at dinner in Waddington hall in Yorkshire. At Islington the unfortunate king was met by the earl of Warwick, who ordered by proclamation that no one should show him any respect, tied his feet to the stirrups as a prisoner, led him thrice round the pillory, and conducted him to the Tower. There he was treated with humanity, but kept in the most rigorous confinement for some years (3).

A. D. 1465. June.

After the flight from Hexham the Lancastrians abandoned the contest; and the conqueror had leisure to reward his partisans, and attend to the confirmation of his throne. Lord Montague was created earl of Northumberland, and lord Herbert earl of Pembroke; another long list of attainders contributed to exhaust the resources of his opponents and to add to those of his own partisans; and an act of resumption was passed to enable the king to live on the income of the crown, but clogged, as usual with so many exceptions, as to render it useless (4). From internal polity he turned his thoughts to his relations with foreign states. To the pope he had already notified his accession, and sent an abstract of the arguments on which he founded his claim. The answer of Pius II. was civil, but guarded;

May 27.

(1) Wyrcest. 499. Stow, 418. In the year-book it is said that the degrading part of the sentence was actually carried into execution: et le cause del cel punishment de luy en tiel maner, fuit per cause de son perjury et doublenesse, que il avoit fait al roy Henry le size jadis roy, etc.—et auxy al roy Edward le quart, qui ore est. Term. Pasch. 4 Ed. IV. 20.

(2) He was during this time frequently concealed in the house of John Machell, at Crakenthorp in Westmoreland. Rym. xi. 575.

(3) Rym. xi. 548. Wyrcest. 504. Fab. 494. Monstrel. iii. 119. Harrington received for his services the lands belonging to Tunstal of Thurland castle, to the amount of 100*l.* per annum: his associates, who were principally Tempests, and Talbots, had annuities out of Bolland and Tickel, till they could be provided with lands. Rot. Parl. v. 584.

(4) Rot. Parl. v. 511—548. In this parliament was made a law respecting dress, forbidding any man or woman under the estate of a lord to wear cloth of gold, or cloth wrought with gold, or furs of sables; any person under the estate of a knight to wear velvet, satin, or silk made like to velvet or satin, or furs of ermine; any yeoman to wear stuffing in his doublet but only the lining; or any one under the estate of a lord to wear gown, jacket or cloak, which did not reach to his thighs, or shoes with pikes above two inches in length. Rot. Parl. v. 504. "Ever since "the year 1382," says Stow, "the pikes of shoes "and boots were of such length that they were "fain to be tied up to their knees with chains of "silver, or at the least with silk laces." Stow, 429. Such interference with private expenditure was very common, and at the same time very useless. Its object, as we learn from the rolls, was to prevent "the impoverishment of the "realm," by the sums of money sent into "strange countries" in exchange for articles of luxury. Rot Parl. ibid.

and, while the pontiff congratulated the king on his elevation to the regal dignity, he cautiously abstained from any expression which might be deemed an approbation of his title (1). With Scotland, which had so long offered an asylum to his enemies, Edward concluded a peace for fifteen, and afterwards prolonged it for fifty-five years. What measures the policy of Louis of France might have pursued, is uncertain: "but that monarch was so harassed by the "war of the public good," as it was called, that he had no leisure or temptation to intermeddle with the concerns of foreign states; and the two most powerful of the French princes, the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, had entered into alliances defensive and offensive with the new king of England. Treaties almost similar were signed between him and the kings of Denmark and Poland in the north and east, and those of Castile and Arragon in the south, so that he might consider himself on terms of amity with almost all the great powers of Europe (2).

In these circumstances the king no longer hesitated to acknowledge in public a marriage which he had some time before contracted in private. Ever since the battle of Towton he had resigned the management of affairs to the wisdom and activity of the Nevilles, and had devoted his own attention to the pursuit of pleasure. They had frequently urged him to marry into some royal or princely family, which might contribute to support him against his competitor: but the king felt no inclination to shackle himself with the chains of matrimony; and foreign princes were not anxious to offer their daughters to one whose claim to the crown was disputed, and whose possession of it was still precarious. It chanced that Edward visited Jacquetta the duchess of Bedford, and her husband Wydevile, lord Rivers, at Grafton, where he saw their daughter Elizabeth, a woman of superior beauty and accomplishments, and the relict of sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, who had fallen at the second battle of St. Albans. The lady Grey seized the opportunity to throw herself at the feet of her sovereign, and solicited him to reverse the attainder of her late husband in favour of her destitute children. The king pitied the suppliant; and that pity soon grew into love. To marry a woman so far beneath him, without the advice of his council, and at a moment when his throne tottered under him, was a dangerous experiment. But the virtue of Elizabeth was proof against the arts of the royal

(1) Rym. xi. 489. This pontiff had always favoured Henry, though his legate, Francesco Copini, bishop of Terni, had favoured Richard duke of York, and his son Edward. He had even presumed to excommunicate their opponents; and the pontiff in consequence had deposed him, and sent him to a monastery to do penance for life. Raynald. vii. 68. 122. 123. It would appear, however, that he was afterwards liberated; for Edward appointed him his procurator in the court of Rome, granted to him an annuity of 100*l*., gave him permission to distribute the royal livery to twelve of his friends, and authorised him and his two brothers to bear on the upper part of their coat of arms the white rose, the device of the house of York. All these grants were confirmed by parliament. Rym. xi. 479, 480.

(2) Rot. Parl. v. 622. Rym. xi. 525. 532. 536. 551. 557, etc.

lover, and his passion scorned the cooler calculations of prudence.
A. D. 1464. Apr. 30. About the end of April, 1464, when the friends of Henry were assembling their forces in Northumberland, he repaired to Stony Stratford, whence early on the morning of the first of May he
May 1. stole in great secrecy to Grafton. The marriage ceremony was performed by a priest in the presence of his clerk, of the duchess of Bedford, and of two female attendants. After an hour or two Edward returned to Stony Stratford, and pretending lassitude from hunting shut himself up in his chamber. Two days after-
May 3. wards he invited himself to Grafton. To divert the attention of the courtiers, their time was wholly occupied with the pleasures of the chase; nor did the king and Elizabeth ever meet in private till the duchess had ascertained that the whole family had retired
May. 7—10. to rest. Thus he spent four days; and then returning to London, issued orders for his army to join him in Yorkshire. But before his arrival in the north the war had been ended by the two victories of Hedgley Moor and Hexham: and after his return it became the principal subject of his solicitude to open the matter to his counsellors, and to obtain their approbation (1).

For this purpose he summoned at Michaelmas a general council of the peers to meet in the abbey of Reading; and the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick, though they are supposed to have disapproved of the marriage, taking Elizabeth by the hand, introduced her to the rest of the lords, by whom, in the presence of the king, she was acknowledged and complimented as queen.
Dec. Soon afterwards a second council was held at Westminster, and an income was settled on her of four thousand marks a year (2). But, notwithstanding this outward show of approbation, there were many who murmured in private, and could ill disguise their jealousy at the elevation to the throne of a woman, whose father a few years ago was no more than a simple knight. To excuse the king, his friends circulated reports, that his inexperience had been deceived by the arts of the duchess and her daughter; that philtres and magic had been employed to extort his consent; and that he had since repented of his precipitancy, and struggled but in vain to dissolve the marriage (3). But Edward himself, that he might silence those who objected the meanness of her birth, invited her

(1) By all our ancient historians, with the exception of the unknown author of the Fragment published by Hearne at the end of Sprot, the marriage of Edward has been fixed on the 1st of May, 1464. That writer dates it in the preceding year (p. 293): and it has been urged in favour of the earlier date, that Edward in 1464 was too much occupied with the war to think of marriage, and that the anonymous writer expressly refutes from his own knowledge those who place it later. Carte, ii. 770. But it may be observed that, according to the dates in Rymer, the king did not summon his army till the ninth day after that on which the marriage is said to have taken place, and that the anonymous writer refutes, not those who place the marriage in a different year, but those who say the king was to have married the dowager queen of Scotland, p. 293, 294. Indeed he is at variance with himself. For though he places the marriage in 1463, he says it was in the same year as the battle of Hexham (292), which certainly took place in 1464. For the particulars of the marriage see that writer, and Fabyan, p. 494, 495.

(2) Wyrcest. 500, 501.

(3) Fab. 495.

maternal uncle, James of Luxemburgh, who with a retinue of one hundred knights and gentlemen attended her coronation (1). On A. D. 1465 May 23. the feast of the Ascension the king created thirty-eight knights of the bath, of whom four were prudently selected from the citizens of London. The next day the mayor, aldermen, and different companies met the queen at Shooter's Hill, and conducted her in state to the Tower. On the Saturday, to gratify the curiosity of the populace, she rode in a horse litter through the principal streets, preceded by the newly created knights. Her coronation followed on the Sunday, and the rest of the week was devoted to feasting, May 26. tournaments, and public rejoicings (2).

The elevation of Elizabeth was the elevation of her family. By the influence of the king her five sisters were married to the young duke of Buckingham, and to the heir of the earl of Essex, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Kent, and the lord Herbert; her brother Anthony to the daughter of the late lord Scales, with whom he obtained the estate and title; her younger brother John in his twentieth year to Catherine, the dowager but opulent duchess of Norfolk, in her eightieth (3); and her son Thomas, by her former husband to Anne, the king's niece, and daughter and heiress to the duke of Exeter. We are assured by a contemporary that these marriages were viewed with jealousy by most of the nobility. Many saw those projects disconcerted which they had formed for the advancement of their own children, particularly the earl of Warwick, who had previously solicited the hand of the heiress of Exeter for his own nephew: all considered the sudden rise of the new family as an injury offered to themselves. To add to their discontent, the lord Mountjoy, treasurer of England, was removed to make place for the queen's father, who was created earl Rivers, and soon afterwards, at the resignation of the earl of Worcester, lord high constable (4).

Of the three Nevilles, sons of the earl of Salisbury, George the youngest brother, bishop of Exeter, had received the seals on Edward's accession, and had lately been translated to the archiepiscopal see of York (5). The next, the lord Montague, was warden of the east marches of Scotland, and with the title of earl of Northumberland had obtained the estates of the Percies. The earl of Warwick, the third, had hitherto been the king's chief minister and general. He held the wardenship of the west marches, the office of chamberlain, and the government of Calais, the most lucrative and important appointment in the gift of the sovereign (6).

(1) Monstrel. iii. 105.

(2) Wyrcest. 501—503. Fragment. ad fin. Sprot, 294, 295.

(3) Juvencula fere 80 annorum. Wyrcest. 501. On account of the disparity of their ages, Wyrcester calls this maritagium diabolicum. But adds, vindicta Bernardi inter eosdem postea patuit. Ibid. What was the vindicta Bernardi?

(4) Wyrcest. 500, 501. 505, 506, 507.

(5) The reader may see the particulars of the feast at his installation, and the names of the guests in Lel. Coll. vi. 1—14.

(6) Comines, who was often at Calais, tells us, on the authority of the chief officer of the staple, that the government of that town was worth 15,000 crowns a year. Com. l. iii. c. 4.—Stow

Hitherto they had governed the king and the kingdom: now they foresaw the diminution of their influence by the ascendency of a rival family. Edward had grown weary of the state of tutelage in which they detained him; the Wydeviles urged him to emancipate himself from the control of his own servants; and his affections were insensibly transferred from the men, who had given him the title, to those who exhorted him to exercise the authority of king. This coldness was first made public in the year 1467. A marriage had some time before been suggested between Margaret the king's sister, and Charles count of Charolois, son to the duke of Burgundy, who, as he was sprung from the house of Lancaster, had always favoured the friends of Henry, but now, from motives of policy, sought an alliance with Edward to protect himself against
A. D. 1466. Mar. 22 his adversary the king of France. Warwick, who at the Burgundian court had become the determined enemy of Charles (1), and condemning the project, advised a marriage with one of the French princes. To his objections were opposed the advantages which would result from the intended alliance, to the king by converting the enemy of his family into a friend, and to the nation by affording greater facility to the commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands. Edward, however, perhaps to free himself
A. D. 1467. May 6. from an imperious counsellor, commissioned Warwick to treat with the king of France, who received him at Rouen with all the respect due to a sovereign prince; gave him for his residence the house next to his own, and by a private door repeatedly visited him in secret for the space of twelve days (2). In England, when the parliament assembled, the chancellor did not attend, on account of a real or affected sickness: but Edward, whose suspicions had been awakened by the conferences between Warwick and the French king, went to the house of the prelate with a
June 8. numerous retinue, required him to deliver up the seals, and in virtue of an act of resumption passed at the time, took from him two manors, which he had formerly obtained from the crown (3).
May 30. About the same time the bastard of Burgundy arrived, avowedly to perform feats of arms with the lord Scales, by whom he had been challenged, though public suspicion assigned to him a secret and more important object, the negotiation of the intended mar-
June 11. riage. The tournament took place (4): but a few days later the
15—21. duke of Burgundy died, and the bastard immediately departed with
July 1. his retinue. Warwick then returned, bringing with him ambassa-

adds that Warwick was a great favorite with the people, on account of his hospitality. "When "he came to London, he held such an house, "that six oxen were eaten at a breakfast, and "every tavern was full of his meat; for who that "had any acquaintance in that house, he should "have as much sodden (boiled) and roast as "he might carry upon a long dagger." Stow, 421.

(1) Cont. Hist. Croyl. 551. Capitali odio prosecutus est hominem illum, scilicet Carolum. Ibid.

(2) Monstrel. App. 22. Fragment, 227.

(3) Rym. xi. 578.

(4) See the ancient and interesting accounts of the origin and performance of this tournament in Excerpt. Hist. 176—222.

dors from France, whose object it was to prevent the alliance between Edward and Charles. They had been instructed to offer to the king an annual pension from Louis, and to consent that his pretensions to Normandy and Aquitaine should be referred to the decision of the pope, who should be bound to give judgment within four years. But Edward received them coldly, left the capital, and appointed an inferior agent to hear, or rather to reject, their proposals. The earl by increased attention sought to compensate for the neglect of the king: but he was not sparing of hints and menaces in the company of his friends, and on the departure of the ambassadors retired in discontent to his castle at Middleham in Yorkshire (1). During his absence the treaty was resumed with Charles, now duke of Burgundy; the princess gave her consent to the marriage in a great council of peers at Kingston; and soon afterwards an emissary from queen Margaret, who had been taken in Wales, informed the king that Warwick was considered in the French court as a secret partisan of the house of Lancaster. As the earl refused to quit his castle, he was confronted with his accuser at Middleham; and though the charge was declared to be groundless, the king selected a body guard of two hundred archers, who were ordered to attend always on his person. Every thing seemed to threaten a rupture, when their common friends interfered, by whose means the archbishop of York and the earl Rivers met at Nottingham, and settled the terms of reconciliation. The prelate conducted his brother to Coventry, where he was graciously received by the king; all subjects of offence between him and the lords Herbert, Stafford, and Audeley were reciprocally forgiven; and the archbishop, as the reward of his services, recovered the possession of his two manors (2). In the course of the year Warwick appeared again at court. When Edward conducted his sister to the coast, on her way to Flanders, she rode behind the earl through the streets of the metropolis (3); and on the discovery of a conspiracy in favour of Henry, he sat among the judges on the trial of the accused. But these outward appearances of harmony and confidence did not deceive the people; they foresaw the storm which was gathering; and while they pitied the real or imaginary wrongs of their favourite, laid the blame on the ambition of the queen and her relatives (4).

Sept. 20. Oct. 1. A. D. 1468. Jan. 8. June 18.

I have been the more particular in these details, that the reader might observe the origin and progress of the jealousies and dissensions which dissolved the friendship between Warwick and Edward, and led to the flight of the latter and the restoration of

A. D. 1469.

(1) Wyrcest. 510. Duclos, Hist. of Louis XI.

(2) The grant of the manors is dated 1469 in Rymer (x. 642), which proves that Wyrcester is wrong, unless it be a second grant for greater security.

(3) She was married to Charles, now duke of Burgundy, at Damme on the 10th of July, at five in the morning. Fenn, ii. 4.

(4) See in particular Wyrcester, 510—515.

Henry (1). But with respect to most of the events which follow, he must be content with a bare and very imperfect narrative; for though they were extraordinary in their nature, and most important in their results, yet, in the confused and mutilated records of the time, it is impossible to discover the immediate causes by which they were produced, or the secret relations which connected them with each other.

1. George, the elder of the surviving brothers of Edward, had received with the title of duke of Clarence a proportionate income, and had been named to the lieutenancy of Ireland, which office, on account of his age, he was permitted to execute by his deputy, the earl of Worcester. This young prince, dissatisfied at the ascendency of the Wydeviles, absented himself frequently from court, and preferred to the company of his brother that of the earl of Warwick. Another cause for this preference may, perhaps, be found in the attachment which he had formed for Isabella, the daughter of that nobleman. Clarence was yet the next male heir to the throne; and Edward, aware of the ambition of Warwick, earnestly laboured to prevent the marriage of the parties. His ef-
July 11. forts were ineffectual; and the ceremony was performed without his consent, in the church of St. Nicholas at Calais, by the uncle of the bride, the archbishop of York.

2. It is a singular circumstance that at the very time when this prelate and his brother met at Calais to celebrate the marriage in defiance of the king, an insurrection should burst forth in that part of the realm where they possessed the principal influence. Its ostensible cause was the determination of the farmers of Yorkshire to resist the demand of a thrave of corn from every plough-land, made by the warden of the hospital of St. Leonard's. The thrave had been paid since the time of king Athelstan; and at the beginning of the last reign, when it had been withheld by some, was confirmed to the hospital by act of parliament (2): now, however, when the officers attempted to levy its value by distress, the

(1) Many writers tell us that the enmity of Warwick arose from his disappointment, caused by Edward's clandestine marriage with Elizabeth. If we may believe them, the earl was at the very time in France negotiating on the part of the king a marriage with Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France; and having succeeded in his mission, brought back with him the count of Dampmartin as ambassador from Louis. To me the whole story appears a fiction. 1. It is not to be found in the more ancient historians. 2. Warwick was not at the time in France. On the 20th of April, ten days before the marriage, he was employed in negotiating a truce with the French envoys in London (Rym. xi. 521), and on the 26th of May, about three weeks after it, was appointed to treat of another truce with the king of Scots (Rym. xi. 424). 3. Not could he bring Dampmartin with him to England; for that nobleman was committed a prisoner to the Bastile in September, 1463, and remained there till May, 1465. Monstrel. iii. 97. 109. Three contemporary and well-informed writers, the two continuators of the History of Croyland, and Wyrcester, attribute his discontent to the marriages and honours granted to the Wydeviles, and the marriage of the princess Margaret with the duke of Burgundy: a fourth tells us, from the mouth of Edward himself, that the king's suspicion of Warwick's fidelity arose from the secret conferences of that nobleman with Louis at Rouen; and a fifth that Edward had made an attempt in the earl's house to violate the chastity of his niece or daughter. Grafton, 439. See Cont. Hist. Croyl. 542. 55. Wyrcester, 504—510. Fragment, 299. Wyrcester's annals end in 1468: from a letter in Fenn, ii. 112, it is probable that he died in 1472.

(2) Stat. of Realm, ii. 217.

peasants flew to arms, chose for their leader Robert Hilyard, commonly called Robin of Redesdale, and threatened to march to the south, and reform the abuses of government. The citizens of York were alarmed by the approach of fifteen thousand insurgents: but the earl of Northumberland, Warwick's brother, to prevent the destruction of the city, attacked and defeated them with considerable slaughter. Their leader was executed on the field of battle.

3. This circumstance seems to acquit one of the Nevilles from all share in the insurrection: yet his subsequent inactivity, and the conduct of his two brothers prove, that whatever were its original cause, they were willing at least to convert it to their own purposes. Northumberland could, if he had pleased, have instantly extinguished the flame: he carelessly looked on, till it grew into a general conflagration. The rebels, though repulsed, were neither dispersed nor pursued; and in the place of the leader whom they had lost, they found two others of more illustrious name, and more powerful connexions, the sons of the lords Fitzhugh and Latimer; the one the nephew, the other the cousin-german of Warwick. These young men, though nominally at the head of the army, in reality obeyed the commands of sir John Conyers, an old and experienced officer. The claim of the hospital was now forgotten. Their avowed object was to meet the earl of Warwick, that with his advice they might remove from the king's councils the Wydeviles; the authors of the taxes that impoverished, and of the calamities that oppressed the nation. At the name of Warwick his tenants crowded from every quarter; and in a few days the insurgents were said to amount to sixty thousand men (1).

On the first intelligence of the rising in Yorkshire Edward had summoned his retainers; and in the interval having visited the monasteries in Suffolk and Norfolk, fixed his head-quarters at the castle of Fotheringay. Here the advance of the insurgents, their increasing numbers, and their menaces of vengeance, created considerable alarm; and it was resolved that the Wydeviles should retire from the army, and secrete themselves at their different seats in the country. From Fotheringay the king marched to Newark; but alarmed at the signs of disaffection which he everywhere ob-

(1) During this insurrection reports of witchcraft were circulated against Jacquetta, the king's mother-in-law. She afterwards exhibited the following complaint to Edward: "To the king, our "sovereign lord, sheweth, and lamentably com-"plaineth unto your highness your humble and "true liege woman Jacquetta, duchess of Bed-"ford: ... that when she at all time hath and "yet doth truly believe on God according to the "faith of holy church, as a true Christian wo-"man ought to do, yet Thomas Wake, esq. "hath caused her to be brought in a common "noise and disclander of witchcraft throughout "a great part of your realm, surmising that she "should have used witchcraft and sorcery, in-"somuch as the said Wake caused to be brought "to Warwick at your last being there, sove-"reign lord" (he was then in the custody of Clarence, Warwick, and the archbishop), "to "divers of the lords being there present, an "image of lead made like a man of arms con-"taining the length of a man's finger, and broken "in the middle, and made fast with a wire, "saying that it was made by your said oratrice, "to use with the said witchcraft and sorcery; "where she, nor none for her or by her ever saw "it, God knoweth." Of course her innocence was admitted by the king. Rot. Parl. vi. 232. I have mentioned this, that the reader may see on what frivolous grounds these accusations were brought, and how anxious the highest personages were to guard against them.

served, turned back to the castle of Nottingham. Thence he de-
July 9. spatched letters written with his own hand to his brother Clarence, the earl of Warwick, and the archbishop, requesting them to hasten to him at Nottingham with the same retinue which usually attended them in time of peace. In the note to Warwick he added these significant words: "and we do not believe that ye should be of any "such disposition toward *us*, as the rumour here runneth, consi- "dering the trust and affection we bear you. And, cousin, ne "think but ye shall be to us welcome (1)." But the noblemen, on whose attachment and services he rested his chief hopes, were the lords Herbert and Stafford, lately created earls of Pembroke and Devon. The former, who had reduced the strong castle of Hardlough, hastened from Wales to the aid of his sovereign with eight thousand men; the latter with five thousand joined him at Banbury: but an unfortunate dispute about quarters irritated the new earl of Devon, who withdrew to another town at the distance of twelve
July 26. miles. A numerous party of the insurgents seized the opportunity to attack the royalists the next day at Edgecote, who, without archers, and deserted by their friends the Welshmen, offered an easy victory to the multitude of their enemies. Five thousand with their leader are said to have perished on the field: during the pursuit the victors discovered the earl Rivers and sir John Wydevile, the father and brother of Elizabeth, in the forest of Dean. They were seized,
Aug. 12. brought to Northampton, and executed by the order, or the pretended order, of Clarence and Warwick. Even Devon did not es-
Aug. 17. cape. He was afterwards beheaded at Bridgewater, some say by command of the king, in revenge for the loss of the battle; others, with more probability, through the fury of the people, who hated him, as a friend of the Wydeviles (2).

4. Clarence, Warwick, and the archbishop had previously landed in England, and, taking with them the archbishop of Canterbury, they proceeded in search of the king, whom they found at Olney, plunged in the deepest distress by the defeat of Pembroke, the murder of the Wydeviles, and the desertion of his friends. At the first interview they approached him with all those expressions of respect which are due from the subject to the sovereign; and Edward, deceived by these appearances, freely acquainted them with his suspicions and displeasure. But his imprudence was soon checked by the discovery that he was in reality their captive; and he hastily accepted those excuses, which it would have been dangerous to refuse. The few royalists who had remained with the king dispersed with the permission of Warwick: at his command

(1) Fœd. ii, 40. The letters are dated at Nottingham, July 9th, without any year. I have placed them in 1469, because Edward was then at Nottingham; Clarence, Warwick, and the archbishop were together at Calais, and consequently could receive letters by the same messengers; and actually did all three wait on the king a few weeks later. See Cont. Hist. Croyl. 542, 543.

(2) See Cont. Hist. Croyl. 543. 551. Fragment, 300, 301. Stow, 422.

the insurgents returned to their homes laden with plunder; and Edward accompanied the two brothers to Warwick; whence, for greater security, he was removed to Middleham, under the custody of the archbishop (1).

England exhibited at this moment the extraordinary spectacle of two rival kings, each confined in prison, Henry in the Tower, Edward in Yorkshire. Whatever might have been the intentions of Warwick, they were disconcerted by the friends of the former, who seized the opportunity to unfurl his standard in the marches of Scotland, under sir Humphrey Neville (2). The conduct of the earl proved that the suspicions previously entertained of his acting in concert with the partisans of that monarch, were groundless. He summoned all the lieges of Edward to oppose the rebels: but the summons was disregarded, and men refused to fight in defence of a prince, of whose fate they were ignorant. He therefore found it necessary to exhibit the king in public at York, having first obtained from him a grant of the office of justiciary of south Wales, and of all the other dignities held by the late earl of Pembroke. From Aug. 17. York he marched into the north, defeated the Lancastrians, and conducted their leader to Edward, by whom he was condemned to lose his head on a scaffold. By what arguments or promises the king procured his liberty we know not. A private treaty was signed: he repaired to the capital, accompanied by several lords of the party; and his return was hailed by his own friends as little short of a miracle. A council of peers was now summoned, in which, Nov. 6. after many negotiations, Clarence and his father-in-law condescended to justify their conduct. Edward with apparent cheerfulness accepted their apology, and a general pardon was issued in favour of all persons who had borne arms against the king from the first rising in Yorkshire under Robin of Redesdale, to the time when they were dismissed by the earl of Warwick at Olney (3).

(1) Cont. Hist. Croyl. 548. 551. By modern writers the captivity of Edward has been scornfully rejected. Hume says it is contradicted by records. Carte and Henry pronounce it incredible and romantic. But, if it were, they should have accounted for what in that case were more inconceivable, the mention which is made of it by almost every writer of the age, whether foreigner or native, even by Comines (iii. 4), who says that he received the principal incidents of Edward's history from the mouth of Edward himself, and by the annalist of Croyland (551), who was high in the confidence of that monarch. Hume's arguments are, 1°. That the records in Rymer allow of no interval for the imprisonment of Edward in 1470; and, 2°. That it is not mentioned, as, if it had happened, it must have been, in the proclamation of Edward against Clarence and Warwick of the same year. But, in the first place, he has mistaken the date of the imprisonment, which was not in 1470, but in 1469 (ea ætate quæ contingebat anno nono regis, qui erat annus domini 1469. Cont. Croyl, 551): and, in the second, the proclamation ought not to have named it; because it confines itself to the enumeration of those offences only which had been committed after the pardon granted to them at Christmas 1469 (Rot. Parl. vi. 233). But there is a record, which places the existence of the imprisonment beyond a doubt, the attainder of Clarence, in which the king enumerates it among his offences: "as in jupartyng the king's royall "estate, persone and life *in streite warde*, putting "him thereby from all his libertie, aftre procury-"ing grete commocions." Rot. Parl. vi. 193. I may add, that in the records in Rymer for 1469 there is a sufficient interval of three months from the 12th of May to the 17th of August, the very time assigned to the insurrection and imprisonment.

(2) Sir Humphrey had fled from the defeat at Hexham in 1464, and concealed himself during five years in a cave, opening into the river Derwent. Year-book, Ter. Pasch. 4 Ed. IV. 20.

(3) The account of Edward's escape, which is generally given is, that the archbishop allowed him to hunt, and that one day, while he was employed in that exercise, he was carried off by his

5. Elizabeth had not yet borne her husband a son, and though the eldest daughter was but four years old, Edward in this assembly asked the advice of the lords, how he should dispose of the young princess in marriage. For his own part, he wished to give her to George, the son of the earl of Northumberland, and presumptive heir to all the three Nevilles. His choice was unanimously approved; and the young nobleman, that his rank might approach nearer to that of his intended bride, was created duke of Bedford. This extraordinary measure has been explained on two suppositions; either that the king, alarmed at the marriage between his brother and the daughter of Warwick, sought to raise up a new and opposite interest in the family; or that, as the price of his liberation, he had promised to give his daughter to this young nobleman, the son of a brother who had never offended him, and the nephew of the two brothers, who kept him in confinement.

6. To those, who were not in the confidence of the parties, their reconciliation appeared sincere. For greater security, a pardon for all offences committed before the feast of Christmas was granted to Clarence and Warwick; and in consequence of the restoration of peace within the realm, proposals were made to invade France in concert with the king's brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy. A. D. 1470. The French ambassadors, who came over probably to learn the state of the different parties, were so much deceived, that Louis XI., in consequence of their representations, published an order to all his subjects to meet in arms on the first of May, that they might be in readiness to repel the threatened invasion (1). Yet under this outward appearance of harmony, distrust and resentment festered in their breasts; and a singular occurrence proved how little faith was to be given to the protestations uttered on either side. The archbishop had invited the king to meet Clarence and Warwick at an entertainment, which he designed to give at his seat at the Moor in Hertfordshire. As Edward was washing his hands before supper, John Ratcliffe, afterwards lord Fitz-walter, whispered in his ear that one hundred armed men were lying in wait to surprise, and convey him to prison. Feb. Without inquiring into the grounds of the information, he stole to the door, mounted a horse, and rode with precipitation to Windsor. His abrupt departure revived all the

friends (Hall, 203). That which I have given depends on the superior authority of the historian of Croyland, who, while he considers the king's liberation almost miraculous, yet asserts that it had the express consent of Warwick. Præter omnem spem pene miraculose non tam evasit, quam de expresso ipsius comitis consensu dimissus est, p. 551. Stow mentions Edward's promises, and that he remained at York till after the execution of sir Humphrey Neville, p. 421. In Fenn there is a letter without date, which I believe refers to this period. It relates the king's return from York to London in company with the archbishop, who, however, was not permitted to enter the capital with him, but ordered to remain at the Moor, his seat in Hertfordshire. The earl of Oxford, a Lancastrian, was treated in the same manner.—"The king," adds the writer, "hath himself good language of the lords of "Clarence and Warwick, and of my lords of "York and Oxford, saying they be his best friends; "but his household men have other language, so "that what shall hastily fall, I cannot say." Fenn, i. 294.

(1) Monstrel. addit. p. 33.

former dissensions; fresh conferences were held at Baynard's castle, under the mediation of Cecily, duchess of York, the king's mother; and a new reconciliation was effected equally insincere with all those which had preceded it (1).

7. During these conferences an insurrection burst out in Lincolnshire, of which the king could at first discover neither the real object nor the authors. The inhabitants, provoked by the extortions of the officers of the household, rose in arms, chased sir Robert Burgh, a purveyor, out of the county, burnt his mansion, and pillaged his estates. This outrage, and the fear of punishment, bound them more strongly to each other, and emboldened sir Robert Welles, the real instigator of the rising, to place himself openly at their head. The king, to the great surprise of his friends (2), gave a commission to the duke and the earl to levy troops for his service; and before he left London sent for the lord Welles, father of sir Robert, and for sir Thomas Dymock, the champion, to appear before the council. They wavered, obeyed the summons, then fled to a sanctuary, and afterwards, on the promise of pardon, repaired to the court. Edward insisted that lord Welles should employ his paternal authority, and command his son to submit to the royal mercy: but the young man at the same time received letters from Warwick and Clarence, exhorting him to persevere, and assuring him of speedy and powerful aid. When the king had reached Stamford, and found that sir Robert was yet in arms, he ordered the father and Dymock to be beheaded, in violation of his promise; and then sent a second summons to sir Robert, who indignantly replied, that he would never trust the perfidy of the man who had murdered his parent. This answer was, however, dictated by revenge and despair. The king attacked the insurgents at Erpingham in Rutlandshire: his artillery mowed down their ranks: their leaders were taken: and while the meaner prisoners were dismissed, sir Thomas Delalaunde and sir Robert Welles paid the forfeit of their lives. Before their execution they confessed that they had raised the men of Lincolnshire to favour the designs of the earl and the duke, whose object it was to place Clarence on the throne: that during the insurrection they had been guided by the counsels of these noblemen; but had fought contrary to their instructions, which stated, that, if they would allow the king to pass forward, they might expect to be joined in a day or two by Warwick with 20,000 men (3). The earl of Worcester had Mar. 12. 15—19.

(1) Fragment, 302. Fab. 499. The author of the Fragment is singularly unfortunate in his dates. He places this incident in the present year after Easter. Yet it is evident from authentic records, and subsequent events, that if it happened at all, it must have happened before Lent.

(2) Rym. xi. 652. Sir John Paston in one of his letters says, "My lord of Warwick, as it is "supposed, shall go with the king into Lin- "colnshire: some men say that his going shall "do good, some say that it doth harm." Fenn, ii. 32.

(3) Rot. Parl. vi. 144. "As the said sir Robert "Welles, etc. have openly confessed and shewed "before his said highness, the lords of his blood, "and the multitude of his subjects attending

been appointed lord constable; and under that cruel nobleman the lord Willoughby lost his head at York, and several knights and gentlemen were put to the most barbarous and ignominious deaths (1).

By the premature defeat of the Lincolnshire insurgents Clarence and Warwick found themselves in a most perplexing situation. They had purposed to join sir Robert Welles on the morrow: now, seeing themselves unable to cope with the king, they advanced towards Yorkshire, having previously by proclamation ordered every man able to bear arms to join them, under the penalty of death (2). The king was at Doncaster when they reached Esterfield, at the distance of twenty miles; and, having arrayed his forces to
Mar. 20. receive them, he sent Garter-king-at-arms to summon them to appear before him, and clear themselves of the offences laid to their charge. They immediately turned to the west, and marched to Manchester, to solicit the aid of the lord Stanley, who had married the sister of Warwick. Want of provisions prevented the pursuit by the royal
Mar. 23. army, and Edward hastening to York published a proclamation, in which he enumerated their offences but exhorted them to return to their duty within a certain term, assuring them, that if they could vindicate their innocence, he would accept their justification with pleasure; and that if they could not, he would still remember that they were allied to him by blood, and had been once numbered amongst him dearest friends (3). At the same time he took from Clarence the lieutenancy of Ireland, and gave it to the earl of Worcester; restored to Henry Percy the earldom of Northumberland and the wardenship of the east marches, giving in compensation to
Mar. 25. Warwick's brother, who had held them ever since the battle of Towton, the barren title of marquess Montague; and having learned that the fugitives, unable to corrupt the fidelity of the lord Stanley,
Mar. 26. had marched to the south, issued commissions to array the population of all the counties through which it was probable they would pass. From York he hastened to Nottingham; where, as the time
Mar. 31. allotted to them had expired, he declared them traitors, and having offered rewards for their apprehension, continued his march with the greatest expedition. But they fled more rapidly than he could
Apr. 15. pursue; and by the time that he reached Exeter, had collected ships at Dartmouth, whence they set sail for the harbour of Calais (4).

Warwick had intrusted the government of Calais to a gentleman of Gascony, named Vauclerc, a knight of the garter. To his dismay and astonishment the batteries of the place opened upon him, as he

" upon him in his host at this time..... which " they affirmed to be true at their deaths, un- " compelled, unstirred, and undesired so to do." Ibid. p. 233. The confession of sir Robert is still extant. Excerp. Hist. 282.

(1) I shall not shock the feelings of the reader by relating the cruelties mentioned by Stow, 422.

(2) Rot. Parl. vi. 233.

(3) Rot. Parl. vi. 233, and Fenn, ii. 36.

(4) Ibid. Rym. 654—657. The reward was 100*l.* per annum in land or 1000*l.* in money. Hence we may infer that land in this reign sold at ten years purchase

attempted to enter. It was in vain that he sent an officer to remonstrate. Vauclerc, acquainted with the recent transactions in England, had resolved to play a deep, but, he trusted, a secure game. To Warwick he apologized for his conduct, by informing him that the garrison was disaffected, and would, if he landed, infallibly betray him. At the same time he despatched a messenger to Edward with assurances of his loyalty, and his determination to preserve so important a fortress for his sovereign. What impression his reasons made on the mind of Warwick we know not; but Edward rewarded him with the government of Calais, and the duke of Burgundy granted him a pension of a thousand crowns. The fugitives, after some deliberation, steered their course towards Normandy, captured every Flemish merchantman which fell in their way, and were received at Harfleur, with distinguished honours, by the admiral of France (1).

Louis XI. had hitherto espoused but faintly the cause of the house of Lancaster: but he now saw the advantage to be derived from the arrival of Warwick and his friends, and ordered them and their ladies to be provided with the best accommodations in the neighbouring towns. Clarence and the earl were invited to his court at Amboise and Angers; where they met Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou. No two persons had ever inflicted more serious injuries on each other than the earl and that princess: but misfortune blunted the edge of their mutual hatred, and interest induced them to forget their past enmity. After a decent struggle Margaret suffered her antipathy to be subdued by Warwick's oaths, and the authority of Louis. She promised on the gospels never to reproach him with the past, but to repute him a true and faithful subject for the future: to cement their friendship, it was agreed that the prince, her son, should marry his daughter Anne, and to lull the probable discontent of Clarence, that in failure of issue by such marriage, the right to the crown should, on the death of the prince, devolve on the duke; and lastly, Louis in consequence of this reconciliation engaged to furnish the aid which Warwick required for his projected expedition to England (2). July 15.

The only persons dissatisfied with this arrangement were Clarence and his consort. He had hitherto been induced to follow the counsels of Warwick by the prospect of succeeding to his brother on the throne: he now saw another claimant interposed between himself and the object of his ambition, and his chance of success made to depend on a distant and very uncertain contingency. His

(1) Comines, iii. 4. Monstrel. addit. 34.

(2) Com. ibid. Hall, 206, 207. Frag. 304. Lel. Coll. ii. 503. Ellis, i. 132. That this marriage actually took place, is clear both from the testimony of our own historians, and from the order given by Louis that the city of Paris should receive in public procession the queen of England avec son fils le prince de Galles et *sa femme* fille dudit comte de Warvick, avec la femme dudit de Warwick mère de *la femme* dudit prince de Galles. Monst. Nouvelles Chroniques, 35.

discontent was artfully fomented by the intrigues of a female agent. A lady in the suite of the duchess had in the hurry of the flight been left in England, but was permitted to follow, in appearance through the attention of the king to his sister-in-law,—in reality, that she might carry private instructions to Clarence. She represented to that prince how unnatural it was for him to fight against his brother, and to support the cause of a family, the prosperity of which must depend on the destruction of his own. These suggestions were not lost on a mind already predisposed to receive them; and the duke, it is said, found the means to assure Edward, that when the occasion should offer, he would prove himself a loyal subject and affectionate kinsman (1).

The conduct of that prince during this interval is almost inexplicable. If we except the execution of some, and the banishment of others, among the adherents of Warwick, he took no precautions to avert, made no preparations to meet, the approaching storm. His time was spent in gallantries and amusements: the two brothers of Warwick were received into favour; and one of them, the marquess Montague, was honoured with the royal confidence (2). In such circumstances, no man but the infatuated monarch himself entertained a doubt of the result, if Warwick should effect a landing. That nobleman had always been the favourite, his exile had made him the idol, of the people; no ballad was popular in the towns and villages which did not resound his praise; and every pageant and public exhibition made allusions to his virtues and his misfortunes. But if Edward was indolent, his brother-in-law, the duke of Burgundy, was active. He sent emissaries to Calais to watch the conduct of Vauclerc; complained to the parliament of Paris of the reception which had been given to his enemy; sought by menaces and preparations of war to intimidate Louis; seized all the French merchandize in his territories as an indemnity for the captures made by Warwick; and despatched a powerful squadron to blockade the mouth of the river Seine. But the Burgundian ships were dispersed by a storm; and the next morning the exiles, under the protection of a French fleet, left their anchorage, and steering across the
Sept. 13. channel, landed without opposition at Plymouth and Dartmouth (3).

The incautious Edward had been drawn as far as York by an artifice of the lord Fitzhugh, brother-in-law to Warwick, who pretended to raise a rebellion in Northumberland, and on the approach of the king, retired within the borders of Scotland (4). Thus the southern counties were left open to the invaders. The men of Kent

(1) Comines, iii. 5.

(2) Though the archbishop was allowed to remain at the Moor in Hertfordshire, "ther was "beleffte with hym dyverse of the kynge's ser- "vantes," evidently to watch his motions. Fenn, ii. 48.

(3) Comines, ibid. Hall, 207, 208. The duke of Burgundy wrote with unusual warmth on these subjects. Par St. George, says he in one of his letters, si l'on n'y pourvoid, a l'aide de Dieu j'y pourveoirai sans vos congiés n'y vos raisons. Apud Duclos, ii. p. 11.

(4) Fab. 500. Fenn, ii. 48.

had risen in arms: in London Dr. Goddard preached at St. Paul's Cross in favour of the title of Henry VI.; Warwick proclaimed that monarch, ordered all men between sixteen and sixty to join his standard, and marched with an army, which increased every hour, in a direct line towards Nottingham. The thoughtless king had affected to treat the invasion with his usual levity: he was happy that his enemies had at last put themselves in his power, and trusted that the duke of Burgundy would prevent their escape by sea. But the delusion was soon dissipated. Very few of those whom he had summoned resorted to his quarters at Doncaster; and of these few many took the first opportunity to depart. As he sat at dinner, or lay in bed, word was brought that Warwick continued to approach with the utmost expedition; nor had he recovered from his surprise before a second messenger informed him that six thousand men, who had hitherto worn the white rose, had, at the instigation of Montague, thrown away that device, and tossing their bonnets into the air, had cried, "God bless king Harry." A battalion of guards was immediately despatched to secure a neighbouring bridge, and the king, after a short consultation with his friends, mounting his horse, rode, without stopping, to the town of Lynn. He found in the harbour an English ship, and two Dutch brigs; and embarking in them with a few noblemen and about eight hundred followers, compelled the sailors to weigh anchor, and steer immediately for Oct. 3. the coast of Holland. The fugitives were descried by a fleet of pirates from the Hanse Towns; and, to escape the pursuit of these unknown enemies, the king was compelled to run his vessel on shore. He landed near Alkmaar, was received with every token of respect by Grutuse the governor of the province, and conducted by him to the Hague to meet the duke of Burgundy. Thus, by his presumption and inactivity, did Edward lose his crown, before he could strike one blow to preserve it (1).

Queen Elizabeth with her family had remained in the Tower: but perceiving that the tide of loyalty had turned in favour of Henry, she left that fortress secretly, and fled with her mother and three Oct. 1. daughters to the sanctuary of Westminster, where she was shortly afterwards delivered of a son (2). Within a few days Clarence and Oct. 6. Warwick made their triumphal entry into the capital. Henry was immediately conducted from the Tower to the bishop's palace; and Oct. 13. thence walked in solemn procession, with the crown on his head, to the cathedral of St. Paul's. His friends attributed his restoration to the undoubted interposition of Heaven (3); by foreign nations it was viewed with wonder, or treated with ridicule; to himself it is

(1) Cont. Croyl. 554. Comines, iii. 5. Fragment, 306. Stow, 422. Hall, 209. Edward after his restoration rewarded Grutuse with the earldom of Winchester, which that nobleman was induced to resign by Henry VII.

(2) Stow, 422, 423. Fenn, ii. 52.

(3) Cont. Croyl. 554, who adds, though himself a Yorkist, that the Lancastrians were at that period the more numerous party. Ibid.

doubtful whether it proved a source of joy or regret. He had been the captive of Edward; he was now the slave of Warwick (1).

By a parliament summoned in the name of the restored king, Edward was pronounced an usurper, his adherents were attainted,
Nov. 26. and all acts passed by his authority were repealed. The next step was to ratify the convention of Amboise. An act of settlement entailed the crown on the issue male of Henry VI., and in default of such issue, on the duke of Clarence and the heirs of his body; and appointed that prince, with his father-in-law, protectors of the realm, during the minority of Edward, the present prince of Wales. All the lords, who had suffered for their attachment to the cause of Henry, recovered their titles and property; Clarence was made heir to his late father Richard duke of York, promoted to the lieutenancy of Ireland, and in place of some manors, which had belonged to Lancastrians, received other grants of equal, perhaps of superior value; Warwick reassumed his offices of Chamberlain of England and captain of Calais, to which was added that of lord high admiral; his brother the archbishop was again intrusted with the seals; and his other brother the marquess recovered the wardenship of the marches. But if the conquerors thus provided for themselves, it must be added in their praise that their triumph was not stained
Oct. 18. with blood. The only man who suffered was the earl of Worcester; whose cruelty in the office of constable had acquired for him with the title of "the butcher," the hatred of the people (2).

To no one did this sudden revolution afford greater satisfaction than to Louis of France. By his orders it was celebrated with public thanksgivings and rejoicings for three days, and Margaret was received at Paris with the same distinction as a queen of France.
A. D. 1471. To compliment Henry, a splendid embassy proceeded to London,
Feb. 13. and a treaty of peace and commerce for fifteen years cemented the union between the two crowns (3). The duke of Burgundy, on the contrary, found himself placed in a most distressing dilemma. Edward had fled to him and solicited his aid. Could he refuse the brother of his consort? The dukes of Exeter and Somerset had reached his court, and reminded him that he was descended from the same ancestor as Henry. Could he contribute to dethrone a prince of his own blood? By aiding Edward, he might provoke Henry to espouse the cause of Louis, who had already wrested from him a rich and populous territory: by refusing to aid him, he should expose himself to equal danger from the friendship between the two

(1) A foreigner writing on the subject to the cardinal of Pavia, says: Ridebunt posteri, credo, aut ut miracula mirabuntur, cum audierint tantum esse hujus comitis ingenium ut indomitam gentem tam facile regat, novos reges fecerit, his denuo pulsis veteres revocarit, et ipse pulsus intra vertentem annum, multis intra et extra regnum adversantibus, in idem regnum redierit, etc. Hesdini, Oct. xi. 1470. Apud Raynal. eodem anno.

(2) Cont. Croyl. 554. Rym. xi. 661—679. 693—696. 699—705. When the proceedings of Henry's parliament were afterwards repealed, it is probable that they were also cancelled. They do not now appear on the rolls. Rot. Parl. vi. 191.

(3) Rym. xi. 683. 690.

crowns. At last he adopted the crooked, but in this instance successful, policy, of rejecting in public, while he favoured in private, the cause of the exile. By proclamation he forbade under severe penalties any of his subjects to lend assistance to Edward: in secret he made him a present of fifty thousand florins, ordered four large ships to be equipped for his use at Vere in Holland, and hired fourteen vessels from the Hanse Towns to transport him to England (1).

About the middle of Lent the hostile fleet was descried off the coast of Suffolk; but the preparations which had been made, and the activity of a brother to the earl of Oxford, deterred it from approaching the land. Continuing his course to the north, Edward Mar. 12. entered the Humber, and with fifteen hundred men disembarked at Mar. 14. Ravenspur, the very place where Henry IV. landed to dethrone Richard II. The hostility of the inhabitants induced him to imitate the dissimulation and perjury of that monarch. He exhibited a pretended safe-conduct from the earl of Northumberland; protested that he came not to claim the throne but the inheritance of his late father, the duke of York; wore in his bonnet an ostrich feather, the device of Edward, the Lancastrian prince of Wales; and ordered his followers to shout "Long live king Henry," in every village and town through which they passed. At the gates of York, and after- Mar. 18. wards on the altar of the cathedral, he was compelled to abjure on oath, in presence of the corporation and clergy, all his pretensions to the crown. Such a reception was not calculated to flatter his hopes: but he staked his life on the result; he resolved to press forward; and the boldness and decision which marked his conduct, contrasted with the inactivity, timidity, and irresolution of his adversaries, will justify a suspicion that he possessed resources, and was encouraged by promises, of which we are ignorant. At Pontefract lay the marquess Montague with an army sufficiently numerous to have overwhelmed the invaders. A short correspondence passed between Edward and that commander. The former passed Mar. 20. within four miles of the head-quarters of his adversary, and not a sword was drawn to impede or retard his progress. But the rivulet, as it rolled on, was swelled by the accession of numberless streams: at Nottingham the exile saw himself at the head of several thousand men; and in his proclamations he assumed the title of king, and summoned every loyal subject to hasten to the aid of his sovereign. Clarence also threw off the mask. He had raised a numerous body of men under a commission from Henry; he now ordered them to wear the white rose over their gorgets (2), and joined his brother near Coventry where the earls of Warwick and Oxford had concentrated their forces. Both the battle and the reconciliation, which

(1) Comines, iii. 6. He had 900 English and 300 Flemings, "with hange gunns," *forte*, hande gunns. Leland. Coll. ii. 503.

(2) Fenn, ii. 62.

Edward offered, were obstinately refused; and the Yorkists directed their march with expedition to the capital, which had been intrusted
Apr. 11. to the care of the archbishop. That prelate already began to waver. In the morning he conducted Henry, decorated with the insignia of royalty, through the streets of the city; in the afternoon he ordered the recorder Urswick to admit Edward by a postern in the walls. In his excuse it was alleged, that the party of the house of York had gained the ascendency among the citizens; that the richest of the merchants were the creditors of Edward; that his affability and gallantries had attached numbers to his interests; and that the sanctuaries contained two thousand of his adherents, ready at a signal to unsheath the sword in his favour. However that may be, the archbishop secured a pardon for himself, and ruined the cause of his brothers (1). Warwick and Montague followed their adversary, expecting to find him encamped before the capital: but he, apprehen-
Apr. 13. sive of the Lancastrians within its walls, immediately left it, and taking Henry with him, advanced to meet his pursuers as far as Barnet. Clarence, who felt some compunction for the part which he had acted, sent to offer his services as mediator between his father-in-law and his brother. "Go and tell your master," replied the indignant earl, "that Warwick, true to his word, is a better man "than the false and perjured Clarence." He had appealed to the sword he would admit of no other arbiter between him and his enemies (2).

It was late on Easter-eve when the two armies came in sight
Apr. 14. of each other: before sunrise the next morning their leaders had arrayed them in the field. The battle was more remarkable for its consequences to the rival parties, than for the number of the slain or the obstinacy of the combatants; but to describe it, from the imperfect and discordant narratives which have descended to us, would be a perplexing and hopeless task. It is agreed that it lasted six hours; that the left wing of the Yorkists was put to flight, and that intelligence of their total defeat reached their friends in the capital. The fortune of the day was changed, if we may believe some writers, by the advance of Edward's reserve; according to others by a fatal mistake of the earl of Warwick, whose men charged the followers of the earl of Oxford as enemies, and compelled them to exclaim "treason," and flee from the field (3). Warwick was slain either fighting in the midst of his

(1) "He was doble (as men suppose) to king "Henry, and kept hym at London, when he "woold have beene at Westminster. He had "lettres of king Edward to kepe king Henry out "of Sanctuary." Lel. Col. ii. 508. He swore allegiance to Edward on the sacrament in the morning before the king left London for Barnet. Rym. xi. 710. Yet he was committed for a few days to the Tower, either to conceal his treason, or through mistrust. Fenn, ii. 64. His pardon includes all offences committed before Easter-eve. Rym. xi. 709.

(2) Contin. Croyl. 554. Speed, 881. Comines, iii. 7.

(3) The soldiers of the different parties were distinguished by the badges of their leaders, which they wore both on their breasts and their backs. That day Edward had chosen for his badge a sun with rays, and Oxford a star with rays. It was easy to mistake one for the other. Lel. Coll. ii. 504.

enemies, or in an attempt to secrete himself in a wood: his brother Montague also fell, whether it was that he offered himself bravely to the swords of the enemy, or that by putting on the livery of Edward he excited the resentment of his own party. The duke of Exeter was left as dead, but his servants found him breathing in the evening, and conveyed him to the sanctuary at Westminster. Of all the Lancastrian leaders two only escaped, the duke of Somerset and the earl of Oxford, who joined the earl of Pembroke in Wales, and still defied the power of the Yorkists. Edward lost the lords Cromwell and Say, and the son of the lord Berners (1). By many writers the number of the slain is swelled to several thousands: one of the Pastons, who was in the engagement, reduces it to ten or eleven hundred (2). To Edward the death of Warwick was of greater importance than any victory. That nobleman by a long course of success had acquired the surname of the king-maker; and the superstition of the vulgar believed that the cause which he supported must finally triumph. His body, with that of his brother Montague, was publicly exposed Apr. 15. for three days in the church of St. Paul's, and then deposited among the ashes of his fathers in the abbey of Bilsam. Edward entered the city in triumph, remanded the unfortunate Henry to his cell in the Tower, and resumed the exercise of the sovereign authority (3). But he was not long permitted to indulge in repose or festivity. He had fought at Barnet on the Sunday: on the Friday Apr. 19. he was again summoned into the field. Queen Margaret, who had been detained for weeks on the French coast by the state of the weather, had at last embarked at Harfleur: but her hopes were again disappointed by the violence of the wind, and three weeks elapsed before she landed with a body of French auxiliaries at Weymouth. It was the very day of the battle of Barnet. She was hardly recovered from the fatigue of the voyage when a messenger arrived with the fatal intelligence. All her hopes were instantly broken: she sank to the ground in despair; and, as soon as she came to herself, hastened with her son to the sanctuary of Beaulieu. But the Lancastrian lords who still remained faithful to the cause induced her to quit her asylum, conducted her to Bath, and raised a considerable body of troops to fight under her banner. If this army could have joined that under the earl of Pembroke in Wales, the crown might perhaps have been again replaced on the head of Henry. But the citizens of Gloucester had fortified the bridge over the Severn; and when she reached Tewks- May 4. bury Edward was already at hand with a more numerous army. The Lancastrians, posted behind a lofty intrenchment, easily re-

(1) Cont. Croyl. 555. Lel. Col. 504, 505. Hall, 217, 218. Fab. 504.

(2) Fenn, ii. 64. Fabyan says 1500.

(3) Fab. 504. Henry had been taken by sir Thomas Talbot, to whom and his heirs male was granted an annuity of forty pounds out of the issues of the duchy of Lancaster. Transcripts for New Rym 79.

pulsed the assailants; and the duke of Somerset, flushed with this temporary success, sallied out to harass their retreat. But few followed their gallant leader: the rest were restrained by the treason or timidity of the lord Wenlock. The Yorkists turned on their pursuers, chased them back to the foot of the intrenchments, and put most of them to the sword. Distrust and dismay now spread through the ranks of the Lancastrians: the rampart was but faintly defended; first the banner of the duke of Gloucester, soon that of Edward, waived in the midst of the camp; and Somerset in despair, riding up to lord Wenlock, at one stroke beat out his brains. The queen and her son were made prisoners in their attempt to escape. The former was reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph; the latter was led to Edward, and being asked what had brought him to England, boldly but ingenuously replied, "To preserve my father's crown and my own inheritance." The king, it is said, had the barbarity to strike the young prince in the face with his gauntlet: Clarence and Gloucester, or perhaps the knights in their retinue, despatched him with their swords (1).

It is probable that many of the Lancastrian leaders might have escaped by flight, if they had not sought an asylum within the church. While *they* were triumphant, they had always respected the right of sanctuary; and a hope was cherished that gratitude for the preservation of his wife, his children, and two thousand of his partisans, would restrain Edward from violating a privilege, to which he was so much indebted. But the murder of the young prince had whetted his appetite for blood. With his sword drawn he attempted to enter the church: but a priest, bearing the host in his hand, ran to the door, and refused to move from the threshold till the king had given a reluctant promise to spare the lives of all who had taken refuge within the walls. For two days the promise was observed: on the third a body
May 6. of armed men burst into the church, seized the duke of Somerset, with the lord of St. John's, six knights, and seven esquires, dragged them before the dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk, and at their command struck off the heads of the victims (2).

There now remained but one person whose life could give uneasiness to Edward. As long as the son lived to claim the crown of his father the blood of Henry was not worth the shedding: but now that the young prince was no more, to remove the old king, was to remove the last temptation from his adherents, whose attachment to their ancient sovereign appeared to grow with the

(1) Cont. Croyl. 556. Holinshed, 1340. Stow, 424. Fabyan, 505. There may be exaggerations in the common account of the prince's death: but I see no good reason to dispute Stow's narrative: "he smote him on the face with his gauntlet, and after his servants slew him." (Stow, ibid.) It is not contradicted by the writers who say that the prince fell "in the war or in the field;" it is countenanced by those who say that he was taken, and afterwards slain: "was taken fleeinge to the townward, and slayne in the fielde." Harl. MSS. 543.

(2) Lel. Col. ii. 506.

decline of his fortunes. Only a week had elapsed after the battle of Tewksbury when the bastard of Falconberg, who had been vice-admiral to Warwick, and commanded a fleet of adventurers, May 12 made a bold attempt to liberate the royal prisoner from the Tower. Landing at Blackwall, and calling to his aid the commons of Essex and Kent, he advanced to attack the city, burnt Bishopsgate, and even won possession of Aldgate; but after a long and bloody contest was driven back to Stratford. Still he persevered; his followers were summoned to meet him again on Blackheath, and May 17. a second assault had been arranged, when the approach of Edward with his victorious army warned him to withdraw to his ships. It is probable that this bold though unsuccessful attempt sealed the doom of the unfortunate captive. On the afternoon of Tuesday May 21—22 the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the capital: on that of Wednesday the dead body of Henry was exposed in St. Paul's. To satisfy the credulous, it was reported, as had been formerly reported of Richard II., that he died of grief. But though Edward might silence the tongues, he could not control the thoughts or the pens of his subjects (1); and the writers who lived under the next dynasty not only proclaim the murder, but attribute the black deed to the advice, if not the dagger, of the youngest of the royal brothers, Richard duke of Gloucester (2). From St. Paul's the body of Henry was conveyed by water for interment at Chertsey, under a guard of soldiers, belonging to the garrison of Calais (3). By the friends of the house of Lancaster the deceased monarch was revered as a martyr. It was soon whispered that miracles had been wrought at his tomb, and Richard III., apprehensive of the impression which such reports might make on the public mind, removed his bones from Chertsey to Wind-

(1) There are two contemporary writers by whom the death of Henry is mentioned, the Croyland historian, and the narrator of the manner in which Edward recovered the crown (Harl. MSS. 543), both in the service of Edward, the one being a doctor of Canon law, and member of his council, the other a person who saw much of what he states, "and the residue knew by true relation of them that were present." Now the first employs language which not only shows his conviction that Henry was murdered, but seems to hint that it was ordered, if not perpetrated, by one of the brothers. "Parcat deus, et spatium "pœnitentiæ ei donet, quicumque tam sacrilegas "manus in christum domini ausus est immittere: "unde et agens *tyranni*, patiensque gloriosi mar- "tyris titulum mereatur." Con. Croyl. 556. The other states merely, as was stated by Edward's friends, that Henry died of "pure displeasure and melancholy." It detracts, however, from his credit, that he appears in other instances to have suppressed or disguised facts which bore hard on the character of his patron, particularly Edward's perjury at York, and the murder of the prince after the battle of Tewksbury.

(2) Mr. Laing, in his dissertation at the end of Henry's history (xii. 393) undertakes to acquit Richard of the murder of Henry on the ground that he did not die at the time assigned, but much later. The proof is, that, as Malone observes (Shakspeare, xi. 653), "it appears on the "face of the public accounts allowed in the ex- "chequer for the maintenance of Henry VI. and "his numerous attendants in the Tower, that he "lived till the twelfth of June, twenty-two days "after the time assigned for his pretended assas- "sination." These accounts are to be found in Rym. xi. 712. But they afford no proof that Henry lived till the 12th of June. The latest date of any particular charge is that of William Sayer for the maintenance of Henry and ten guards for a fortnight, beginning the 11th of May, and of course ending on the day on which the king is said to have been buried. The mistake arises from this, that Malone has taken the day of the month on which the accounts were allowed at the exchequer, for the day on which the expenses ceased: which is so far from being the case that it even belongs to a different year, 1472 and not 1471; as appears from the two next accounts, which, though allowed on the 24th of June, refer to expenses in September and October of 1471. See them in Rym. xi. 713, 714.

(3) See the Pell Records, 495, 6.

sor. Henry VII. placed, or intended to place them among the tombs of his ancestors in Westminster abbey (1).

Before I proceed with the reign of Edward, it may not be amiss to notice the history of the surviving adherents of Henry.—1. Margaret was confined first in the Tower, afterwards at Windsor, and lastly at Wallingford, with a weekly allowance of five marks for the support of herself and her servants. After a captivity of five years she was ransomed by Louis of France, and closed her eventful life in 1482 in her own country. 2. Henry Holand duke of Exeter, and great-grandson of John of Ghent by his second daughter Elizabeth, had been conveyed, as the reader has seen, from the field of battle to the sanctuary at Westminster. It was expected that he would obtain his pardon by the influence of his wife Anne, the eldest sister of Edward. But that lady solicited and obtained a divorce in
Nov. 12. 1472, and married sir Thomas St. Leger. The duke was at the time in the custody of the king, with the weekly allowance of half a mark: the next year his dead body was found floating in the sea between Dover and Calais (2). 3. Vere, earl of Oxford (3), had escaped into Scotland, and thence into France: but disdaining a life of indo-
A. D. 1473. May. lence, he collected a small squadron of twelve sail, swept the narrow seas, kept the maritime counties in perpetual alarm, and by frequent captures enriched himself and his followers. With about four
Sept. 30. hundred men he surprised the strong fortress of Mount St. Michael in Cornwall, whence he made repeated inroads into the neighbouring counties, receiving supplies from the friends of the house of Lancaster, and wreaking his vengeance on those of the house of York. By Edward's command, sir Henry Bodrugan besieged the mount; but his fidelity was suspected; and he was superseded by Richard Fortescue, sheriff of Cornwall. The new commander had been a Lancastrian and a friend: he had recourse to promises and
A. D. 1474. persuasion; and the earl, apprehensive of the treachery of his own
Feb. 15. men, surrendered the place on condition that his life and the lives of his followers should be spared, with the exception of the lord Beaumont and sir Richard Laumarth. During eleven years he was confined a close prisoner in the castle of Ham, in Picardy; while his countess, the sister to the great Warwick, was compelled to support herself by the profits of her needle and the secret presents of her friends (4). 4. Though the archbishop of York had rendered the king many services, Edward did not feel easy on his throne as long as a Neville remained at liberty. They had hunted together

(1) Rous. 217. Rym. xiii. 103. Pope Julius in his brief says of Henry's death, ante diem fato, ut creditur, æmulorum, debitum naturæ persolvit —and of the translation of his body, that it was made by the same æmuli, qua mente ducti, ignoratur. Ibid. But Henry VII. gives the reason mentioned above. Wilk. Con, iii. 653.

(2) Stow, 426. Fabyan, 663.

(3) His father and elder brother had been executed 26th Feb. 1462, for corresponding with queen Margaret after the battle of Towton. Frag. ad finem Sprot. Wyrcest. 492.

(4) Stow, 426. Lel. Col. ii. 508, 509. Fenn, ii. 138. 139. 142. 156. Rot. Parl. vi. 149. He escaped from Ham with the connivance of the governor, who had been bribed by the earl of Richmond; and we shall meet with him again fighting victoriously for the house of Lancaster.

at Windsor; and the king in return promised to hunt with the prelate at the Moor in Hertfordshire. The most magnificent preparations were made for his reception: all the plate, which the archbishop had secreted since the death of his brothers, had been collected; and the principal nobility of the neighbourhood were invited to partake of the entertainment. But Edward sent for him to Windsor, and arrested him on a charge of having lent money to the earl of Oxford. The revenue of his bishopric was seized; his plate confiscated; his mitre converted into a crown; and his jewels divided between the king and the prince of Wales. The prelate lingered in prison for three years, partly in England and partly at Guisnes, and did not recover his liberty till a few weeks before his death in the year 1476. 5. The earl of Pembroke, the uterine brother of Henry, with his nephew the young earl of Richmond, escaped from his town of Pembroke, in which he was besieged, took shipping at Tenby, and was driven by a storm on the coast of Bretagne. The king, as if he had foreseen the severe revenge which that young prince was destined to inflict on the house of York, employed both solicitations and promises to have the uncle and nephew delivered into his hands. But the duke Francis, though he stood in need of the assistance of Edward, refused to betray the exiles. On one occasion, indeed, his resolution was shaken by the offer of the English king to give him his daughter, with a princely portion in marriage, and his promise at the same time to do no injury to the captives. In consequence, Francis delivered one, the young earl of Richmond, to Edward's messengers: but his conscience immediately smote him, and distrusting the intention of the king, he took the earl from them before their embarkation at St. Malo. From that time the two fugitives remained with him in a sort of honourable confinement during the reign of Edward: the reader will see them again in England under that of his successor (1). 6. Of the other partisans of the house of Lancaster, the principal, as soon as their hopes were extinguished by the death of Henry and his son, condescended to implore the clemency of Edward; and that prince, having no longer a competitor to fear, listened with greater attention to their petitions. Hence in the next parliament several attainders were reversed in favour of persons whose services might prove useful, or whose influence was too inconsiderable to make them subjects of jealousy. Of these I may mention two, Dr. Morton, parson of Blokesworth, and sir John Fortescue, lord chief justice, who had both been present in the field of Towton, and both been attainted by act of parliament. In their petitions to Edward they use nearly the same expressions. "They are as sorrowful and "repentant as any creatures may be, for whatever they have done

A. D. 1473.

(1) Com. v. 18. Stow, 426. 429

"to the displeasure of the king's highness; and protest that they "are and ever will be true liegemen and obeissant subjects to him "their sovereign lord." Acquainted with the talents of Morton, Edward had already granted him his pardon, and made him keeper of the rolls. Soon afterwards he preferred him to the bishopric of Ely. His attachment to the sons of his benefactor earned for him the enmity of Richard III.: and to his counsels were afterwards ascribed the deposition of that usurper, and the termination of civil discord, by the union of the two roses in the marriage of Henry VII. with the princess Elizabeth. Sir John Fortescue had accompanied Margaret and her son during their exile, and with the title of chancellor was intrusted with the education of the young prince. While he was with Henry in Scotland he had written a treatise in proof of the claim of the house of Lancaster, against that of the house of York. But he could support with equal ability either side of the question, and after the death of Henry wrote a second treatise in proof of the claim of the house of York, against the claim of that of Lancaster. The latter seems to have been required as the price of his pardon. In his petition he assures the king, "that he hath so clearly disproved all the arguments that have "been made against his right and title, that now there remaineth "no colour or matter of argument to the hurt or infamy of the "same right or title by reason of any such writing, but the same "right and title stand now the more clear and open by that any "such writings have been made against them (1)."

Thus, after many a bloody field, and the most surprising vicissitudes of fortune, was the head of the house of York seated on the throne of England, apparently without a competitor. His eldest son, who had been born in the sanctuary during his exile, and had also been named Edward, was now created prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and was recognised as the heir-apparent in a great

A. D. 1471. June 26. July 3.

(1) See Rot. Parl. vi. 26. 69. He maintained in his first work that Philippa, daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, through whom the house of York claimed, had never been acknowledged by her father; in the second, that she was his legitimate child and heir. See extracts from both treatises in "The Hereditary Right Asserted," p. 234, 235, and App. i. ii. taken from the Cotton MS. Otho, B. i.—But the most important of the works of this learned judge is his tract De Laudibus Legum Angliæ, which he wrote in exile for the instruction of the young prince, who was murdered after the battle of Tewkesbury. He informs his royal pupil that the English is not an absolute but a limited monarchy. In the former, which is the offspring of force and conquest, the will of the prince is the law: in the latter, which arises from the free election of men for their own safety and convenience, the king can neither make laws nor take the goods of his subjects without their consent (c. 9. 12. 13. 14). Of the superior advantages of the latter the prince could have no doubt, if he would contrast the situation of the lower classes in his own country with that of similar classes in France. He would find that the English were better clothed, better fed, and enjoyed in greater abundance the comforts of life (c. 35, 36). He then proceeds to give the preference to the English before the Roman law; 1°. Because the trial by jury is superior to that by witnesses; and to a question from the young Edward, why then other nations do not adopt it, he replies, that they cannot, because in no other country are there to be found such numbers of substantial yeomen, qualified to serve as jurors; for perjury in a juror was punished with the forfeiture of all property real and personal; and if one might be willing to risk this the others would not (567); 2°. Because it bastardizes the issue born before wedlock, whereas the civil law legitimates it; 3°. Because it makes the child of the same condition as the father, not as the mother; 4°. Because it refuses the guardianship of orphans to those who by law would succeed to their estates, etc. This treatise is deserving of attention, because it shows what notions prevailed at that period respecting the nature of the English constitution, and the liberties of the subject.

council of peers and prelates (1). The partisans of the house of Lancaster had no leader in England: the marauding expeditions of the earl of Oxford had become subjects of ridicule rather than terror; and the king was relieved from all apprehensions on the part of Scotland by the promising state of his negotiations with that kingdom (2). His chief disquietude arose from the insatiate rapacity of his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. The immense property of the late earl of Warwick had been derived from two sources, the inheritance of his father the earl of Salisbury, and the possessions of his wife Anne, the heiress to the noble and opulent family of Beauchamp. Clarence, who had married Warwick's eldest daughter, grasped at the whole succession: Gloucester proposed by marrying the younger, the relict of the late prince of Wales, to claim for himself a proportionate share. To defeat the project of his brother, the former concealed the widow from the pursuit of Gloucester: but after some months she was discovered in London in the disguise of a cook-maid, and for greater security was conducted to the sanctuary of St. Martin's. Clarence could not prevent the marriage: but he swore that Gloucester "should not "part the livelyhood with him." The king endeavoured to reconcile the two brothers. They pleaded their cause repeatedly before him in council; arbitrators were appointed; and at length an award was given, which, after assigning her portion to Anne, left the rest of the property to Isabella, the elder sister (3). All this while the countess their mother was living, and to her belonged by law the possessions of her late brother and father, with the dower settled on her by her husband (4). But her interests were disregarded. By act of parliament it was determined that the daughters should succeed as if their mother were dead; that, if either of them should die before her husband, *he* should continue to enjoy her portion for the term of his natural life; and that if a divorce should be pronounced between Richard and Anne, Richard should still have the benefit of this act, provided he should marry, or do his endeavours to marry, her again (5). Still the two brothers were not secure. To preclude any claim from the son of the marquess Montague, Warwick's brother, it was enacted that Clarence and Gloucester, and their heirs, should enjoy certain lands, the former property of the earl, as long as there should exist any male issue of the body of the marquess. By these acts of parliament, and the grant of different

A. D. 1473. Jan. 20.

A. D. 1474. May.

July.

(1) Rym. xi. 713.
(2) Id. xi. 718. 733. 748.
(3) Fenn, ii. 90. During this quarrel sir John Paston writes thus:—"The world seems queasy "here. For the most part that be about the king, "have sent hither for their harness (armour). It "is said for certain, that the duke of Clarence "maketh himself big in that he can; shewing as "(if) he would but deal with the duke of Glou- "cester: but the king intended to be as big as "they both. Some men think that under this "there should be some other thing intended, and "some treason conspired; so what shall fall, can "I not say." Fenn, ii. 127. April 13, 1473.
(4) She had been, since the death of her husband, in the sanctuary of Beverley, but was removed to the north in June 1473, by sir J. Tyrrell. Edward had assented to it, but Clarence was displeased.
(5) Rot. Parl. vi. 100, 101. Thus says the Continuator Hist. Croyl. Parum aut nihil veræ dominæ relictum est, p. 556, 557.

honours and emoluments, the demands of the royal brothers were satisfied: but a secret hatred had been kindled in their breasts, which was ready to burst forth on the first and most trivial provocation (1).

Being at length relieved from all cause of disquietude at home, Edward turned his attention to the concerns of foreign powers. Louis king of France, and Charles le Téméraire, duke of Burgundy, had long been implacable enemies. The latter, with his ally the duke of Bretagne, solicited Edward to prosecute the ancient claim of the English monarchs to the French crown. Gratitude for the services which he had received from his brother-in-law, the desire of punishing Louis for the succours which he had furnished to the house of Lancaster, and above all, the benefit of employing in a foreign war those who, from their former attachments, might be inclined to cabal against his government, induced him to lend a willing ear to the project. Alliances, offensive and defensive, were A. D. 1474. July 25. concluded between him and the two dukes; the partition of their expected conquests was arranged; and the respective quotas, with the payment of their troops were satisfactorily settled. France, according to these treaties, would have been divided into two independent states; of which one, comprehending the northern and eastern provinces, would have belonged to the duke of Burgundy without any obligation of fealty or homage; the other would have been possessed by Edward as the undoubted heir to the ancient monarchs (2). The king found the nation willing to embark in the From 1472. Oct. 6. to A. D. 1475. Mar. 24. romantic undertaking: the clergy, the lords, and the commons, separately granted him a tenth of their income; and the parliament, which, with different prorogations, continued to sit during two years and a half, voted supply upon supply with unprecedented rapidity (3). But an additional aid was obtained by the king's own ingenuity. He assumed the tone of a sturdy beggar, called the more wealthy of the citizens before him, and requested from each a present for the relief of his wants. No one presumed to reject the prayer of his sovereign; and considerable sums were thus procured from the shame, the hopes, or the fears, of the donors. Preceding monarchs had repeatedly borrowed on their own security, or that of the parliament: Edward was the first who demanded presents, and facetiously termed the money which he had extorted *a benevolence* (4). We may believe that the sums collected from these different sources exceeded the treasures amassed by any of his predecessors: but it is plain that the historian was not possessed of the gift of prophecy, when he asserted that they would never be equalled on any subsequent occasion (5).

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 124.
(2) Rym. xi. 804—814, and transcript for New Rym. 75, 76.
(3) Rot. Parl. vi. 3—153.
(4) Inaudita impositio muneris, ut per benevolentiam quisque daret quod vellet, imo verius quod nollet. Cont. Croyl. 558.
(5) Ad eas summas, quarum summæ neque

Though Europe had long resounded with the report of these preparations, from some accident or other the threatened expedition was annually postponed. Edward, however, improved the delay to secure the friendship of the king of Scots. His commissioners offered ample indemnity for all injuries sustained by the Scottish merchants: the long truce was reciprocally confirmed; a marriage was contracted between the duke of Rothsay, the eldest son of James, and Cecily the second daughter of Edward, and the portion of the princess was fixed at twenty thousand marks, to be paid by equal instalments in ten years; a mode of payment which, by making the king of Scots the pensioner, attached him to the interests of the king of England (1). At length Edward proceeded to Sandwich: his army, consisting of fifteen hundred men-at-arms, and ten times that number of archers, was transported to Calais; and Charles duke of Burgundy was invited, according to the treaty, to join the king with his troops. But that prince, who had already wasted his resources by a romantic and unsuccessful expedition into Germany, arrived in the English camp with a slender retinue, and offered the best apology in his power for his inability to fulfil his engagements. Edward accompanied him to Peronne, where his chagrin was augmented by the jealousy with which Charles excluded the English from the town. Thence a detachment was sent to occupy St. Quintin's, but the constable of St. Pol, who had been represented as an ally, fired on it from the walls. The king could no longer check the expression of his disappointment; and the duke departed with a promise to return in a short time at the head of a numerous army.

A. D. 1474. Oct. 26.

A. D. 1475. June 20.

July 4.

From Sandwich, in conformity with the laws of chivalry, Garter king-at-arms had been despatched to Louis, to make a formal demand of the French crown. The monarch heard him with composure, took him into his closet, expressed much esteem for the character of Edward, and a sincere desire to live in amity with so illustrious a prince. He then put three hundred crowns into the hands of the herald, and promised him a thousand more on the conclusion of peace. Won by his liberality and apparent confidence, Garter advised him to apply to the lord Howard or the lord Stanley, as ministers averse from war, and high in the favour of their sovereign. Louis immediately dismissed him, and prepared to avail himself of the information (2).

While Edward lay in his camp near Peronne, ruminating on the unaccountable conduct of the Burgundian, a French herald addressed himself to the lords Howard and Stanley, and solicited an introduction to the king. Being admitted, he assured Edward that

antea visæ, neque in futurum de verosimili simul videndæ sunt. Ibid. He got from the lord mayor 30*l.*, from each alderman 20 marks, or at least 10*l.*, and from the wealthiest commoners 4*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.*, or "the wages of half a man for the year." Fab. 664.

(1) Rym. xi. 821—832.

(2) Com. iv. c. 5—7.

Louis had never entertained the slightest hostility against him personally; and that, if he had lent assistance on one occasion to the earl of Warwick, it had been solely through his hatred to the duke of Burgundy: he insinuated that the friendship pretended by Charles was hollow and insincere; that he had allured the English into France for his own individual advantage; and that he would desert them the moment he could obtain better terms for himself; and then added that, with a little forbearance on each side, it would be easy for two princes, who mutually esteemed each other, to prevent the effusion of christian blood, and agree to an accommodation equally beneficial to their subjects. By Edward, discontented
Aug. 13 as he was, the suggestion was received with pleasure. He convoked a council of officers, and a resolution was taken that the king should return with his army to England, if Louis would consent to pay him immediately seventy-five thousand crowns; to settle on him an annuity for life of fifty thousand more; to conclude a truce and commercial intercourse between the two nations for seven years; and to marry his eldest son to Edward's eldest daughter; or, in the event of her death, to her sister Mary, who at the age of puberty should be conveyed to France at the expense of Louis, and receive from him an annual income of sixty thousand francs. The motives assigned by the members for this resolution are, the approach of winter, the poverty of the treasury, and the insincerity of duke Charles (1); but to these must be added the presents which Louis distributed among the royal favourites, and the prospect of a supply of money, an object of high importance to a voluptuous and indigent prince. Commissioners on both sides were appointed to meet at a
Aug. 29. neighbouring village. Louis assented to every demand; and in addition, it was agreed that Margaret of Anjou should be set at liberty on the payment of fifty thousand crowns; and that all differences between the two kings should be submitted to four arbitrators, the cardinal of Canterbury and duke of Clarence on the part of Edward, the archbishop of Lyons and the count of Dunois on the part of Louis, who should be bound to pronounce their award within the course of three years (2). As soon as these conditions had been mutually exchanged a bridge was thrown across the Somme at Picquigny near Amiens, on which were erected two lodges, separated from each other by a grating of wood. Here the monarchs met each other, shook hands through the grating, and swore on the missal to observe their engagements. They then entered into familiar conversation; and Louis incautiously invited his new acquaintance to Paris. Edward, eager in the pursuit of pleasure, did not refuse; and it required all the address of the French monarch to postpone the intended visit to an indeterminate period.

(1) Rym. xi. 14, 15.

(2) Rym. xi. 15—21. xii. 52.

The English kings, he afterwards observed to his confidants, had been too much in the habit of visiting France; he liked them best on their own side of the water (1).

All the immediate conditions of the treaty were faithfully performed. Edward received the money on the appointed day, and instantly commenced his march to the coast; the truce was published, and prolonged for one year after the death of either king; the annual pension, and the sum stipulated for the ransom of queen Margaret, were carefully paid; Edward resigned all power over that princess as his captive, and Louis bound himself never to make any demand in her favour; and she herself, after she was delivered to the French commissioners at Rouen, signed a formal renunciation of all her rights as queen dowager of England (2). Each king congratulated himself on the issue of the expedition. Edward had not only filled his coffers, but had ensured for himself an annual supply of money: Louis, at an expense comparatively small, had escaped from a dangerous war, and had converted a powerful enemy into a faithful ally. To secure this advantage he had purchased the services of many in the English council, who did not hesitate to copy the example of their sovereign. The lord Hastings, Edward's principal favourite, and the chancellor, accepted annual pensions of two thousand crowns each; and twelve thousand more were yearly distributed among the marquess of Dorset, the lords Howard and Cheney, sir Thomas Montgomery, Thomas St. Leger, and a few others. Most of these were not ashamed to recognise themselves as pensioners of the king of France: the lord Hastings alone, though he greedily accepted the money, could never be induced to put his signature to a receipt (3).

Nov. 13. A. D. 1476. Jan. 29.

But though Edward was satisfied, the army and people did not conceal their disappointment. Of the former many accused the avarice of the king, and threatened with public vengeance the counsellors who had suffered themselves to be bribed by Louis: but they were carefully watched, and severely punished for the imprudence of their language. Others, as soon as the army was disbanded, formed associations, extorted money by violence, and threw several counties into confusion by repeated robberies and murders. To suppress these disorders the king directed the laws to be strictly enforced, accompanied the judges in their circuits, and inexorably refused mercy to every delinquent, whatever might have been his station or service. But the dissatisfaction of the people supplied a source of deeper disquietude. It was evident that they wanted only a leader to guide their efforts, and that the imposition of new taxes would infallibly goad them to insurrection. Hence it became the

(1) Com. iv. 5—10. Addit. to Monstrel. 51.

(2) Rym, xii. 21. Du Tillet, 145. Archives de France, 242. Her description is "Ego Margarita olim in regno Angliæ maritata." Thres. des Chart. 88.

(3) Com. iv. 8. vi. 2.

great object of the king's policy to provide for the expenses of his household, and of the government, without laying any additional burden on the nation. With this view he ordered the officers of the customs to exact the duties with severity, extorted frequent tenths from the clergy, levied large sums for the restoration of the temporalities of abbeys and bishoprics, resumed most of the grants lately made by the crown, and compelled the holders of estates, who had omitted any of the numerous minutiæ of the feudal tenures to compound by heavy fines for the rents which they had hitherto received. Neither did he disdain the aid which might be derived from commercial enterprise. Edward's ships were annually freighted with tin, wool, and cloth; and the merchandise of the king of England was publicly exposed to sale in the ports of Italy and Greece. In a short time he became rich: though individuals might complain, the nation was satisfied; and men grew insensibly attached to a prince who could support the splendour of the throne without making any general demand on the purses of his subjects (1).

It was not, however, long before an event occurred which embittered the remainder of Edward's days. His brother Clarence by the act of resumption had been deprived of several estates, and seems to have considered the loss an unjustifiable aggression. He withdrew from court, could seldom be persuaded to eat at the king's table, and at the council board observed the most obstinate silence. His wife, after the birth of her third child, fell into a state of debility, which, at the expiration of two months, terminated her life; and
Dec. 22. Ankaret Twynhyo, one of her female servants, was tried, condemned, and executed on the charge of having administered poison
A. D. to the duchess (2). It chanced that about the same time the duke of
1477. Jan. 5. Burgundy fell at the siege of Nanci; and his immense possessions devolved on Mary, his only daughter and heir. Clarence solicited her hand; his suit was seconded by all the influence of his sister, her mother-in-law; and it is thought that he would have succeeded had it not been for the resolute opposition of Edward. The king was too jealous of the ambition of a brother, who might employ the power of Burgundy to win for himself the crown of England, and too apprehensive of incurring the enmity of Louis, who had already seized a considerable portion of Mary's inheritance. From that moment the brothers viewed each other as enemies, and scarcely preserved in their intercourse the external forms of decorum. While they were thus irritated against each other, whether it were the effect of accident, or a preparatory step to the ruin of Clarence, Stacey, one of his servants, was accused of practising the art of magic, and of melting certain images of lead to accelerate the death of the lord Beauchamp. On the rack he named as his accomplice

(1) For these interesting particulars we are indebted to the historian of Croyland, p. 559.

(2) Rot. Parl. vi. 173, 174.

Thomas Burdett, a gentleman in the duke's family. They were arraigned together before the judges and most of the temporal peers; were charged with having calculated the nativities of the king and the prince; and circulated certain rhymes and ballads of a seditious tendency; and, after a short trial, were condemned and executed. On the scaffold both protested against the sentence; Clarence immediately professed himself the champion of their innocence; and the next day Dr. Godard, an eminent divine, was introduced by him into the council chamber to depose to their dying declarations. When these particulars, exaggerated perhaps by officious friends, had been communicated to Edward, he hastened from Windsor to London, sent for the duke, upbraided him with insulting the administration of justice, and in the presence of the mayor and sheriffs committed him to the Tower (1).

A parliament was now summoned, and the unfortunate Clarence stood at the bar of the house of lords under a charge of high treason. Not one of the peers ventured to speak in his favour: the king produced his witnesses, and conducted the prosecution. He described the tender affection which he had formerly cherished for his brother, and the great possessions with which he had enriched him. Yet the ungrateful prince had turned against his benefactor, had leagued with his enemies, had deprived him of his liberty, and during his exile had conspired to dethrone him. All this had been forgiven. Yet what was the return? Clarence had again formed the project of disinheriting him and his issue. For this purpose he had commissioned his servants to give public entertainments, during which they insinuated that Burdett had been innocent of the crime for which he suffered, that the king was himself a magician, and therefore unfit to govern a christian people, and what was more, was a bastard, and consequently without any right to the crown. Moreover, Clarence had induced men to swear that they would be true to him without any reservation of allegiance to their sovereign; had declared that he would recover both for himself and them the lands which had been lost by the act of resumption; had obtained and preserved an attested copy of the act declaring him the next heir to the crown after the male issue of Henry VI.; had sent orders to all his retainers to be in readiness to join him in arms at an hour's notice; and had endeavoured to substitute another person's child in the place of his own son, that he might send the latter out of the kingdom, as if his life were menaced by the enmity of his uncle (2). How far these charges against Clarence were true, or whether they amounted to more than precautions against the malice of his enemies, it is impossible for us to decide; for though we know that he replied with warmth and acrimony, his reply has not been pre-

A. D. 1478. Jan. 16.

(1) Cont. Croyl. 561, 562, compared with the indictment, in Howell's State Trials, iii. 364.

(2) See the long and laboured bill of attainder in Rot. Parl. vi. 193, 194.

served. The peers were persuaded by the arguments of the royal
Feb. 7. accuser; they found Clarence guilty; and the duke of Buckingham, who had been appointed high steward for the occasion, pronounced on him the sentence of death (1). Soon afterwards an act was passed to reverse the judgment of Ankaret; and the commons petitioned the king to execute justice on his brother (2). But Edward disapproved of a public exhibition. About ten days later it was an-
Feb. 18. nounced that the duke had died in the Tower. The manner of his death has never been ascertained; but a silly report was circulated that he had been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine (3).

It was a singular but leading feature in the policy of this king, that he negotiated marriages for his children, almost the very moment they were born. Elizabeth had long been contracted to the dauphin of France, Cecily to the son and heir of the king of Scotland, Anne to the infant son of Maximilian archduke of Austria, and his eldest son to the eldest daughter of the duke of Bretagne. In all these projects he was disappointed, in two of them he was completely overreached. The instalments of the sum to be given
A. D. 1480. with Cecily had for some years been regularly paid: in 1478 they were suspended, and in 1480 war was declared between England and Scotland. By some writers, the rupture has been attributed to the intrigues of Louis, who secretly stimulated James to break his alliance with Edward; by others, to the policy of Edward, who sought to convert to his own advantage the dissensions between the king and the nobles of Scotland. From public documents it appears that the two princes were highly exasperated against each other. Edward upbraided James with meanness of conduct and breach of faith; and James returned the compliment with the contumelious appellation of "the robber," alluding probably to the manner in which his adversary had acquired the crown (4). Great preparations were made: James placed himself at the head of the Scottish, the duke of Gloucester at the head of the English army; and the borderers renewed their depredations: yet two years elapsed before the war assumed a formidable appearance. The king of Scotland, who aspired to the reputation of taste and science, had long avoided the society of his proud but ignorant nobles, and admitted to his company none but a few artists, distinguished indeed in their respective professions, but born in the lower stations of life, and the more hateful in the sight of the natives, because some of them were

(1) Ibid. 195.

(2) Ibid. 173. At the same time George Neville, son of the marquess Montague, who had been created duke of Bedford, was deprived of his title, on the pretence that he had not an income equal to support it. Ibid. And an act was passed "for the surety of all lords, noblemen, and other "the king's true servants and subjects," repealing the acts passed in the parliament summoned by Henry VI., during the absence of Edward, more than seven years before. Rot. Parl. vi. 191.

(3) The historian of Croyland says only—factum est id, qualecumque erat, genus supplicii, 562. I suspect that the principal cause of Edward's jealousy against Clarence arose from his having been declared the next heir after Edward, the son of Henry VI. Supposing the validity of that act, he was even now the rightful heir. The king was careful to have it repealed. Rot. Parl. vi. 191.

(4) Rym. xii. 115. 117. Black Acts, fol. 56.

foreigners. The discontent of the nobility was shared by the duke of Albany and the earl of Mar, the brothers of James, who, to intimidate the factious, suddenly arrested them both, and confined them in separate prisons, the former in the castle of Edinburgh, the other in that of Craigmillar. Albany, by the assistance of the captain of a French vessel, contrived to escape, and eluded the vengeance of his brother, by a voluntary exile in Paris. The unfortunate Mar, on the very doubtful charge of magical practices against the life of the king, was condemned by the council, conducted to the Cannongate, and there suffered to bleed to death by the opening of a vein. Revenge rankled in the breast of Albany, who, encouraged by the hostilities between the two powers, came to England, solicited the protection of Edward, and under the pretence that his brother was illegitimate, proclaimed himself king of Scotland (1). It was stipulated, that Edward should employ his forces to place Albany on the throne, who, in return, should surrender the town and castle of Berwick; should hold the crown as the vassal of the English monarch; should abjure the national alliance with France; and should marry, if the laws of the church would permit (for he had even now two supposed wives living), one of the English princesses. Accompanied by the duke of Gloucester, who led an army of twenty-two thousand five hundred men, he laid siege to Berwick. The town opened its gates, the castle made a most obstinate resistance. James had summoned his retainers, and had advanced as far as Lauder, unaware of the danger which threatened him. It was generally during a military expedition that the Scottish barons made a successful stand against the authority of the sovereign. They were then assembled in a body; they were surrounded with their clans and retainers; and, if they were but united among themselves, they always proved more than a match for the power of the crown. They had met to consult in the church of Lauder, when Cochran the architect, whom the infatuated James had lately created earl of Mar, incautiously joined the assembly. He was instantly seized; six more of the royal favourites were dragged from the king's tent; and all were hanged over the bridge. The confederate chiefs immediately disbanded the army, and conveyed the king to the castle of Edinburgh, menacing him with perpetual imprisonment unless he should grant a full pardon for the murder of his friends (2).

A. D. 1482. June 10.

The news of this extraordinary revolution quickly reached the army, which lay before Berwick; and Albany and Gloucester with sixteen thousand men hastened to Edinburgh. That capital received them as friends; and every man expected that the sceptre of Scotland would pass from the feeble hands of its possessor to the firmer grasp of his brother, when, to the astonishment of both nations, Albany

(1) His mother, Mary of Gueldres, was not an immaculate character. See Wyrcest. 492.

(2) Abercromb. ii. 446. Buch. 234.

signed an agreement with two Scottish peers and two prelates, by which *he* bound himself to act the part of a faithful subject, *they* to procure for him a pardon without any exceptions, and the restoration of his estates and honours. It was, however, stipulated, that to satisfy the king of England, the castle of Berwick should be surrendered, and the provost and merchants of Edinburgh should give security for the repayment of all monies advanced on account of the marriage portion of Cecily, unless Edward were willing that the former contract should still subsist. The king, however, demanded the money, which was faithfully repaid. Albany took the castle of Edinburgh by force, and liberated his brother. To prove their reconciliation, they both rode to Holyrood-house on one horse, and slept in the same bed. Yet the restless mind of the duke was not satisfied. He renewed his negotiations with Edward; on the discovery of his traitorous designs escaped again into France, and was at last attainted by an act of the Scottish parliament (1).

Aug. 2.

A. D. 1483. Feb. 11.

Another instance in which the expectations of Edward were cruelly disappointed was the projected marriage of his daughter Elizabeth with the dauphin of France. When she had completed her twelfth year it was hoped that Louis, according to his engagement, would have sent for the princess, and have settled on her the stipulated annuity of sixty thousand francs. Four years passed; still she remained in England. Remonstrances were made, but Louis always returned some plausible answer. The parliament warned the king of the artifices of the French court; still he refused to suspect the sincerity of his good brother. An unexpected event opened his eyes. The princess Mary of Burgundy, who had borne her husband Maximilian two children, Philip and Margaret, was unexpectedly killed by a fall from her horse; and Louis, forgetting the princess Elizabeth, instantly demanded Margaret for the dauphin. It was in vain that the father hesitated. The people of Ghent, to whose custody the children had been intrusted, extorted his consent; Margaret was delivered by them to the commissioners of Louis; and the provinces which that monarch had ravished from her mother were settled upon her as her marriage portion. When the news reached Edward, he burst into a paroxysm of rage. From that moment his thoughts were constantly fixed, his conversation generally employed, on the readiest means of inflicting vengeance on the perfidy of the king of France. But whether it were owing to the agitation of his mind, or to the debaucheries in which he indulged, a slight ailment, which had been treated with neglect, suddenly exhibited the most dangerous symptoms. He spent the few days preceding his death in the exercises of religion, and directed that out of the treasures

A. D. 1482. Dec. 23.

A. D. 1483. Apr. 9.

(1) Rym. xii. 155—163. 172—179. Cont. Hist. Croyl. 563. He acquaints us that the king was not pleased with the result of the expedition, which had cost him more than 100,000*l*. The possession of Berwick was an advantage: but the expense of retaining it amounted to 10,000 marks yearly. Ibid.

which he should leave behind him full restitution should be made to all whom he had wronged, or from whom he had extorted money under the name of benevolence. He expired in the twenty-first year of his reign.

Edward is said to have been the most accomplished, and, till he grew too unwieldy, the most handsome man of the age. The love of pleasure was his ruling passion. Few princes have been more magnificent in their dress (1), or more licentious in their amours; few have indulged more freely in the luxuries of the table (2). But such pursuits often interfered with his duties, and at last incapacitated him for active exertion. Even in youth, while he was fighting for the throne, he was always the last to join his adherents; and in manhood, when he was firmly seated on it, he entirely abandoned the charge of military affairs to his brother the duke of Gloucester (3). To the chief supporters of the opposite party he was cruel and unforgiving: the blood which he shed intimidated his friends no less than his foes; and both lords and commons during his reign, instead of contending like their predecessors for the establishment of rights, and the abolition of grievances, made it their principal study to gratify the royal pleasure (4). He was as suspicious as he was cruel. Every officer of government, every steward on his manors and farms was employed as a spy on the conduct of all around him: they regularly made to the king reports of the state of the neighbourhood; and such was the fidelity of his memory, that it was difficult to mention an individual of any consequence, even in the most distant counties, with whose character, history, and influence he was not accurately acquainted (5). Hence every project of opposition to his government was suppressed almost as soon as it was formed; and Edward might have promised himself a long and prosperous reign, had not continued indulgence enervated his constitution, and sown the seeds of that malady, which consigned him to the grave in the forty-first year of his age. He was buried with the usual pomp in the new chapel at Windsor (6).

The king left two sons, Edward in his twelfth year, who succeeded him, and Richard in his eleventh, duke of York, and earl

(1) At the Christmas before his death he appeared in a new dress. His robes were furnished with sleeves enormously long and deep, lined with the most precious furs, and folded back on his shoulders: "Novum" says the historian, "et singulare intuentibus spectaculum." Cont. Croyl. 563.

(2) In homine tam corpulento, tantis sodalitiis, vanitatibus, crapulis, luxuri, et cupiditatibus dedito. Id. 564.

(3) During the Scottish campaign posts were first established in England. Horsemen were placed at the distance of twenty miles from each other on the road from Scotland to London. They delivered the dispatches from one to another at the rate of 100 miles a day. Cont. Croyl. 571.

(4) We shall search in vain on the rolls for such petitions as were presented to the throne by the commons in former reigns: but one improvement was firmly established, that of framing the petitions in the form of an act of Parliament: an improvement which prevented any of those alterations in the statutes of which the commons formerly complained. The clerks had now nothing more to do than to copy the words of the petition, and add to it that the king had given his assent.

(5) Cont. Croyl. 562. 564.

(6) The ceremony of his interment may be read in Sandford (Geneal. Hist. p. 4—13). Immediately after his death he was exposed on a board, naked from the waist upwards, during ten hours, that he might be seen by all the lords spiritual and temporal, and by the mayor and aldermen of London. Ibid.

marshal. This young prince had been married in his fifth year to Anne, the daughter and heiress of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, and thus became entitled to the immense estates of that nobleman. Five of Edward's daughters survived him. Of these four, whom he had so anxiously laboured to place on foreign thrones, found husbands in England. Elizabeth, contracted to the dauphin, was married to Henry VII.; Cecily, the destined wife of the prince of Scotland, to the viscount Welles; Anne, who had been promised to Philip of Burgundy, to Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk; and Catherine, the expected bride of the infant of Spain, to William Courtenay earl of Devon. Bridget became a nun in the convent at Dartford.

CHAPTER VI.

EDWARD V.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Germ.	*King of Scotland.*	*King of France.*	*Gover. of Spain.*
Frederic III.	James III.	Louis XI.	Isabella Ferdinand }

Pope.—Sixtus IV.

Conduct of the duke of Gloucester—Arrests—The duke is made Protector—Murder of lord Hastings and the earl Rivers—Penance of Jane Shore—The duke aspires to the crown—Sermon in his favour—Speech of the duke of Buckingham—Offer of the crown to Gloucester—Who accepts it.

A FAINT glimmering of light may be thrown on the dark transactions which followed the death of the late king by adverting to the state of parties at the close of his reign. Whether it were that Edward had been compelled by the importunities of his wife, or that he felt a pride in aggrandizing the family of her whom he had placed by his side on the throne, he had successively raised her relations from the condition of knights and esquires to the highest honours and offices in the state. By the more ancient nobility their rapid elevation was viewed with jealousy and resentment; and their influence, though it appeared formidable, while it was supported by the favour of the king, proved in the sequel to be very inconsiderable, and confined to the few families into which they had married. The marquess of Dorset, the queen's son by a former marriage,

and her brother, the accomplished but unfortunate earl Rivers, possessed the first seats at the council board : but they were continually opposed by the lords Hastings, Howard, and Stanley, the king's personal friends, particularly the first, whom Edward had chosen for the companion of his pleasures, and who on that very account was the more odious to the queen. The monarch during his health had balanced by his prudence the rivalry, and silenced by his authority the dissensions, of the two parties; and on his death-bed, warned by the unfortunate minority of Henry VI., had called them into his chamber, exhorted them to mutual forgiveness, and commanded them to embrace in his presence. They obeyed with apparent cheerfulness : but their hearts gave the lie to the sentiments which they uttered, and the lapse of a few days proved how treacherous were all such reconciliations, when he by whose order they had been made no longer lived to enforce them (1).

As soon as the king had expired the council assembled, and resolved to proclaim his eldest son by the style of Edward V. But here Apr. 9. their unanimity ended. The young prince, accompanied by his uncle, earl Rivers, and his uterine brother, lord Grey, had been sent to Ludlow in Shropshire, under the pretext that his presence would serve to restrain the natives of Wales; but in reality, that by growing up under their tuition, he might become more attached to his maternal relatives. A suspicion was entertained that, in imitation of Isabella, the mother of Edward III., the queen would aspire to a considerable share of authority during the minority of her son; and to defeat her designs, the enemies of the Wydeviles anxiously expected the arrival of the duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and the duke of Buckingham, the lineal descendant of Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest son of Edward III. When Elizabeth proposed that Rivers and Grey should conduct Edward from Ludlow to the metropolis under the protection of an army, Hastings and his friends took the alarm. Gloucester and Buckingham were still absent; the Tower was in possession of the marquess of Dorset; the king was surrounded by the queen's creatures; and the addition of an army would place her opponents at her mercy, and enable the Wydeviles to establish their authority. Where, they asked, was the necessity of an army? Who were the enemies against whom it was to be directed? Did the Wydeviles mean to break the reconciliation

(1) More's Works, 38—40. edit. of 1557. For our knowledge of the events of this period we are chiefly indebted to the continuator of the history of Croyland, and sir Thomas More. The first was a contemporary. His name is unknown: but it appears from his work that he was a doctor of canon law, sometimes a member of the council under Edward IV., and occasionally employed by him as envoy to foreign powers (p. 557). He declares that he has written with truth and impartiality. Sine ulla scita intermixtione mendacii, odii, aut favoris, 575. Sir Thomas More was born in 1480. In 1513, when he was under-sheriff of London, he wrote his history of Richard III., according to Rastell, who printed it in 1557 from a copy in More's hand writing. But Mr. Ellis has observed that the writer speaks of Edward IV. as if he had been present during the last sickness of that monarch, which could not be the case with More, only three years old; and he is therefore inclined to believe that More, was only the copier of a MS. delivered to him by some one else, probably Dr. Morton. Pref. to Hardynge, xx.

which they had sworn to observe? A long and angry altercation ensued; Hastings declared that he would quit the court, and retire to his command at Calais; the queen thought it prudent to yield; and in an evil hour the resolution was taken that the retinue of the young king should not exceed two thousand horsemen (1).

Richard, duke of Gloucester, was a prince of insatiable ambition, who could conceal the most bloody projects under the mask of affection and loyalty. Having the command of the army against the Scots, he was employed in the marches at the time of his brother's death: but the moment he heard of that event, he repaired to York with a train of six hundred knights and esquires dressed in mourning, ordered the obsequies of the deceased king to be performed with royal magnificence in the cathedral, summoned the gentlemen of the county to swear allegiance to Edward V.; and to give them an example, was himself the first who took the oath. At the same time he despatched letters to profess his affection and loyalty to his nephew, to condole with Elizabeth on the loss of her consort, and to offer his friendship to the earl Rivers, and the other lords of the queen's family. Having added to the number of his followers, he proceeded southward, avowedly for the purpose of assisting at the coronation, which had been fixed by the council for the fourth of May (2).

With the object of the secret messages which during this interval had passed between the duke, and Buckingham, and Hastings, we are unacquainted: of their import we may form a probable conjecture from the events which immediately succeeded. The young Edward had reached Stony Stratford on his road to London, on the same day on which his uncle arrived at Northampton, about ten miles behind him. The lords Rivers and Grey hastened to welcome Gloucester in the name of the king, and to submit to his approbation the orders which had been framed for the royal entry into the metropolis. They were received with distinction, and invited to dine with the duke, who lavished on them marks of his esteem and friendship. In the evening came the duke of Buckingham with a suite of three hundred horsemen. After supper Rivers and Grey retired to their quarters, highly pleased with their reception: the two princes, left to themselves, arranged the plan of their proceedings for the next day.

Apr. 29.

In the morning it was discovered that every outlet from the town had been strongly guarded during the night, for the purpose, it was said, of preventing any person from paying his respects to the king before the arrival of his uncle. The circumstance awakened suspicion: but the four lords rode in company, and apparently in friendship, to the entrance of Stony Stratford, when Gloucester

Apr. 30.

(1) Cont. Croyl. 565. More, 41. (2) Cont. Croyl. 565. More, 41.

suddenly accused Rivers and Grey of having estranged from him the affection of his nephew. They denied the charge, but were immediately arrested and conducted into the rear. The two dukes proceeded to the house where the king resided, and approached him bending the knee, and professing their loyalty and attachment. But after this outward demonstration of respect, they apprehended sir Thomas Vaughan, and sir Richard Hawse, his confidential servants, ordered the rest of his retinue to disperse, and forbade by proclamation any of them to return into the royal presence under the penalty of death. The prince, abandoned and alarmed, burst into tears; but Gloucester, on his knees, conjured him to dismiss his terrors, to rely on the affection of his uncle, and to believe that these precautions had been rendered necessary by the perfidy of the Wydevile. He conducted Edward back to Northampton, and ordered the four prisoners to be conveyed under a strong guard to the castle of Pontefract (1).

The same evening this mysterious transaction was confidentially announced to the lord Hastings, and soon afterwards was communicated to the queen mother, who, foreboding the ruin of her family, hastily retired with her second son, Richard, her five daughters, and the marquess of Dorset, into the sanctuary at Westminster, and was there lodged in the abbot's apartments. That asylum had formerly been respected by her greatest enemy, the earl of Warwick: it would not, she trusted, be violated by a brother-in-law. The capital was instantly thrown into confusion. The citizens armed themselves; some repaired to Elizabeth in Westminster; others to the lord Hastings in London. That nobleman in general terms assured his friends, what he probably believed himself, that the two dukes were loyal subjects; but their real purpose was preserved an impenetrable secret; and the adherents of the queen, without a leader, and without information, awaited the result in the most anxious uncertainty (2). May 1.

On the fourth of May, the day originally appointed for the coronation, Gloucester conducted his captive nephew into the metropolis. At Hornsey park they were met by the lord mayor and alderman in scarlet, followed by five hundred citizens in violet. The young king wore a long mantle of blue velvet, his attendants were dressed in deep mourning: Gloucester rode before him with his head bare, and pointed him out to the acclamations of the citizens. He was lodged with all the honours of royalty in the palace of the bishop, and immediately received the fealty and homage of the prelates, lords, and commoners, who were present. A great council had been summoned, and continued to sit during several days. On the motion of the duke of Buckingham the king was removed to the May 4.

(1) Cont. Croyl. 565. More, 41, 42. (2) Cont. Ibid. 565, 566. More, 43.

Tower; a distant day, the 22nd of June, was fixed for the coronation; the seals were taken from the archbishop of York and given to the bishop of Lincoln; several officers of the crown were dismissed, to
May 27. make room for the adherents of the ruling party; and Gloucester, who had been appointed protector, assumed the lofty style of "brother and uncle of kings, protectour and defensour, gret cham-"berlayne, constable, and lord high admiral of England (1)."

What may have been the original object of this prince can be only matter for conjecture. It is not often that the adventurer discerns at the outset the goal at which he ultimately arrives. The tide of events bears him forward; and past success urges him to still higher attempts. If the duke aspired to nothing more than the protectorate, his ambition was not to be blamed. It was a dignity which the precedents of the two last minorities seemed to have attached to the king's uncle. But it soon appeared that he could not stand so near to the throne, without wishing to place himself on it; and that, when he had once taken his resolve, no consideration of blood, or justice, or humanity, could divert him from his object. He proceeded, however, with that caution and dissimulation which marked his character; his designs were but gradually and partially unfolded; nor did he openly avow his pretension to the crown till he had removed the most trusty of the king's friends, and taken from the rest every hope of opposing him with success.

While orders were issued and preparations made for the expected coronation, Gloucester was busily employed in maturing his plans, and despatching instructions to his adherents. The council met daily at the royal apartments in the Tower: the confidants of the protector at Crosby place, in Bishopsgate-street, his residence in London. These separate meetings did not escape the notice of lord Stanley; but his suspicion was lulled by the assurance of lord Hastings that he had secured the services of a trusty agent, through whom he learned the most secret counsels of Gloucester. The sequel will make it probable that this trusty agent deceived and betrayed him. A summons was issued to forty-eight lords and gentlemen to attend, and receive knighthood preparatory to the coronation of the young king, a measure devised as a blind by the protector; for three days later he despatched orders to his retainers in the north to hasten to London for his protection against the bloody designs of the queen and her kinsmen; and shortly afterwards entering the council-chamber at the Tower, he stood at first in silence knitting his brows, and then in answer to a remark by lord Hastings, called him a traitor, and struck his first upon the table. A voice at the door exclaimed, "Treason," and a body of ruffians bursting into the room arrested Hastings, Stanley, and the two

(1) Cont. Croyl. 566. More, 47. Rym. xii. Buck, 522. 185. Fab. 513. Drake's Eborac. 115.

prelates of York and Ely. The three last were conveyed to separate cells; Hastings was told to prepare for immediate execution. It was in vain that he inquired the cause. The order of the protector would not admit of delay; the first priest who offered himself received his confession; and a piece of timber, which accidentally lay in the green at the door of the chapel, served for the block on which he was beheaded. A proclamation was issued the same afternoon, June 13. announcing that Hastings and his friends had conspired to put to death the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, who had miraculously escaped the snare laid for their destruction (1).

On the same day (and the time should be noticed) Ratcliffe, one of the boldest partisans of the protector, at the head of a numerous body of armed men, entered the castle of Pontefract, and made himself master of the lord Grey, sir Thomas Vaughan, and sir Richard Hawse. To the spectators it was announced that they had been guilty of treason: but no judicial forms were observed; and the heads of the victims were struck off in the presence of the multitude (2). Two days afterwards a letter from the duke was delivered June 15. by Ratcliffe to the mayor and citizens of York, informing them of the traitorous designs imputed to Elizabeth and the Wydeviles; and four days later proclamations were issued in the northern June 19. counties, commanding all men "to rise, and come to London under "the earl of Northumberland and the lord Neville, to assist in "subduing, correcting, and punishing the quene, her blode, and "other her adherents, who entended to murder and destroy the "protectour and his cousyn the duc of Buckyngham, and the old "royal blode of the realm (3)."

With these proceedings in the north, the inhabitants of London were yet unacquainted: but the murder of Hastings, and the arrest of Stanley and the two prelates, had liberated Richard from all apprehensions on the part of those who were most attached to the family of the late king. Of the royal brothers the elder had been

(1) Cont. Croyl. 566. More, 53, 54. Polydor. 536.

(2) Cont. Croyl. 567. More asserts repeatedly that these murders occurred on the same day as that of lord Hastings. This may be true of the others, but is not correct as to lord Rivers, who was indeed put to death at Pontefract, but a few days later, and by command of the earl of Northumberland. (Rouse, 214.) We have his will dated at Sheriff Hutton on the 23rd of June; a long and elaborate instrument, composed probably under the apprehension, but without any certain knowledge, of the fate which awaited him. If he die beyond the Trent, he directs his body to be buried before our lady of Pewe besides St. Stephen's college at Westminster: otherwise his heart to be taken and buried there. But at the end of the will immediately after the names of the witnesses, we meet with this affecting and significant passage. "My will is *now* to "be buried before an image of our blessed lady "Mary with my lord Richard, in Pomfrete; and "Ih'u have mercy of my soule, etc." It is plain that this addition was made by him after he had received notice of his approaching execution, and at a moment when haste or perturbation of mind prevented him from finishing what he meant to write. The direction for his burial with "the lord Richard (Grey)" shows that that nobleman had already been put to death, and was interred in the church at Pontefract. See the will, Excerpt. Histor. p. 246.

(3) See the originals in Drake's Eboracum, 115. It is observable that on the 8th Richard wrote to the citizens of York a cajoling letter, promising to reward them for their constant attachment to him: and two days later, on the 10th, but three days before the murders in the Tower and at Pontefract, he wrote again to inform them of the plots against his life by the queen and her friends. The letter was five days on the road, and was delivered by Ratcliffe to the mayor.

securely lodged in the Tower; the younger still remained in sanctuary under the eye of Elizabeth. Him also the protector resolved to have at his mercy; and before the terror created by the late execution could subside, he proceeded to Westminster in his barge, accompanied by several noblemen and prelates, and followed by a
June 16. numerous body of armed men. There cannot be a doubt that he intended to employ force, if force should be found necessary; but he determined to try first the influence of persuasion, and ordered a deputation of lords with the cardinal of Canterbury at their head, to enter and demand the young prince from his mother. The ingenious arguments which sir Thomas More has attributed to the prelate, and the affecting replies which he has put into the mouth of the queen, are probably the composition of the writer (1): a better authority assures us that Elizabeth, convinced of the inutility of resistance, affected to acquiesce with cheerfulness in the demand. She called for her boy, gave him a last and hasty embrace, and turning her back, burst into tears. The innocent victim was conducted with great pomp to the Tower; and while the mother abandoned herself to the prophetic misgivings of her heart, her sons made themselves happy in the company of each other, little suspecting the wiles and cruelty of their unnatural uncle (2).

The partisans of the protector were now employed in circulating the most strange and incredible rumours. Some revived the tale originally invented by Clarence, that the late king, though the reputed son of the duke of York, was in reality the fruit of an adulterous intercourse between his mother Cecily and a knight in the service of her husband. Others, and in greater numbers, affected to throw doubts on the validity of his marriage with Elizabeth, and consequently on the legitimacy of his children by that lady. To aid these impressions the protector appeared in a new character, that of the patron and avenger of public morals. Among the married women who were known to have yielded to the unprincipled desires of Edward, was Jane, the wife of Shore, a young and opulent citizen. From the moment that her seduction became public, she had been abandoned by her husband; and notwithstanding the inconstancy of her lover, had contrived to retain the principal place in the king's affections till the time of his death. This woman, whose husband was now dead, Richard singled out for punishment.
June 18. Her plate and jewels, to the value of three thousand marks, he very wisely appropriated to himself: her person he delivered over to the ecclesiastical court to be punished according to the canons. In her kirtle, with her feet bare, carrying a lighted taper in her hand, and preceded by the cross, Shore was compelled to walk through the streets of the capital, lined with an immense concourse of people (3).

(1) More, 48—51.
(2) Cont. Croyl. 566.
(3) More, 56, 57. He gives her in one respect a commendable character. "Many the king had,

That her penance could not affect the title of Edward's children, is evident; but it served to direct the attention of the public to the dissolute conduct of that monarch, and to prepare men for the marvellous scene which was soon to be exhibited.

By this time the retainers of the late lord Hastings, and a numerous body of Welshmen, had joined the duke of Buckingham; and the ruffians who had murdered the prisoners at Pontefract had reached the neighbourhood of London with a force of Yorkshiremen. It was believed that, in the course of the week, the protector and the duke would have twenty thousand armed men under their command in the metropolis (1). In these circumstances no danger could be apprehended from the public exposure of Gloucester's object. On the next Sunday, therefore, he appointed Dr. Shaw, the June 22. brother of the lord mayor, to preach at St. Paul's cross, who selected for his text the following passage of the Book of Wisdom: "Bastard slips shall not strike deep roots." Having maintained from different examples that children were seldom permitted to enjoy the fruit of their father's iniquity, he proceeded to describe the well-known libertinism of the late king, who, he averred, had been in the habit of promising marriage to every woman whom he found it difficult to seduce. Thus, in the beginning of his reign, to gratify his passion, he had not hesitated to contract marriage in private with Eleanor, the widow of the lord Boteler of Sudely (2); and afterwards had married in the same clandestine manner Elizabeth, the widow of sir John Grey. At a subsequent period he had thought proper to acknowledge the second contract: but such acknowledgment could not annul the prior right of Eleanor, who in the eyes of God and man was the true wife of the king. Hence the preacher concluded that Elizabeth, though admitted as queen of England could be considered in no other light than a concubine; and that her children by Edward had no legitimate claim to the succession of their father. Indeed, he entertained a doubt, whether that prince were in reality the son of Richard duke of York, and real heir to the crown. All who had been acquainted with the duke must know that there existed no resemblance between him and Edward. "But," he exclaimed (and at the very moment the protector, as if by accident, passing through the crowd, showed himself from a balcony near the pulpit), "here, in the duke of Gloucester, "we have the very picture of that hero: here every lineament re-"flects the features of the father." It was expected that at these

"but her he loved, whose favour to say the truth "(for sin it were to belie the devil) she never "abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's "comfort and relief and now she beggeth "of many at this day living, that at this day had "begged, if she had not been." Ibid.

(1) "Yt is thought ther schalbe xx thousand "of my lord protectour and my lord Bukyngham "men in London this weike, to what intent I "knowe note but to kep the peas." Stallworth to Sir William Stoner, xxi. June. Excerpt. Hist. 17.

(2) In sir Thomas More, Elizabeth Lucy is substituted for lady Boteler. It is probably an accidental mistake, as both are said to have been Edward's mistresses. More, 61.

words the citizens would have exclaimed. "Long live king Richard;" but they gazed on each other in silent astonishment; the protector put on an air of displeasure; and the preacher having hastily concluded his sermon, slunk away to his home. It is said that he never afterwards ventured beyond his own door, but pined away through shame and remorse (1).

Richard, however, was not disheartened by the failure of this attempt; but intrusted his cause to the eloquence of a more noble
June 24. advocate. On the next Tuesday the duke of Buckingham, attended by several lords and gentlemen, harangued the citizens from the hustings at the Guildhall. He reminded them of Edward's tyranny, of the sums which he had extorted under the name of benevolence, and of the families which he had rendered unhappy by his amours. He then took occasion to allude to the sermon which they had heard on the last Sunday, the story of the king's pre-contract with the lady Boteler, his subsequent union with the lady Grey, and the illigitimacy of the children, the fruit of that pretended marriage. He added, that evidently the right to the crown was in Richard duke of Gloucester, the only true issue of the duke of York, and that the lords and commons of the northern counties had sworn never to submit to the rule of a bastard. Contrary to his expectations, the citizens were still silent: he at length required an answer, whether it were in favour of the protector or not; and a few persons, hired for the purpose, and stationed at the bottom of the hall, having thrown up their bonnets, and exclaimed, "King Richard," the duke gave the assembly his thanks for their assent, and invited them to accompany him the next day to Baynard's castle, which was at that time the residence of the duke of Gloucester (2).

June 25. In the morning Buckingham, with many lords and gentlemen, and Shaw, the lord mayor, with the principal citizens, proceeded to the palace, and demanded an audience (3). The protector affected to be surprised at their arrival: expressed apprehensions for his safety; and when at last he showed himself at a window, appeared before them with strong marks of embarrassment and

(1) More, 60, 61. This sermon is rejected by the author of the Historic Doubts. That several of the speeches recorded by sir Thomas More are mere rhetorical exercises, is indeed probable; but it is equally probable that in mentioning this public and celebrated sermon, which was still in the recollection of many of his readers, he would preserve at least its substance. The principal part of his narrative is moreover corroborated by the testimony of Fabyan (p. 514, 515), who was probably present. To the objection that the protector lived in habits of friendship with his mother, and therefore would not allow her character to be aspersed, it may be replied that there is no satisfactory proof of that friendship, and that the man who could shed the blood of two nephews to procure the crown, would not refuse to allow the character of his mother to be slandered for the same purpose.

(2) More, 61—65. Fab. 515.

(3) A parliament had been summoned for this very day, and Buckingham would take advantage of the arrival of the members to induce many of them to accompany him. But there is no reason to believe that any parliament was regularly held, though there exists among the Cotton MS. (Vitel. E. 10) a copy of a speech, with which the bishop of Lincoln, the chancellor, is supposed to have opened it, beginning with a text from the service of the Feast of St. John the Baptist, kept on the 24th, the day before. The chancellor, unaware of the revolution which was about to take place, had prepared his speech, which, though never spoken, has accidentally been preserved.

perturbation. Buckingham, with his permission, presented to him an address, which, having been afterwards embodied in an act of parliament, still exists for the information of posterity. It is styled the consideration, election, and petition of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of this realm of England; and after an exaggerated picture of the former prosperity of the kingdom, and of its misery under the late king, proceeds thus: "Also we consider "how the pretensed marriage betwixt the above-named king Ed- "ward and Elizabeth Grey was made of great presumption, with- "out the knowing and assent of the lords of this land, and also by "sorcery and witchcraft committed by the said Elizabeth and her "mother Jacquetta, duchess of Bedford, as the common opinion of "the people, and the public voice and fame is throughout all this "land, and hereafter, if, and as the case shall require, shall be "proved sufficiently in time and place convenient; and here also we "consider how that the said pretensed marriage was made privily "and secretly, without edition of banns, in a private chamber, a "profane place, and not openly in the face of the church after the "law of God's church, but contrary thereunto, and the laudable "custom of the church of England; and how also that at the time "of the contract of the said pretensed marriage, and before and "long after, the said king Edward was and stood married and troth- "plight to one dame Eleanor Butteler, daughter of the old earl of "Shrewsbury, with whom the said king Edward had made a pre- "contract of matrimony long time before he made the said pre- "tensed marriage with the said Elizabeth Grey in manner and form "aforesaid; which premises being true, as in very truth they be "true, it appeareth and followeth evidently that the said king Ed- "ward, during his life, and the said Elizabeth, lived together sin- "fully and damnably in adultery against the law of God and "of his church. Also it appeareth evidently and followeth, that all "the issue and children of the said king Edward be bastards, and "unable to inherit or to claim any thing by inheritance by the law "and custom of England." Next is recited the attainder of the duke of Clarence, by which his children were debarred from the succession; and thence it is inferred that the protector is the next heir to Richard late duke of York. "And hereupon," continues the petition, "we humbly desire, pray, and require your noble grace, "that according to this election of us the three estates of your land, "as by your true inheritance, you will accept and take upon you "the said crown and royal dignity, with all things thereunto an- "nexed and appertaining, as to you of right belonging, as well by "inheritance as by lawful election (1)."

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 240, 241. Cont. Croyl. 567. But was there ever any such person as dame Eleanor Butteler, daughter of the old earl of Shrewsbury? We know so little about her, that her existence has been called in question. There is, however, in the possession of lord Shrewsbury, an illuminated pedigree by Glover in 1580, in which she is named as the first-born of

The protector was careful not to dispute the truth of these assertions. But he replied with modesty, that he was not ambitious: that royalty had no charms for him: that he was much attached to the children of his brother, and resolved to preserve the crown that it might grace the brows of his nephew. "Sir," returned the duke of Buckingham, "the free people of England will never "crouch to the rule of a bastard, and if the lawful heir refuse the "sceptre, we know where to find one who will cheerfully accept "it." At these words Richard affected to pause: and after a short silence replied: "that it was his duty to obey the voice of his "people: that since he was the true heir and had been chosen by "the three estates, he assented to their petition, and would from "that day take upon himself the royal estate, pre-eminence, and "kingdom of the two noble realms of England and France; the "one from that day forward by him and his heirs to rule, the "other by God's grace and their good help to get again and sub-"due (1)."

Thus ended this hypocritical farce. The next day Richard pro-
June 26. ceeded to Westminster in state, and took possession of his pretended inheritance by placing himself on the marble seat in the great hall, with the lord Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, on his right hand, and the duke of Suffolk on his left. To those present he stated that he had chosen to commence his reign in that place, because the administration of justice was the first duty of a king; and ordered proclamation to be made that he forgave all offences which had been committed against him before that hour. From Westminster he went to St. Paul's, where he was received by the clergy in procession, and welcomed with the acclamations of the people. From that day, the 26th of June, he dated the commencement of his reign (2).

the second marriage of the first earl (with a daughter of Beauchamp, earl of Warwick), and as wife of sir Thomas Butler, lord Sudeley. If this be correct, there must have been the disparity of at least fifteen years, probably of more, between her age and that of Edward.

(1) More, 66.

(2) Id 67. Fab. 515. Cont. Croyl. 566, and Richard's own letter to the garrison of Calais, Buck, p. 522. See Note [A] at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER VII.

RICHARD III.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emp. of Ger.	*King of Scot.*	*Kings of France.*	*Sover. of Spain.*
Frederic III.	James III.	Louis XI..... 1483. Charles VIII.	Isabella Ferdinand

Popes.

Sixtus IV. 1484. Innocent VIII.

Coronation of Richard—Death of his two nephews—Conspiracy against him defeated—Is reconciled with Elizabeth—Wishes to marry his niece—Raises an army against the earl of Richmond—Is killed in the battle at Bosworth.

THE preparations which had been made for the coronation of the nephew served for that of the uncle; and the arrival of Ratcliffe, with four thousand armed men from the north, dispelled all fear of opposition from the friends of the Wydeviles. In less than a fortnight from his acceptance of the petition at Baynard's July 6. castle, Richard was crowned at Westminster with his consort Anne, the daughter of the late earl of Warwick (1). No expense was spared to give splendour to the ceremony: amost all the peers and peeresses graced it with their presence; and it was remarked that the train of the king was borne by the duke of Buckingham, that of the queen by the countess of Richmond, both descendants of John of Ghent, and the heads of the house of Lancaster (2).

The new king employed the first days of his reign in acts of favour and clemency. The lord Stanley, the husband of the countess of Richmond, had not only appeased his jealousy, but was appointed steward of the household, and afterwards constable of England; the archbishop of York regained his liberty; Morton, bishop of Ely, was released from his dungeon in the Tower, and committed to the custody of the duke of Buckingham in the castle of Brecknock; the lord Howard obtained the office of earl mar-

(1) In the contemporary account of this coronation we are told that the anointing was performed in the following extraordinary manner. "Then the kyng and the quene put of ther robes, "and there (at the high altar) stode all nakyd "from the medell upwards, and anone the Bush- "ope anoynted bothe the kyng and the quyne." Excerpt. Hist. 381.

(2) Cont. Croyl. 567. Hall, 25, 26. In the Historic Doubts (p. 65) we are told that the deposed prince walked in the procession; because it appears that robes were ordered for him and his henchmen or pages. The inference is far from correct, as the robes charged in the roll (Archæol. i. 372, 373) are probably those which had been ordered and made for Edward's *own* coronation. To have forced him to walk on such an occasion would have been a dangerous experiment: nor could it have escaped the notice of the contemporary writers, who mention the principal personages.

shal, with the title of the duke of Norfolk: his son was created earl of Surrey; many of the nobility were raised to a higher rank; and the treasures amassed and left by Edward were lavishly employed in the reward of past, and the purchase of future services.

Richard had of late affected an extraordinary zeal for the suppression of crime, and the reformation of manners. Before their departure he called the lords before him and admonished them to keep the peace in their counties, and to assist his officers in the apprehension and punishment of offenders. Within a few days he
July 23. followed them himself, declaring it to be his intention to travel through the kingdom for the same purpose. His progress was slow. In all the great towns he administered justice in person, listened to petitions, and dispensed favours (1). The inhabitants of Oxford, Woodstock, Gloucester, and Worcester, were honoured
Aug. 8. with his presence: at Warwick he was joined by the queen, the Spanish ambassadors, and many of the nobility; and the court, after a week's residence in that city, proceeded through Coventry,
Aug. 15. Leicester, Nottingham, and Pontefract, to York (2). The inhabi-
Aug. 13. tants had been previously warned to display every mark of joy, "that the southern lords might mark the resayving of their "graces." The gentlemen of the neighbourhood had received orders to attend, and to do the king homage; and the royal wardrobe had been forwarded from London, that Richard and his queen might appear in their most splendid dresses. To please the men of the north, among whom he had for some years been popular, he was again crowned with his consort; and the ceremony was performed with the same pomp and pageantry which had been exhibited in the metropolis (3).

While Richard was thus spending his time in apparent security at York, he was apprised of the tempest which had been gathering behind him. The terror of his presence had before silenced the suspicions of the public: but he was no sooner gone, than men freely communicated their thoughts to each other, commiserated the lot of the young Edward and his brother in the Tower, and openly condemned the usurpation of the crown by their unnatural uncle. Different plans were suggested. Some proposed to liberate the two princes from their confinement: others preferred the less dangerous measure of conveying one or more of their sisters beyond sea, that, whatever might be the subsequent policy of Richard, the posterity of his brother might survive to claim, perhaps to recover the crown. But the king, though it was unknown, had already guarded against the first of these projects by the murder of his nephews; and to prevent the second, he had ordered John

(1) Apud Drake, Eborac. 116.

(2) Rouse, 217. I am the more particular in noticing this progress, as Laing has crowded the whole of it into the short space of seven days, p. 420.

(3) Drake's Eborac. 116, 117. Cont. Croyl. 567.

Nesfield to surround the sanctuary of Westminster with a body of armed men, and to refuse ingress or egress to any person without a special license (1). Meanwhile the friends of the princes steadily pursued their object. In Kent, Essex, and Sussex, in Berkshire, Hants, Wilts, and Devonshire, meetings were privately held; a resolution was taken to appeal to arms; and the hopes of the confederates were raised by the unexpected accession of a most powerful ally. What, in the course of a few weeks could have changed the duke of Buckingham from a zealous friend into a determined enemy to the new king, it is in vain to conjecture. If his services to Richard had been great, they had been amply rewarded. He had been made constable of England, justiciary of Wales, governor of the royal castles in that principality, and steward of the king's manors in Hereford and Shropshire; and in addition had obtained the opulent inheritance of Humphrey de Bohun, which the late monarch had unjustly annexed to his own demesnes (2). Perhaps his knowledge of the cruel and suspicious character of the usurper had taught him to fear that he himself, to whom the Lancastrians looked up for protection, might be the next victim: perhaps, as has been said, his opinions were changed by the artful and eloquent observations of his prisoner Morton. However that may be, Buckingham, whose wife was the sister of Elizabeth, engaged to restore the crown to the young prince, whom he had contributed to dethrone; and his resolution to put himself at the head of the party was communicated in circular letters to the principal of the confederates. At that very moment, when their hearts beat with the confidence of success, their hopes were suddenly dashed to the ground by the mournful intelligence that the two princes for whom they intended to fight, were no longer alive (3).

On what day, or in what manner they perished, was kept a profound secret: the following is the most consistent and probable account, collected from the confession made by the murderers in the next reign. Soon after his departure from London, Richard had tampered in vain with Brakenbury, the governor of the Tower. From Warwick he despatched sir James Tyrrel, his master of the horse, with orders that he should receive the keys and the command of the fortress during twenty-four hours. In the night Tyrrel, accompanied by Forest, a known assassin, and Dighton, one of his grooms, ascended the staircase leading to the chamber in which the two princes lay asleep. While Tyrrel watched without, Forest and Dighton entered the room, smothered their victims with the bed-clothes, called in their employer to view the dead bodies, and

(1) Cont. Croyl. 567, 568.

(2) Bohun had left two daughters, who divided his property between them. One married Henry IV., the other an ancestor of the duke. When the posterity of Henry IV. became extinct in Henry VI., Buckingham claimed the share of the second sister; but it was refused by Edward IV. Most writers say that Richard also refused it: but the contrary appears from Dugdale's Baronage, i. 168.

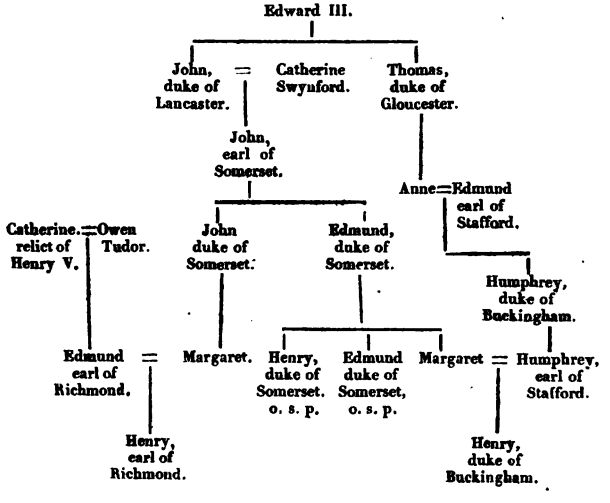
(3) Cont. Croyl. 568.

by his orders buried them at the foot of the staircase. In the morning Tyrrel restored the keys to Brakenbury, and rejoined the king before his coronation at York. Aware of the execration to which the knowledge of this black deed must expose him, Richard was anxious that it should not transpire; but when he understood that men had taken up arms to liberate the two princes, he suffered the intelligence of their death to be published, that he might disconcert the plans, and awaken the fears of his enemies (1).

The intelligence was received with horror both by the friends and the foes of the usurper; but, if it changed the object, it did not dissolve the union of the conspirators. They could not retrace their steps with security; and since the princes for whom they had intended to fight were no longer alive, it became necessary to set up a new competitor in opposition to Richard. The bishop of Ely proposed that the crown should be offered to Henry the young earl of Richmond, the representative, in right of his mother, of the house of Lancaster (2), but on the condition that he should marry the princess Elizabeth, to whom the claim of the house of York had now devolved; a marriage which, the prelate observed, would unite the partizans of the two families in one common cause, enable them to triumph over the murderer, and put an end to those dissensions which had so long convulsed and depopulated the nation.

(1) See More's account of the murder, 67, 68. Objections have been raised against it, but I hope to show that they are of no weight in a note at the end of this volume.—Carte attributes the story of the death of the princes to Buckingham and his friends, as if it were intended to aid the insurrection (iii. 822): from the Croyland historian it is certain that it was published by others, and had at first the effect of disconcerting all their projects. Cont. Croyl. 568.

(2) If Margaret, countess of Richmond, was the great-grand-daughter of John of Ghent, so was Margaret countess of Stafford, the mother of Buckingham; but as the father of the former was an elder brother, she was deemed the head of the house of Lancaster, and had married Edmund earl of Richmond, the son of queen Catherine by Owen Tudor—Buckingham was descended also from Thomas duke of Gloucester, sixth son of Edward III. These particulars will be plain from the following table :—



The suggestion was approved by the queen dowager, the duke of Buckingham, the Marquess of Dorset, and most of their friends; the countess of Richmond consented in the name of her son; and a messenger was despatched to Bretagne, to inform the earl of the agreement, to hasten his return to England, and to announce the eighteenth of October as the day fixed for the general rising in his favour (1). Sept. 24.

The new plan of the confederates escaped the vigilance of the king, who, ignorant of his danger, proceeded from York into Lincolnshire: but in a fortnight the answer of Henry was received, and was no sooner communicated to his friends than it reached the ears of Richard. To prepare for the contest, he summoned all his adherents to meet him with their retainers at Leicester, proclaimed Buckingham a traitor, and sent for the great seal from London (2). Oct. 11. Oct. 15. On the appointed day the rising took place. The marquess of Dorset proclaimed Henry at Exeter; the bishop of Salisbury declared for him in Wiltshire; the gentlemen in Kent met for the same purpose at Maidstone; those of Berkshire at Newberry, and the duke of Buckingham unfurled his standard at Brecon (3). Oct. 18. Oct. 23.

Five days later, Richard joined his army at Leicester, where he issued a most singular proclamation: He begins by boasting of his zeal for morality and the administration of justice; then calls his enemies "traitors, adulterers, and bawds;" asserts that their object is not only the destruction of the throne, but "the letting of "virtue, and the damnable maintenance of vice;" grants a free pardon to all yeomen and commoners who have been deluded by the false pretensions of the rebels; threatens with the punishment of treason all who shall hereafter lend them assistance; and promises rewards for the apprehension of Buckingham and his associates (4). But Richard's good fortune served him better than his troops or his proclamations. Had Henry landed, or had the duke been able to join the other insurgents, the reign of the usurper would probably have been terminated. But though Henry had sailed from St. Malo with a fleet of forty sail, the weather was so tempestuous that but few could follow him across the Channel; and when he reached the coast of Devon, the insufficiency of his force forbade him to disembark. Buckingham was still more unfortunate. From Brecon he had marched through the forest of Deane to the Severn; but the bridges were broken down, and the river was so swoln, that the fords had become impassable. He turned back to Weobley, the seat of the lord Ferrers: but the Welshmen who had followed him disbanded; and the news of their desertion induced the other bodies of insurgents to provide for their own safety. Thus the king triumphed without drawing the sword. Weobley was narrowly Oct. 12.

(1) Cont. Croyl. 568.
(2) Drake, Eborac. 119. Rym. xii. 203. Ellis, i. 160.
(3) Rot. Parl. vi. 245, 246
(4) Rym. xii. 204.

watched on the one side by sir Humphrey Stafford, on the other by the clan of the Vaughans, who for their reward had received a promise of the plunder of Brecon. Morton effected his escape in disguise to the isle of Ely, and thence passed to the coast of Flanders; the duke in a similar dress reached the hut of Banister, one of his servants in Shropshire, where he was betrayed by the perfidy of his host. If he hoped for pardon on the merit of his former services, he had mistaken the character of Richard. That prince had already reached Salisbury with his army: he refused to see the prisoner, and ordered his head to be immediately struck off in the market-
Nov. 2. place. From Salisbury he marched into Devonshire. The insurgents dispersed: the marquess of Dorset, and Courtenay bishop of Exeter, crossed the Channel to the coast of Bretagne; and others found an asylum in the fidelity of their neighbours, and the respect which was still paid to the sanctuaries. Of the prisoners, St. Leger, a knight, had married the duchess of Exeter, the sister of Richard. But it was in vain that the plea of affinity was urged in his favour, and a large sum of money offered for his ransom. By the king's order he suffered with others at Exeter (1).

When the conqueror had traversed the southern counties, and by repeated executions punished such of his enemies as fell into his hands, he returned to the capital, and summoned a parliament.
Nov. 11. This assembly, like those of the last reign in similar circumstances, proved its loyalty by its eagerness to anticipate every wish of the monarch (2). It adopted and confirmed the celebrated petition presented to Richard during his protectorate; pronounced him "undoubted king of this realm of England as well by right of consanguinity and inheritance, as by lawful election, consecration and coronation;" and entailed the crown on the issue of his body, particularly his son, Edward prince of Wales, whose succession the lords spiritual and temporal bound themselves to uphold. Then followed a bill of attainder, which, though a common measure in these turbulent times, is said to have been severe and comprehensive beyond all precedent. One duke, one marquess, three earls, three bishops, with many knights and gentlemen, were deprived of their estates, honours, and rights. The forfeitures were employed partly to augment the revenue of the crown, partly to renumerate the king's northern adherents, who were thus transplanted into the southern counties, and converted into spies on the disaffection of their neighbours. Among the attainted was the countess of Richmond. But she was spared from execution at the intercession of her husband the lord Stanley, who had convinced Richard of his own loyalty, and who, on his promise to watch over the con-

(1) Cont. Croyl. 568. 570.
(2) The historian attributes the conduct of the parliament to fear, propter ingentem in constantissimos cadentem metum. Cont. Croyl. 570.

duct of his consort, was permitted to retain the possession of her estates during his life (1).

As the marriage between Edward IV. and Elizabeth Grey had now been declared null by the approbation given to the petition presented at Baynard's castle, their son was officially termed "Edward the bastard, lately called Edward the fifth:" his mother was designated Elizabeth late wife of sir John Grey; and the letters patent were annulled by which she had been entitled to her dower as queen of England (2). Still the king was seriously alarmed at the idea of a marriage between the young earl of Richmond and the eldest of her daughters. At the last festival of Christmas a meeting had been held at Rhedon in Bretagne, where Henry solemnly swore to make her his queen as soon as he should triumph over the usurper; and the exiles to the number of five hundred had on that condition promised him fealty, and done homage to him as to their sovereign. It was not that Henry of himself could advance any right to the crown. By the father's side he was descended from Owen Tudor and Catherine, the relict of Henry V.: by the mother's from John Beaufort earl of Somerset, the natural son of John of Ghent by Catherine Swynford. Somerset, indeed, had been legitimated: but the reader is aware that an act of parliament had expressly excluded him and his posterity from the succession to the crown. There were still in Spain and Portugal princes and princesses of the house of Lancaster: but they despised or neglected a disputed title, and the partisans of the family looked up to Henry and his mother as their natural chiefs. Under no circumstances, much less under these, would the lords attached to the house of York have admitted the claim of the earl of Richmond. But convinced of the death of the two sons of Edward, they considered his eldest daughter as rightful sovereign; and the moment Henry bound himself by oath to marry that princess, they swore fealty to him as the future husband of her, who was by succession queen of England.

To defeat this project now became the chief policy of Richard. That he might draw the late queen out of the sanctuary, he tempted her with the most flattering promises, and harassed her with the most terrible threats. Message after message was interchanged; and at last a private treaty was concluded, in consequence of which he swore in the presence of several lords and prelates, and the mayor and aldermen, that she and her daughters should be treated by him as his kinswomen; that their lives should be in no danger; that the mother should possess an annuity of seven hundred marks for life; and that each of the daughters should receive lands to the value of two hundred marks as a marriage portion, and be married to none but gentlemen (3). Induced by these promises she

A. D. 1484. Mar. 1.

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 240—251.
(2) Rym. xii. 259. Rot. Parl. vi. 263.
(3) Ellis, 2 ser. i. 149. Buck apud Kennet, p. 528.

repaired with her family to court: both mother and daughters were kindly received; and marks of peculiar distinction were lavished upon the young Elizabeth, whom Richard had probably destined to be wife of his son Edward. But that prince suddenly
Apr. 9. expired at Middleham, and the king and his consort were for a time inconsolable on account of their loss (1). What Richard's designs might now be with respect to Elizabeth were unknown; but she was attached to the company of the queen, and thus kept in real though honourable captivity.

At length the king had leisure to direct his attention to Bretagne, where the earl of Richmond and the exiles were busily employed in devising the means of expelling him from the throne. No expense was spared to procure the most accurate information of their numbers and projects; and the useful aid of Landois, the Breton minister, was purchased with valuable presents. The duke Francis listened by degrees to the suggestions of his favourite; an armistice between the two nations prepared the way for more frequent intercourse; the king raised a body of a thousand archers for the service of his new friend; and a dark plot was framed for the apprehension of Henry and of his principal adherents (2). They would have been caught in the toils of their wily adversary had they not been warned of their danger, and found a new and safer asylum in the dominions of Charles VIII. king of France, where they employed more than a year in making new preparations for their intended expedition.

During the interval Richard put an end to the tedious and destructive hostilities between the Scots and his subjects. The duke of Albany and the earl Douglas had received from him the same protection which on a former occasion they had received from his brother: but he was too much occupied with his own concerns to lend them effectual aid; and their efforts were confined to occasional inroads by land, and piratical depredations by sea. During this summer they had attempted to surprise the merchants at the fair of Lochmaben; but were repulsed with considerable loss, and the capture of Douglas and several of his English associates. This disgrace, however, was more than compensated by the success of the English cruizers against the commerce of Scotland; and at the solicitation of James an armistice for three years, and an alliance by marriage between the royal families of the two
Sept. 21. kingdoms, was concluded at Nottingham. Richard, indeed, after the death of his son, was without legitimate children: but he had declared John earl of Lincoln, and son of his sister the duchess of Suffolk, heir apparent to the crown; and he now affianced the sister of that young prince, Anne de la Pole, to the eldest son

(1) Cont. Croyl. 571.

(2) Rym. xii. 226. 229. Argentré, xiii. 26.

of the king of Scotland. It was mutually stipulated that the marriage should take place as soon as the parties had arrived at the age of puberty (1).

At Christmas the king kept his court in the palace of Westminster. Whether it were from policy or inclination, he affected extraordinary magnificence: the holidays were a constant repetition of feasting, balls, and amusements; and it was remarked with surprise that in every company his niece Elizabeth appeared in robes exactly similar to those worn by the queen consort. Before men could discover the cause of this unusual arrangement the latter suddenly fell sick; and Richard, in expectation of her death, offered his hand to his niece. Her mother is said not to have disapproved of the unnatural union, but to have written to her son the marquess of Dorset at Paris, and to have ordered him to retire from the councils of Henry. The princess herself, in a letter which she wrote to the duke of Norfolk, showed how much she was dazzled with the splendours of royalty. She solicited the good offices of that nobleman in her favour, protested that the king was "her joy and maker in this world, and that "she was his in heart and thought," and hinted her surprise at the duration of the queen's illness, and her apprehensions "that she would never die (2)." These apprehensions, however, were soon quieted: in less than a month the queen expired; and Elizabeth was flattered with the idea of mounting the throne, Richard with the prospect of disconcerting by this marriage the machinations of his rival. But when the king communicated the plan to Ratcliffe and to Catesby, "knight and esquire of the body," both confidants by whose advice he was generally ruled, he experienced an unexpected and most obstinate opposition. Their objection perhaps arose, as the historian surmises, from a well-grounded apprehension, that if Elizabeth should become queen, she would revenge on them the murder of her uncle and brother at Pontefract: but their arguments, whatever were their secret motives, deserved the most serious attention of their master. They represented to him that this incestuous marriage would be an object of horror to the people, and would be condemned by the clergy; that suspicions were already entertained of his having removed the queen by poison to make room for the niece (3); that to marry her in the present circumstances would convert such suspicions into a certainty, and would in consequence deprive him of his stanchest adherents, the men of the northern counties, for

A. D. 1485. Feb.

Mar. 16.

(1) Rym. xii. 235—246. Rouse informs us that the young earl of Warwick, the son of the late duke of Clarence, was treated at first as heir apparent; but that after some time he was removed, put into close custody, and the young earl of Lincoln substituted for him.—p. 218.

(2) See Buck, p. 568.

(3) From the expressions in Elizabeth's letter mentioned before, there is reason to fear that this suspicion was too true. It is evident Richard had not only promised to marry her, but had told her that the queen would die in February. Hence she observes that the better part of February is past, and the queen still alive. Buck, p. 568.

whose support he had been hitherto indebted to the respect which they bore to his late consort, as daughter of the great earl of Warwick. The king, though with considerable reluctance, yielded to their remonstrances. In the great hall of the Temple he assured the mayor, aldermen, and commoners, that no such mar-
Apr. 11. riage had ever been contemplated; and by a letter to the citizens of York, required them to refuse credit to the slanderous tales which had been circulated, and to apprehend and bring before the council all persons known to advance or propagate reports to his prejudice (1).

As the time approached, in which the contest for the crown was to be decided, the mind of Richard became the prey of doubts and apprehensions. It may be that the disturbed rest, the imaginary spectres, and the sudden terrors described by sir Thomas More, were the fictions of his enemies (2): but, unfurnished as he was with money, and suspicious of his adherents, he could not look forward to a contest, in which his crown and life were at stake, without feeling considerable alarm. The treasures left by his brother, the monies arising from the late forfeitures, and three tenths obtained from the clergy, had all been expended. He dared not summon a parliament for the purpose of demanding a subsidy: and to solicit a benevolence he had already pronounced illegal and unconstitutional. Yet his necessities compelled him to adopt the thing, while he refused it the name: and though by extorting different sums from the most wealthy of the citizens, he replenished his coffers, he forfeited at the same time the small share which he retained in their affection (3). He no longer knew whom to trust or distrust. Daily defections taught him to suspect the fidelity of the most attached among his adherents. Sir Walter Blount, the governor of Ham, deserted to Henry with his prisoner, the old earl of Oxford: several officers of the garrison of Calais, and the sheriffs of some counties, followed their example; and numerous emigrations from the coast doubled the amount of the exiles. But no one gave him more anxiety than lord Stanley, a nobleman of extensive influence in Cheshire and Lancashire. On the one hand he had hitherto served Richard

(1) See the whole account in the Croyland Historian, 572. The letter to the citizens of York is in Drake's Eboracum, p. 119. That writer supposes it to have been written in 1484. But as it alludes to the reports about the marriage, and observes that the king had already explained matters to the citizens of London, which the Croyland Historian says he did some time before Easter, I have no difficulty in fixing it to the present year.

(2) "I have heard by credible report of such "as were secret with his chamberers, that he "never had quiet in his mind, never thought "himself sure. When he went abroad, his eyes "whirled about, his body privily fenced, his "hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and "manner like one always ready to strike again. "He took ill rests at night, lay long waking and "musing, sore wearied with care and watch, "rather slumbered than slept, troubled with "fearful dreams, suddenly sometimes started "up, leapt out of bed, and run about the cham-"ber; so was his restless heart continually tos-"sed and tumbled with the tedious impression "and stormy remembrance of this abominable "deed." More, 69.

(3) As the king would not allow the name of benevolence to be applied to this extortion, the people gave it that of malevolence. Cont. Croyl. 572.

with unwearied zeal; on the other he had married the mother of the pretender to the crown. To attach him the more firmly to the royal interests, the king had lavished favours upon him; but at the same time to keep him always under his own eye, he had made him steward of the household. When at last lord Stanley urged his former services to obtain permission to visit his estates, Richard consented with reluctance, but retained at court the lord Strange as an hostage for the fidelity of his father (1).

At length the king was informed by his emissaries that the earl of Richmond with the permission of Charles had raised an army of three thousand adventurers, most of them Normans; and that a fleet was lying in the mouth of the Seine to transport them to England. He affected to receive the intelligence with joy; and immediately, June 23. to prepare the public for the event, published a long and artful proclamation, which stated that "the king's rebels and traitors, "disabled and attainted by authority of the high court of parliament, of whom many were known for open murderers, adulterers, "and extortioners, had forsaken their natural country, and put "themselves at first under the obedience of the duke of Bretagne, "to whom they had made promises so unnatural and abominable "that they had been refused by that prince—that they had next "betaken themselves to the king's ancient enemy, Charles, calling "himself king of France, and chosen for their captain one Henry "Tudor, descended of bastard blood both by the father's and the "mother's side, and who therefore could never have any claim to "the crown of England but by conquest—that the said Henry "Tudor, in order that he might achieve his false intent by the aid "of the king's ancient enemy of France, had covenanted with him "to give up in perpetuity all the right, which the king of England "had to the crown of France, to Normandy, Anjou, Maine, "Guienne, Calais, and the marches, and to dissever the arms of "France from the arms of England for ever—that in more proof "of his said purpose of conquest, the said Henry Tudor had given "away archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other dignities spiritual, "and the duchies, earldoms, baronies, and other inheritances of "knights, esquires, and gentlemen, within the realm—that he intended to change and subvert the laws of the same, and to "do the most cruel murders, slaughters, robberies, and disherisons, that were ever seen in any christian realm—wherefore, "the king willed that all his subjects, like good and true Englishmen, should endower themselves with all their power for "the defence of them, their wives, children, goods, and hereditaments, and as he, like a diligent and courageous prince, would "put his most royal person to all labour and pain necessary in that

(1) Cont. Croyl. 573.

"behalf, to the comfort and surety of his faithful subjects, so he "commanded all his said subjects to be ready in their most de- "fensible array to do his highness service of war, when they "by open proclamation or otherwise should be commanded so "to do, for the resistance of the king's said rebels, traitors and "enemies (1)."

July 24. Having issued instructions to his friends in the maritime counties, and established posts of cavalry on the high roads for the more speedy transmission of intelligence, Richard sent for the great seal, and fixed his head-quarters at Nottingham. There he was nearer to his partisans in the north, on whose fidelity he chiefly relied; and thence, as from the centre, he could watch the
Aug. 1. extremities of the kingdom. On the first of August his competitor
Aug. 7. sailed from Harfleur: on the seventh he landed at Milford haven, and directed his march through the northern districts of Wales, a tract of country in the interests of the Stanleys. He met with little to oppose or to encourage him: if the Welsh chieftains did not impede his progress, few joined his standard; and when he took possession of Shrewsbury his army did not exceed four thousand men. A week elapsed before Richard heard of his landing; but orders were instantly despatched for all his subjects to meet him at Leicester, with the most alarming menaces against the defaulters. The duke of Norfolk obeyed with the men of the eastern counties, the earl of Northumberland with the northern levies, the lord Lovel from Hampshire, and Brackenbury from London; but the man whom he most feared, the lord Stanley, replied that he was confined to his bed by the sweating sickness. This feint could not deceive the king; and lord Strange, fearing for his life, made an attempt to escape. He was discovered, taken, and induced to confess, that he himself, his uncle sir William Stanley, chamberlain of North Wales, and sir John Savage, had engaged to join the invaders: but he protested that his father was ignorant of their intention, and already on his way to join the royal standard. He was permitted to write to lord Stanley, and to inform him that he must accelerate his march, if he wished to save the life of his son (2).

At Leicester the king found himself at the head of a numerous
Aug. 20. and well-appointed army, which, had it been attached to its leader, might have trampled under foot the contemptible force that followed the banner of his competitor. But Henry, assured by the promises of his secret adherents, continued to press forward, as if he were determined to rush into the very jaws of destruction. He

(1) Fenn, ii. 318—326. I have abridged the proclamation, but have, as much as possible, retained the very words, that the reader may notice how near the language approaches to that of the present day. It is dated 23rd of June anno 2: which Fenn has made 1484: but as Richard did not begin his reign till the 26th of that month, it should be 1485.

(2) Cont. Croyl. 573.

crossed the Severn at Shrewsbury: at Newport he was joined by the tenantry of the Talbots: at Stafford he had a private conference with sir William Stanley; and consented, in order to save, if it were possible, the life of lord Strange, that the Stanleys should continue to wear the appearance of hostility, and constantly retire before him, as he advanced. On the twenty-first of August Richard rode from Leicester with the crown on his head, and encamped about Aug. 21. two miles from the town of Bosworth. The same night Henry proceeded from Tamworth to Atherston, where he joined the Stanleys, and was encouraged by the repeated arrivals of deserters from the enemy. In the morning both armies (that of Richard was double in Aug. 22. number) advanced to Redmore; and the vanguards, commanded by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Oxford, engaged. Richard was dismayed to see the Stanleys opposed to him, the earl of Northumberland remaining inactive at his post, and his men wavering and on the point of flying, or going over to his competitor. Chancing to espy Henry, he determined to win the day, or perish in the attempt. Spurring his horse and exclaiming, "Treason, treason, treason (1)," he slew with his own hand sir William Brandon, the bearer of the hostile standard, struck to the ground sir John Cheney, and made a desperate blow at his rival, when he was overpowered by numbers, thrown from his horse and immediately slain. Lord Stanley, taking up the crown, placed it on the head of Henry, and the conqueror was instantly greeted with the shouts of "Long live king Henry." In the battle and pursuit the duke of Norfolk, the lord Ferrers, some knights, and about three thousand others were killed. The victors lost but few: and to add to their joy, lord Strange, whom Richard had ordered to be beheaded at the beginning of the battle, escaped in the confusion, and rejoined his father. The body of the late king was stript, laid across a horse behind a pursuivant at arms, and conducted to Leicester, where, after it had been exposed for two days, it was buried with little ceremony in the church of the Grey friars (2). Henry entered the town with the same royal state with which Richard had marched out on the preceding day. He was careful, however, not to stain his triumph with blood. Of all his prisoners three only suffered death, the notorious Catesby, and two persons of the name of Brecher, who probably had merited that distinction by their crimes (3).

Of the character of Richard it is unnecessary to say much. If he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, he was little better than a monster in human shape. Writers have indeed existed in modern times who have attempted to prove his innocence; but their argu-

(1) Ross. 218.

(2) Ten years later Henry caused a tomb to be erected over him. The cost was only 10*l.* 1*s.* Excerpt. Hist. 105. It was defaced at the dissolution of the convent. Sandford, 432.

(3) Cont. Croyl. 573—575. Ross. 218. Fab. 520.

ments are rather ingenious than conclusive, and dwindle into groundless conjectures when confronted with the evidence which may be arrayed against them (1).

CHAPTER VIII.

HENRY VII.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Empr. of Germany.	*Kings of Scotland.*	*Kings of France.*	*Sover. of Spain.*
Frederic III.... 1493.	James III..... 1487.	Charles VIII... 1498.	Isabella..... 1504.
Maximilian.	James IV.	Louis XII.	Ferdinand.

Popes.

Innocent VIII., 1492. Alexander VI., 1503. Pius III., 1503. Julius II.

Proceedings in parliament—The king's marriage—Insurrection in favour of a pretended earl of Warwick—Coronation of the queen—War in Bretagne—Imposture of Perkin Warbeck—He is executed—Also the earl of Warwick—Treaties with France—With Scotland—With Spain—Marriage and death of prince Arthur—Henry's rapacity—His illness and death—His character.

THE long quarrel between the two houses of York and Lancaster had deluged England with blood: by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances it was given to Henry of Richmond, an exile and an adventurer, without means and without title, to unite the interests of the "two roses," and to bequeath to posterity the benefit of an undisputed succession. From the field of Bosworth he proceeded to Leicester. Victory had placed the crown on his temples; and the absence of a rival secured to him the present possession of the sovereignty. But a perplexing question occurred: on what title was he to ground his claim? On that of hereditary descent? The right of hereditary descent, even supposing it to be in the family of Lancaster, and not of York, could not be propagated through an illegitimate branch, which to prevent dispute, had been originally cut off from the succession by act of parliament. Should he then depend on his stipulated marriage with the princess Elizabeth? But his pride disdained to owe the sceptre to a wife, the representative of a rival and hated family. That would be to justify the dethronement of Henry VI., to acknowledge himself a king only by courtesy, and to exclude his issue by any succeeding marriage from all claim

(1) See Note [B] at the end of the volume.

to the throne. There remained the right of conquest: but, though he might appeal to his late victory as an argument that Heaven approved of his pretensions (1), he dared not mention the name of conquest, or he would have united his friends with his foes in a common league against him (2). The question became the subject of long and anxious deliberation; and it was at last resolved to follow a line of proceeding, which, while it settled the crown on the king and his heirs in general, should not bring either his right, or that of the princess, into discussion (3).

The reader has seen that Richard before his fall had named his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, to be his successor. Him and his pretensions Henry treated with contempt; but there was another prince, Edward Plantagenet, son of the late duke of Clarence, whom he viewed with peculiar jealousy. After the execution of Clarence, Edward IV. had sent for the child to court, and had created him earl of Warwick, the title borne by his grandfather. Even Richard when his own son was dead, had at first assigned to him the honours of the heir-apparent: but afterwards, fearing that he might become a dangerous competitor, had confined him in the castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire. The first act of the new king at Leicester was to transfer the young prince, who had only reached his fifteenth year, from his prison in the north to a place of greater security, the Tower. The public commiserated the lot of the innocent victim, who thus to satisfy the ambition of others, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment from his childhood; and the spot chosen for his confinement, a spot so lately stained with the blood of princes, was considered as an omen of his subsequent destiny. The princess Elizabeth had been his fellow captive at Sheriff-Hutton. Richard had sent her there as soon as he heard of the invasion; Henry ordered her to be conducted by several noblemen to the house of her mother in London (4).

The fall of the usurper excited little regret. No man could pity his death, who had pitied the fate of his unoffending nephews. When the conqueror entered the capital, he was received with Aug. 28.
unequivocal demonstrations of joy. The mayor and principal citizens met him at Hornsey park, and were permitted to kiss his hand. As he passed through the streets in a close carriage, the crowd obstructed his way, that they might behold and greet the deliverer of his country (5). Before him were borne the ensigns of

(1) It was the common persuasion at the time that, as in private duels, so in battles, the event showed the right of the victorious party. Henry alluded to it in parliament. Rot. Parl. vi. 268. And the same doctrine had been openly maintained by Edward IV. "In division and contraversie moved betwyxt princes uppon the high soveraigne power roiell, more evident prove or declaration of trouth, right and Godds will may not be had than by the means of reason, auctorite, and victorie in batailles." Rym. xi. 710.

(2) Because it was taught that a conqueror might dispossess all men of their lands, since they held them of the prince who had been conquered.

(3) Bacon, 2—4.

(4) Bacon. 1. Polyd. 558.

(5) André, who was present, and recited verses in his honour.—Domit. A. xviii.

his triumph, the three standards which had led his small army to victory, and these he devoutly offered on the high altar of St. Paul's (1). But his coronation was delayed, and the joy of the public was damped, by the sudden spread of a disease, which acquired from its predominant symptoms the appellation of the sweating sickness. It generally extinguished life within the course of twenty-four hours; and some idea may be formed of its ravages, when it is known that within eight days it proved fatal to two successive lord mayors, and six of the aldermen of London. At the end of a month, whether it were owing to the greater experience of the phy-
Oct 30. sicians, or the coldness of the season, its violence began to abate (2), and the new king received the rite of coronation from the hands of the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury. On that occasion twelve knights bannerets were created, and the king's uncle, the earl of Pembroke, was raised to the dignity of duke of Bedford, the lord Stanley to that of earl of Derby, and sir Edward Courtenay to that of earl of Devon (3). At the same time he appointed a body of select archers, amounting to fifty men, to attend on him, under the appellation of yeomen of the guard. The institution excited surprise: but Henry justified it on the ground that by foreign princes a guard was considered as a necessary appendage to the regal dignity (4).

As soon as he was crowned, the king summoned a parliament;
Nov. 7. and when the commons presented to him their speaker, was careful to inform them, that "he had come to the throne by just title of "inheritance, and by the sure judgment of God, who had given "him the victory over his enemy in the field:" but, lest they should be alarmed by the last words, he added that every man should continue "to enjoy his rights and hereditaments, with the excep-"tion of such persons as in the present parliament should be "punished for their offences against his royal majesty (5)." When the commons returned to their own house, an unexpected difficulty arose. A large proportion of the members had been outlawed by the last monarch. Could they sit there in quality of lawgivers? Even the king, who had summoned them together, had been attainted. Was that attainder to continue unrepealed? Henry was displeased with the boldness of these questions: but dissembling his resentment, he consulted the judges, who replied that as far as regarded the king himself, the crown had cleared away all legal corruption of blood; but that the members attainted by course of law

(1) These standards were an "ymage of "Sainte George, a red firye dragon, and done "lowe." Hall, i.

(2) After the loss of many lives it was discovered, that if the patient lay still for twenty-four hours, and carefully abstained from whatever might add to the heat, or induce cold, he generally recovered. By this method the mortality was much diminished, when the same disease reappeared in England, though it still proved fatal to thousands in Flanders and Germany. Hall, 3, 4. Bacon, 6. Polyd. 561.

(3) Cont. Croyl. 557. Bacon, 6. Hall, 3.

(4) Hall, 3. Yet it is certain that former kings had guards of archers, but probably only on particular occasions.

(5) Rot. Parl. vi. 268.

must forbear to sit till their attainders had been reversed by equal authority. The advice was followed: all who had been disinherited by Richard were by one act restored to their former rights; and separate bills were passed in favour of the king's mother, the dukes of Bedford, Buckingham, and Somerset, the marquess of Dorset, the earl of Oxford, the lords Beaumont, Wells, Clifford, Hungerford, Roos, and several others. The whole number of those who profited by this measure amounted to one hundred and seven (1). The transactions which followed were important and interesting. 1°. In the settlement of the crown by legislative enactment, Henry proceeded with cautious and measured steps. Jealous as he was of the pretended right of the house of Lancaster, he was equally sensible that the claim of the princess Elizabeth would prove the firmest support of his throne. Hence he watched all the proceedings with the most scrupulous solicitude. To weaken her claim would be to undermine his own interest; to confirm it would encourage a suspicion that he was conscious of a defect in his own title. He therefore refused both to revive the act of Henry IV., which established the succession in the line of John of Ghent, and to repeal that of Edward IV., which established it in the line of Lionel duke of Clarence. In his own favour he commanded that all records, containing any mention of his attainder, should be cancelled and taken off the file (2); in favour of his Lancastrian predecessors, he annulled the act of Edward IV., which had pronounced Henry IV. and Henry V. usurpers, Henry VI. an usurper and traitor, Margaret and Edward, the wife and son of that monarch, traitors, and all the heirs of the body of Henry of Derby incapable of holding or inheriting any estate, dignity, pre-eminence, hereditament, or possession within the realm (3): and in favour of Elizabeth he repealed the act of the 1st of Richard III., by which that princess had been pronounced a bastard, in common with the rest of her father's children by Elizabeth Grey. Out of respect for her who was to be queen, neither the title nor the body of the act was read in either house. By advice of the judges it was merely designated by the first words; the original was then ordered to be burnt; and all persons possessed of copies were commanded to deliver them to the chancellor before Easter, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment (4). In the act of settlement itself no mention was made of Elizabeth or her heirs;

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 273. 278. 280—287. Year-book, Term Mich. 1 Henry VII. 5. Bacon, 8.

(2) Bacon, 9.

(3) Rot. Parl. vi. 288. An act was also passed restoring Elizabeth the widow of Edward IV. to the same title and dignity as she would have had if no act had passed against her under Richard III., and rendering her able to plead, and be impleaded, and to receive and grant lands and chattels. But it does not appear that her dower was restored. Ibid.

(4) Ibid. 289. Year-book, Term Hil. 1 Henry VII., 5. Stillington, bishop of Bath, who had composed the petition and act now repealed, had been apprehended by order of the king immediately after the battle of Bosworth. We find him soon afterwards a prisoner at York, "sore "crased by reason of his trouble and carrying." (Drake's Eborac. 123.) He however made his peace with Henry, was not included in the act of attainder, and obtained a full pardon. On this account Henry opposed a motion to call him before the house of lords for his conduct in composing the petition and act of bastardy of Edward's children. Year-book, Ibid.

even Henry's own claim, which he so ostentatiously brought forward in his speech to the commons, "of his just right of inheritance, "and the sure judgment of God," was studiously omitted; and it was merely enacted, that "the inheritance of the crown should be, "rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of the then so- "vereign lord, king Henry VII., and the heirs of his body lawfully "coming, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in "none other (1)." 2°. But this cautious policy, and in particular this silence with respect to the princess, seems to have alarmed not only the partisans of the house of York, but even Henry's own friends, who had trusted that under the union of the red and white roses domestic peace would succeed to war and dissension. When the commons presented to the king the usual grant of tonnage and poundage for life, they coupled with it a petition, that he would be pleased to "take to wife and consort the princess Elizabeth, which
Dec. 10. "marriage they hoped God would bless with a progeny of the *race* "of *kings* (2):" the lords spiritual and temporal, rising from their seats, and bowing to the throne, signified their concurrence; and Henry graciously answered that he was willing to comply with their request (3). 3°. At the very commencement of the session the king had alluded to "the punishment of those who had offended "his royal majesty." The expression was noticed: how, it was asked, could the late monarch and his supporters have offended the *majesty* of the earl of Richmond, at a time when he had never publicly advanced any claim to the throne? The case differed from the precedents of the past reigns. If Henry VI. and his friends had been pronounced traitors by Edward, and Edward and his adherents by Henry, on each occasion the supposed offence had been committed against a king, whose claim to the crown had been previously admitted by parliament (4). But the treasury was exhausted; Henry wanted the means to defray his expenses, and to reward his followers; and in defiance of the murmurs of the people, Richard III., the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey, the lords Lovell, Zouch, and Ferrers, with several knights and gentlemen, amounting in all to thirty individuals, were included in an act of attainder (5). 4°. The act of resumption which followed was less invidious, and equally politic. Treading in the footsteps of former monarchs, the king revoked all grants made by the crown since the 34th of Henry VI., and as the grantees were chiefly the partisans of the house of York, they

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 270. While this bill was before the lords, the chancellor assembled all the judges, and required their opinion, whether such an act, if it were passed, would have the effect "of resuming all the franchises and liberties of "all manner of persons." It seems to have been apprehended that the new settlement might have had the same effect as the acquisition of the crown by conquest. The judges replied in the negative. Year-book Term. Hil. 1. Hen. VII. 25.

(2) De stirpe regum. Rot. Parl. vi. 278. By this unusual expression I conceive was meant the kings of each line.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Cont. Croyl. 581.

(5) Rot. Parl. vi. 275-278. In the act Richard is accused of "unnaturall, mischevous, and "grete perjuries; treasons, homicides, and *mur-* "*ders in shedding of infants blood*." Is not this an allusion to the death of his nephews? I know of no other infants, whom he is said to have murdered.

were all placed at the mercy of the king, who, according to his judgment or caprice, had it in his power to take from them, or to confirm to them, the possession of their property (1). 5°. Before he dissolved the parliament, he granted a general pardon to the adherents of Richard: but that he might monopolise the whole merit of the measure, he would not allow it to originate at the intercession, or to be issued with the concurrence, of the two houses (2). 6°. During the recess after Christmas he married Elizabeth (3). It was believed that the delay arose from a desire to prevent her name from being inserted in the act of settlement. When that point had been obtained, he hastened to gratify the wishes of his people and parliament. If the ambition of the princess was flattered by this union, we are told (on what authority I know not) that she had little reason to congratulate herself on the score of domestic happiness; that Henry treated her with harshness and with neglect; and that in his estimation neither the beauty of her person, nor the sweetness of her disposition, could atone for the deadly crime of being a descendant of the house of York (4). A. D. 1486. Jan. 18.

As the king and queen were relatives, a dispensation had been granted previously to the marriage by the bishop of Imola, the legate of Innocent VIII. But Henry applied for another to the pontiff himself, avowedly for the purpose of removing every doubt respecting the validity of the marriage, but in reality that by introducing into it the meaning which he affixed to the act of settlement, that meaning might have the sanction of the papal authority. Innocent in his rescript informs us that, according to the representation made to him in the name of the king, the crown of England belonged to Henry by right of war, by notorious and indisputable hereditary succession, by the wish and election of all the prelates, nobles, and commons of the realm, and by the act of the three estates in parliament assembled: but that nevertheless, to put an end to the bloody wars caused by the rival claims of the house of York, and at the urgent request of the three estates the king had consented to marry the princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter and true heir of Edward IV., of immortal memory (5). The pontiff, therefore, at the prayer of the king, and to preserve the tranquillity of the realm, confirms the dispensation which has already been granted, and the act of settlement passed by the parliament; declares the meaning of Mar. 27.

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 336—384.

(2) Bacon, 9.

(3) Cont. Croyl. 581. André tells us that Edward IV. had before offered Elizabeth to Henry during his exile in Bretagne, but that it was considered as an artifice to entice him into England. Domit. A. xviii.

(4) This is asserted by all our historians. The reader will meet hereafter with some reasons to induce a belief, that the statement, if it be true, must at least be confined to the first years of the king's reign.

(5) Immortalis famæ regis Edvardi præfati primogenitam et veram hæredem. Rym. xii. 297. Carte by some mistake has translated these words "the true heiress of *the kingdom*" (ii. 825). The reader may notice the expression vera hæres, and in another instrument indubitata hæres. Rym. xii. 294. If the pontiff believed Elizabeth to be the true and undoubted heir to her father, he must also have been informed that her brothers had perished.

that act to be, that if the queen should die without issue before the king, or if her issue should not survive their father, the crown should in that case devolve to Henry's other children, if he should have any other by a subsequent marriage; and concludes by excommunicating all those, who may hereafter attempt to disturb him or his posterity in the possession of their rights (1). The existence of this extraordinary instrument betrays the king's uneasiness with respect to the insufficiency of his own claim.

After his marriage and the dissolution of the parliament, the new monarch, in imitation of his predecessors, resolved to signalise the commencement of his reign by a progress through the kingdom. The natives of the northern counties had been much devoted to Richard: Henry hoped by spending the summer among them to
Apr. 2. attach them to his own interests. He was keeping the festival of Easter at Lincoln, when he heard that lord Lovell, with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, had suddenly left the sanctuary of Colchester; but whither they were fled, or what might be their object, remained a profound secret. Despising the information, he left Lincoln for
Apr. 6. Nottingham, with a numerous and splendid retinue: from Nottingham, where he received an embassy from the king of Scots, he
Apr 17. continued his journey; but was stopped at Pontefract by the intelligence that lord Lovell had passed him on the road, had raised a force in the neighbourhood of Rippon and Middleham, and was preparing to surprise him at his entry into York. But Henry's court was now attended by most of the southern and northern nobility; and their followers formed a pretty numerous army. The duke of Bedford led the royalists: by his order an offer of pardon was made to all who should return to their duty; and the insurgent force immediately dispersed. A few were taken and executed by the earl of Northumberland: Lovell himself escaped to his friend Sir Thomas Broughton in Lancashire, and thence to the court of Margaret dowager duchess of Burgundy (2). At the same time the Staffords had prepared to take possession of the city of Worcester: but the dispersion of the Yorkshire insurgents proved the hopelessness of the attempt; and the two brothers fled for sanctuary to the church of Colnham, an obscure village near Abingdon. Humphrey Stafford was taken thence by force; was condemned by the judges in virtue of the act of attainder formerly passed against him, and suffered at Tyburn the death of a traitor. It is said that the younger brother obtained a pardon, on the plea that he had acted under the control of the elder (3).

(1) Rym. ibid.

(2) Hall, 3, Bacon, 11, and others tell us that Lowell's attempt happened after Henry's arrival at York, and was put down by the duke of Bedford. I have followed the journal of one of the heralds who accompanied the court. Lel. Coll. iv. 186.

(3) The prisoner had been brought to Worcester to suffer there (May 20), but the abbot of Abingdon arrived on the same day, and required that he should be replaced in the sanctuary. This saved his life for the time. He was sent to the Tower, and the judges were consulted by the king, whether Colnham had the privilege of a

The king made his entry into York with royal magnificence. Three miles from the city he was met by the mayor and aldermen on horseback: at the gate he was received with a procession of the clergy, the acclamations of the populace, and the exhibition of pageants (1). He spent three weeks in that city, dispensing favours, conferring honours, and redressing grievances: a conduct, the policy of which was proved by the loyalty of the country during the invasion of the following year (2). Thence he returned through Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol, to London, to receive a numerous and splendid embassy sent by James king of Scotland. During his progress through each county, he was accompanied by the sheriffs, and the resident nobility and gentry; on all Sundays and festivals he attended divine service in public; and on such occasions he heard a sermon from one of the bishops, who was ordered to read and explain to the audience the papal bull confirmatory of the king's marriage and title. He left the citizens of Worcester with evident marks of displeasure: but by his condescension attached to himself those of Bristol, whom he consulted on the causes of the decay of their trade, and at the same time encouraged by his promise to restore their city to its former prosperity (3).

Apr. 20. May 20. June 5.

To a prince in Henry's situation it was of the highest importance to live on terms of amity with his neighbours. Among these the most to be feared was James king of Scotland, from his proximity, from the ancient enmity between the two nations, and from that attachment to the house of York, which still lurked among the inhabitants of the northern counties. Fortunately James had long cherished a strong partiality for the English; a partiality so marked, that it formed the principal of the charges alleged against him by the rebels, who afterwards deprived him of life. He had sent a deputation to assist at the coronation of Henry; other envoys had met the king at Nottingham; and now a most honourable embassy awaited his arrival in London. The negotiation lasted almost a month. As the former truce between the two crowns was supposed to have expired at the death of Richard, both kings readily consented to its renewal. But the turbulence and discontent of the Scottish nobility compelled James to limit its duration to three years; and Henry could only obtain a promise that it should be continued till the death of one of the two monarchs, and that a matrimonial alliance should be contracted between the royal families of England and Scotland (4).

July 3.

It might have been expected that the king would have taken his

sanctuary. They replied it was hard, and contrary to order that they should give their opinions beforehand on a matter on which they would have to decide judicially. Henry assented with reluctance: the point was argued before all the judges; and the claim of sanctuary was rejected. Year-book, Term Pas. 1 Henry VII. 15. Term. Trin. 1.

(1) The people cried, "King Henry, King Henry, our Lord preserve that sweet and well-savoured face." Lel. Coll. iv. 187. Ibid. 188.

(2) He diminished the yearly rent of 160*l.* paid by the citizens of York to the crown to the small sum of 18*l.* 5*s.* Rot. Parl. vi. 390.

(3) See the sequel of the herald's journal. Rot. Parl. vi. 390.

(4) Rym. xii. 290.

queen with him during his progress, to gratify the partisans of the house of York: it was supposed that he refused through his jealousy of her influence, and his unwillingness to seem indebted to her for his crown. She kept her court at Winchester with her mother and sisters, and the countess of Richmond, her mother-in-law. As she advanced in her pregnancy, the king removed from London to hunt in the new forest; and in her eighth month she was safely delivered
Sept. 20. of a son, whose birth gave equal joy to the king and the nation. He was christened with extraordinary parade in the cathedral; and at the font received the name of Arthur, in memory of the celebrated king of the Britons, from whom Henry wished it to be thought that he was himself descended (1). Hitherto the king's enemies had given him little uneasiness: but the birth of his son, which threatened to perpetuate the crown in his family, urged them to one of the most extraordinary attempts recorded in history. First a report was spread that the young earl of Warwick had perished in the Tower: soon afterwards one Richard Simons, a priest of Oxford, entirely unknown in Ireland, landed at Dublin with a boy about fifteen years of age, presented his ward to the lord deputy of Ireland, by the name of Edward Plantagenet, the very earl so lately reported to have been murdered, and implored the protection of that nobleman for a young and innocent prince, who, by escaping from the Tower, had avoided a fate similar to that of his unfortunate cousins, the sons of Edward IV. The boy—he was the son of Thomas Simnel, a joiner at Oxford (2)—had been well instructed in the part which he had to perform. His person was handsome: his address had something in it which seemed to bespeak nobility of descent; and he could relate with apparent accuracy his adventures at Sheriff-Hutton, in the Tower, and during his escape. But why he should be seduced to personate a prince who was still living, and who might any day be confronted with him, is a mystery difficult to unravel. Of the reasons which have been assigned, the least improbable is that, which supposes that the framers of the plot designed, if it succeeded, to place the real Warwick on the throne; but that, sensible how much they should endanger his life, if they were to proclaim him while he was in the Tower, they set up a counterfeit Warwick, and by this contrivance made it the interest of Henry to preserve the true one.

(1) Lel. Coll. iv. 204. On this occasion the king's mother made "ordinaunces as to what "preparation is to be made against the de-"liveraunce of a queen, as also for the christen-"ing of the child, when she shall be delivered." They descend to every particular "of the fur-"niture of her highnesses chamber, and the fur-"niture appertayning to her bedde, how the "churche shall be arraied againste the christen-"inge, how the child shall go to be christened;" the length and breadth of the cradle "to be faire "set forth by painters crafte," and the dimensions of another cradle of state, which is to be much larger than the other, and to be furnished with "greate magnificence, like as the prince "or princesse herselfe were lyinge therein." Ibid. 179—184. The ceremony of the christening of Arthur is afterwards described (204—207). I observe that the queen dowager was godmother, and that her daughter Cecily, attended by Anne, another of her daughters, carried the child; a proof that the queen's family was at this period in high favour with the king.

(2) Rot. Parl. vi. 397.

Among the English settlers in Ireland the partisans of the house of York had maintained a decided ascendency ever since the administration of duke Richard in the reign of Henry VI. The Butlers alone had dared to unsheath the sword in favour of the Lancastrians; and they had paid by attainders and executions the penalty of their attachment to the interests of the red rose. At the time of the battle of Bosworth the reins of administration were held by the chief of the Yorkists, the earl of Kildare; nor did Henry venture, at the commencement of his reign, to irritate a powerful faction by re-removing either the lord deputy, or the members of the council. But his jealousy was soon awakened by the reports of his spies: Kildare received a mandate to attend the English court; and his disobedience was excused by a petition from the spiritual and temporal peers, stating in forcible terms the necessity of his presence in Ireland. His conduct on the arrival of Simons was of a nature to confirm Henry's suspicions. He showed no distrust of the two adventurers; he inquired not how the earl came to be committed to the charge of an unknown priest, only twenty-seven years old; he evinced no anxiety to ascertain whether the real Warwick were still in the Tower or not; he allowed the lord Thomas Fitz-Gerald, the chancellor, to introduce the boy under his assumed name to the nobility of Ireland and the citizens of Dublin, and to promise him protection against his enemies, and those of his family. The Butlers, the bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, and the citizens of Waterford, remained steady in their allegiance: the rest of the population, relying on the acquiescence or authority of Kildare, admitted the title of the new Plantagenet without doubt or investigation, and the adventurer was proclaimed by the style of Edward VI., king of England and France, and lord of Ireland (1). Most assuredly the deputy had been already admitted into the secret.

When the intelligence reached Henry he was alarmed, not so much at what had happened, as from his ignorance of what might follow. 1. He assembled a great council of peers and prelates, and by their advice consented to do what he ought to have done long before (2). The pardon which he had issued in favour of his opponents had been not only clogged with restrictions, but frequently violated. He now published a pardon which was full, without exceptions, and extended to every species of treason. 2. He conducted the real earl of Warwick from the Tower to St. Paul's, that he might be publicly recognised by the citizens; and took him with him to the palace of Shene, where the young prince conversed daily with the noblemen and others who visited the court (3). This prudent measure satisfied the people of England. They laughed at the im-

(1) Bacon. 14, 15. Rolydor. 563. Wilk. Con. iii. 618. 622.
(2) Lel. Coll. iv. 209.
(3) Ibid.

postor in Ireland, while the Irish maintained that theirs was the real, and that the boy at Shene was the pretended Plantagenet. 3. But the next measure created surprise. The reader has witnessed the honourable manner in which the queen dowager lived at court. Suddenly, if we may believe several writers, she was arrested, despoiled of her goods, and committed to the custody of the monks of Bermondsey. The reason assigned for this harsh treatment was, that after having, in the last reign, promised her daughter to Henry, she had delivered her into the hands of the usurper. But the pretext was too improbable to obtain credit. It was suspected that she had been concerned in the present plot (1). Yet where could be her inducement? If Henry were dethroned, her daughter must share the fate of her husband. If the real or pretended Warwick should obtain the crown, all her children would of course be disinherited. At every step of this affair we meet with new mysteries. It will be recollected that the earl of Lincoln had been treated by Richard as heir apparent. Though he viewed the new king as an usurper, he had carefully suppressed his feelings, and had been summoned to the last council, as one in whom Henry placed confidence. Yet the moment it was dissolved he repaired to the court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, consulted with her and lord Lovell, and receiving an aid of two thousand veterans under Martin
A. D. 1487. Swartz, an experienced officer, sailed to Ireland, and landed at
Mar. 19. Dublin. His arrival gave new importance to the cause of the counterfeit Warwick. Though Lincoln had frequently conversed with the real prince at Shene (2), he advised that the impostor should be crowned: the ceremony of his coronation was performed
May. 24. by the bishop of Meath, with a diadem taken from a statue of the virgin Mary; and the new king was carried, after the Irish manner, from the church to the castle on the shoulders of an English chieftain of the name of Darcy. Writs were even issued in his name; a parliament was convoked; and legal penalties were enacted against his principal opponents, Thomas and William Butler, and the citizens of Waterford (3). But what could be Lincoln's object in contributing to this farce! Even the real earl of Warwick could not be heir to the crown as long as any of the posterity of Edward IV. were alive. If it be said that they had been declared illegitimate, so had Clarence the father of Warwick been attainted. In that case Lincoln himself had a better claim than the prince in whose right he pretended to draw the sword. When Henry first heard of the

(1) Bacon, 16, 17. Polyd. 534. The modern writers who maintain that Richard did not murder his nephews in the Tower draw an inference in favour of their opinion from the confinement of Elizabeth. It is plain, they contend, that she was in the possession of some secret of the highest importance to the government, and are confident that this secret was the existence at the time of one or both of her sons. Hence it became necessary to place her under the most rigorous confinement, that she might not reveal it to the partisans of the house of York. Laing, 433. But all this conjectural reasoning is completely overturned by a fact, which will be mentioned in the course of a few pages.

(2) Lel. Coll. iv. 209.

(3) Bacon, 18, 19. Irish Stat. 8 Henry VIII.

departure of Lincoln, he made a progress through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in which the earl possessed considerable interest; and thence proceeded through Northampton and Coventry to his castle of Kenilworth, which he had appointed for the residence of his queen, and his mother. There intelligence was received that Lincoln with his German auxiliaries, and a body of Irish associates, had landed at the pile of Foudray in the southern extremity of Furness; had remained in his camp at Swartmore, near Ulverstone, till he had been joined by the tenantry of sir Thomas Broughton; and was actually on his march through the county of York. The king soon found himself surrounded by his friends with their retainers, and orders were published by his authority for "the goode rule of his hooste." To steal, rob, or ravish; to take provisions without paying the price affixed by the clerk of the market; and to arrest or imprison any man on the pretext of delinquency but without special orders, were made crimes punishable with death. To take other lodgings than those assigned by the proper officers, to cause any quarrel or affray, or to prevent persons from bringing provisions to the army, subjected the offenders to the lesser punishment of imprisonment. Every man was ordered under the same penalty to saddle his horse at the first blast of the trumpet, to bridle it at the second, and at the third to be mounted and ready to march. Vagabonds, who had no master, and common women, were threatened with the stocks and imprisonment (1).

The two armies, as if by mutual compact, hastened towards Newark. It was in vain that the earl, as he advanced, tempted the loyalty of the inhabitants by proclaiming Edward VI. the head of the house of York. The real partisans of that family were restrained by their fears or their incredulity; and the few, who joined the standard of the adventurer, were outlaws or men of desperate fortunes. Disappointed but undismayed, Lincoln resolved to stake his life on the event of a battle; and precipitated his march, that he might find the king unprepared. The royalists had moved from Kenilworth by Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham; their numbers daily increased: but their quarters were ill chosen; and night after night they were thrown into confusion by alarms which furnished opportunities of desertion to the timid and disaffected. But, what will excite the surprise of the reader, the whole army lost its way between Nottingham and Newark. Five guides were at length procured from the village of Ratcliffe, and soon afterwards the vanguard, under the earl of Oxford, was attacked at Stoke by the insurgents, amounting to eight thousand men. The action was short but sanguinary. The Germans fought and perished with the resolution

June 8.

(1) See Lel. Coll. iv. 210—212. These orders were strictly put in execution, so that at Leicester and Loughborough "the stokks and prisonnes wer reasonabley fylled." Ibid.

June 16. of veterans; the adventurers from Ireland displayed their characteristic bravery, but with their darts and skeans (for the English settlers had adopted the arms of the natives) they were no match for the heavy cavalry; and though a portion only of the royalists was engaged, the victory was won with the slaughter of one half of their opponents. Of the leaders of the insurgents, the earl of Lincoln, the lords Thomas and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, sir Thomas Broughton, and Martin Swartz, remained on the field of battle; lord Lovell was seen to escape from his pursuers; but whether he perished in crossing the Trent, or contrived to secrete himself from the notice of his friends and foes, is uncertain. He was never seen or heard of after that day (1). Simons and his pupil surrendered to Robert Bellingham, one of the king's esquires. The priest was made to confess the imposture before the convocation, and then thrown into a prison, in which he perished. But the pretended Edward VI. obtained his pardon, resumed his real name of Lambert Simnel, was made a scullion in the royal kitchen, and afterwards, in reward of his good conduct, was raised to the more honourable office of falconer (2).

From this insurrection the king learned an important lesson, that it was not his interest to wound the feelings of those, whose principles had attached them to the house of York. His behaviour to the queen had created great discontent. Why, it was asked, was she not crowned? Why was she, the rightful heir to the crown, refused the usual honours of royalty? Other kings had been eager to crown their consorts; but Elizabeth had now been married a year and a half; she had borne the king a son to succeed to the throne; and yet she was kept in obscurity, as if she were unworthy of her station. Henry resolved to silence these murmurs, and from War-
Nov. 25. wick issued the requisite orders for her coronation. The ceremony was performed during the session of parliament: an ample provision was made for her maintenance; and from that period Elizabeth was brought forward on all occasions of parade, and seemed to enjoy the same consideration as former queens (3).

(1) On account of his disappearance several writers have supposed that he perished in the battle. But the journal of the herald who was present evidently proves that he escaped. After mentioning the names of the slain, he adds, "and the viscount lorde Lovell was put to flight." Lel. Coll. 214. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, at his seat at Minster Lovell in Oxfordshire, was accidentally discovered a chamber under the ground, in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclined on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was perhaps starved to death through neglect. There is also a tradition that sir Thomas Broughton escaped from the field, and lived till his death in concealment among his tenants at Witherslack in the county of Westmoreland. West's Furness, 210.

(2) For an account of this insurrection, compare the journal of the herald in Lel. Coll. iv. 209—215, with Hall, 4—10, Bacon, 13—23, and the rolls, vi. 397. Vivit adhuc Lambertus ex rege accipitrum domitor factus, postquam aliquantisper in coquina regia veru verterat. Polyd. 568.

(3) On the Friday before the coronation fourteen gentlemen were created knights of the Bath. On the Saturday the queen went in procession from the Tower to Westminster. She was dressed in white cloth of gold of damask, with a mantle of the same furred with ermine. "Her faire "yelow hair hung downe pleyne byhynd her "bak, with a calle of pipes over it." On her head was a circle of gold ornamented with precious stones. In this dress she was borne through the city reclining in a litter, with a canopy of cloth of gold carried over her by four knights of

The first care of the parliament was to supply the wants of the conqueror by a grant of money, and a bill of attainder, which included almost every man of property engaged in the late insurrection. (1). Next the king required their aid to put down the dangerous and unlawful practice of "maintenance." The reader will recollect that by "maintenance" was understood an association of individuals under a chief, whose livery they wore, and to whom they bound themselves by oaths and promises, for the purpose of maintaining by force the private quarrels of the chief and the members. Hence the course of justice was obstructed, jurors were intimidated, and offenders escaped with impunity. Hence also (and this it was that chiefly provoked the hostility of the king) powerful noblemen were furnished with the means of raising forces at a short warning to oppose the reigning prince, or to assist a new claimant. In the preceding parliament an oath had been required from the lords, and was ordered to be taken by the commons in each county, that they would not keep in their service men openly cursed, or murderers, or felons, or outlaws; that they would not retain persons by indentures, or give liveries contrary to law; and that they would not make riots or maintenances, nor oppose the due execution of the king's writs (2). In the present it was enacted that the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, or two of them with one bishop, one temporal peer, and the chief judges of the king's bench and common pleas, should have authority to call before them persons accused of having offended in any of these points, and to punish the guilty, as if they had been convicted by the ordinary course of justice. It appears from the acts of the council that in cases of breach of the peace committed, or of combinations likely to lead to such breach formed, by persons whose rank and power screened them from the ordinary pursuit of justice, it had been the custom for the king to call such individuals before the council, where contending parties were reconciled, the guilty punished, and the suspected compelled to give security for their good behaviour. This, which might be called the criminal jurisdiction of the council, was transferred to the new court now erected: but though its limits were defined by the statute, they were gradually extended by

the body. Several carriages, and four baronesses on grey palfreys followed. On the Sunday she was crowned, and afterwards dined in the hall. "The lady Catharine Grey and mistress Ditton "went under the table, and sate at her feet, "while the countesses of Oxford and Rivers "knelt on each side, and at certeyne tymys "helde a kerchief byfor her grace." The king viewed both the coronation and the dinner from behind a lattice. Lel. Coll. iv. 216—233.

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 386. 400. I have said, "almost every man of property," for by mistake or design lord Lovell was omitted. But the omission was discovered eight years afterwards, and a new bill of attainder was passed to include him (Rot. Parl. vi. 502). The number, however, of the insurgents had then dwindled from eight to five thousand, a proof that we are not to trust to acts of attainder for more than the substance of the offence.

(2) Ibid. 287. Rym. xii. 280. On that occasion the judges had been consulted, who replied that it was impossible to enforce the execution of the laws, as long as "maintenances" existed. The chief justice, among other things observed, that in the time of Edward IV. the lords swore to observe the statutes, and yet in his presence several of them, within an hour afterwards, retained by oaths persons to support their quarrels, and consequently to set aside the execution of the law. Year-book, Term Mich. 1 Hen. VII 3.

successive decisions, till they were made to include libels and misdemeanours; and though the power of inflicting punishment was to be "ordered by law," it came in time to be exercised at discretion, and with such severity as to provoke the hatred and curses of all classes of men. This court was called the court of the star-chamber, from the accidental decorations of the room, in which it usually sate (1).

Henry was careful to cultivate the friendship which subsisted between him and the king of Scots. To cement it the more firmly, Fox bishop of Durham had been sent during the summer to Edin-
Nov. 28. burgh; and a mutual agreement had been made, that James, who had lost his consort, the daughter of the king of Denmark, should marry Elizabeth, the queen dowager of England, and that his two sons should also marry two of her daughters (2). Days were even appointed for the meeting of ambassadors to fix the marriage settlements: but the project was interrupted by the rebellion of the Scottish lords, and finally defeated by the death of James, who, after losing the battle of Canglor in June 1488, was murdered at the mill
June 11. of Beaton during his flight. Though Henry grieved for the death of his friend, he was anxious to maintain the relations of amity with his successor; and therefore, as the truce might be said to have terminated at the death of James, he ratified it anew in the following month. Thus was peace continued between the two crowns for the space of eleven years; an unusual duration, preparative of that

(1) Statutes of Realm, ii. 509. Bacon, 38. On the 15th of December, during this parliament, a conspiracy was formed among the servants of the household to murder some of the superior officers. Six of the ringleaders were attainted of felony by parliament, and an act was passed which made it felony without benefit of clergy for any person under the rank of a lord, if he were entered on the cheque-roll of the household, to conspire the death of the king, of any peer, of any privy counsellor, or of the steward, treasurer, or comptroller of the household. Before this act they could not be so punished for the conspiracy itself, unless the act followed. Rot. Parl. vi. 402. Stat. of Realm, ii. 521.

(2) Rym. xii. 329. This fact deserves particular notice, as it invincibly disproves the hypothesis of those writers, who maintain that Henry knew that one of the sons of Edward IV. was still living, and had confined their mother Elizabeth, that she might not divulge the secret. If this were true, it is incredible that he could have wished to marry Elizabeth to the king of Scots, and her two daughters to two Scottish princes. Such marriages would have placed her in a situation where she might have published the truth without fear, have secured an asylum for her son, and have seconded his claim with all the power of Scotland. Indeed I think the whole story of Elizabeth's punishment extremely doubtful. That she was high in the king's favour just before the rebellion of Lincoln, appears from his having chosen her to be godmother to his son: that she was equally so after, may be inferred from his wish to marry her the same year to his friend the king of Scots.—Polydore, indeed (p. 571), and Bacon (p. 16), who transcribes Hall (p. 3) tell us that the king, on the rebellion of Lincoln, deprived her of all her lands and estates. If they mean her dower as queen, the only property which she had, their assertion is undoubtedly false. She had been deprived of that by Richard III.: nor was it restored by Henry's parliament, when it repealed so much of the act as deprived her "of the name, estate, and dignity of queen" (Rot. Parl. vi. 238). In lieu of it the king granted her a compensation. See the collection of unpublished acts by Rymer, Hen. VII. tom. 1. Bac. 29. 39. Again, Polydore (ibid.) assures us that she ever afterwards led a miserable life, Carte (p. 827), and Laing (p. 433), that she was kept in the strictest confinement. But this too must be in a great measure, if not entirely, false; for we accidentally learn from the journal of the herald (Lel. Coll. iv. 249), that when the French ambassadors were introduced to the queen at Westminster in November, 1489, "ther "was with hir hir moder quene Elizabeth, and "my lady the kinge's moder:" and we find her next year receiving an annuity from the king (Rym. ibid. No. 75). Hence I am inclined to believe that, if she were confined at all in 1487, it was only as a measure of precaution, during the time of the insurrection. Her son the marquess of Dorset was then in the Tower, but was released soon afterwards at the coronation of his sister. The reader will recollect that Elizabeth had formerly tampered with him, to draw him from the party of Henry to that of Richard. On this account perhaps the king might distrust them both, and secure them till the danger was past.

harmony, which after centuries of rapine and bloodshed, was at last happily established (1).

As soon as the king was relieved from domestic enemies, he was compelled to direct his attention to the continent. By force, or policy, or good fortune, the French monarchs had gradually obtained possession of the other great fiefs of the crown: Bretagne alone retained its own prince, and its ancient constitution. But the duke Francis was advanced in age, and weak both in mind and body. His family consisted of two daughters, the elder of whom named Anne had reached her twelfth year. So rich an heiress attracted a number of suitors, among whom the most distinguished were, Maximilian king of the Romans, the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood in France, and the lord d'Albret, a powerful chieftain near the foot of the Pyrenees. Each of these might flatter himself with the hope of obtaining with the princess her ample patrimony; but they had all a dangerous enemy in the king of France, who, though he was prevented from soliciting the hand of Anne by a previous contract with the daughter of Maximilian, had determined at the death of the duke to take possession of the duchy in virtue of some ancient and unintelligible claim, which had lain dormant for centuries.

Charles VIII. had ascended the throne in 1483, at the age of fourteen, an age at which the law presumed that the heir to the sceptre must be possessed of sufficient capacity and experience to govern the kingdom. But his father Louis XI. had thought otherwise; and in obedience to the instructions of that monarch, the states placed the young king under the tutelage of his elder sister, Anne of France, who had married Pierre de Bourbon, lord of Beaujeu. The duke of Orleans, though he had not reached his twenty-fourth year, was offended with the choice: he raised forces against the regent, and was compelled to seek the protection of the duke of Bretagne. It so chanced that at the same time several Breton nobles, who had incurred the resentment of Francis by the murder of his favourite minister Pierre de Landois, had fled to the court of Charles. The regency declared war, for the apparent purpose of compelling the duke to pardon the exiles, and give up the French prince, but with the real view of preventing the marriage of Anne, and of annexing Bretagne to the crown. Both parties applied to Henry. The king of France deprecated his interference: the duke solicited immediate assistance. Charles, to lull his jealousy, represented the war as an unimportant quarrel between himself and the protector of a rebellious vassal; Francis endeavoured to awaken his fears, by describing the accession of power which France would derive from the conquest of the duchy. Each appealed to his gratitude. The

(1) Rym. xii. 328—331. 346.

former reminded him of the French auxiliaries who fought under his banner at the battle of Bosworth; the latter of the protection which he had experienced during his long exile in Bretagne. Henry was perplexed; and unwilling to offend either, he offered himself as a mediator between both. With this view his almoner Urswick was employed month after month in useless journeys between the courts of Paris, Rennes, and Westminster. Charles, while he professed himself willing to accept the mediation, prosecuted the war
May. with additional vigour. In May he entered Bretagne: Ploermel and
June 19. Vannes were compelled to open their gates; and in June the duke saw himself besieged in his capital. Maximilian sent to his assistance a body of fifteen hundred men, who, with a reinforcement of
July. Bretons, fought their way through the French lines, and ultimately compelled the enemy to abandon the siege. Charles, however, continued the war; and to be revenged of the king of the Romans,
Aug. 28. ordered the mareschal de Cordes to aid the citizens of Bruges and Ghent, who had revolted from Maximilian. Francis reiterated his solicitations to Henry; but the king trusting to the chance of events, and the internal resources of Bretagne, always promised and always delayed. It was not that he could plead poverty. His parliament had granted him two fifteenths, and advised him to assist his friend; but avarice prompted him to accept the money, and to neglect the advice. He acquainted the French court with the proceedings of parliament, in the vain hope that Charles might be terrified into forbearance; he refused to English adventurers the royal permis-
A. D. 1488. sion to serve in the army of Francis; and when sir Edward Wyde-
July 14. vile with four hundred men privately sailed from the Isle of Wight for Bretagne, he not only disavowed the expedition to the French government, but consented to an armistice which should last for six months (1).

It was not, however, long before he saw reason to doubt the policy of such vacillating conduct. In the disastrous battle of St. Au-
July 28. bin, sir Edward Wydevile was slain with all his countrymen and seventeen hundred Bretons, who, to deceive the enemy, had adopted the white coats and red crosses of the English soldiers. The duke of
Aug. 21 Orleans was made prisoner; St. Aubin, Dinant, and St. Malo surrendered: and Francis signed a treaty, by which he consented that Charles should retain all his conquests, and that neither of his daughters should marry without the approbation of the French king.
Sept. 8–9. But the sequel was still more perplexing. In a few weeks Francis died, and soon afterwards his younger daughter followed him to the grave. The king of France, in virtue of his pretended claim, demanded the whole succession: hostilities recommenced; and before Christmas one half of Bretagne was in the hands of the French. The

(1) Bacon, 29—32. Rym. xii. 344. 347. Com. Supplem. c. iii. iv. Polyd. 569. Hall, 11—14. Daniel, ann. 1485—1488.

clamour of the nation now roused Henry from his apathy. On the same day he despatched envoys to the kings of Spain and Portugal, to Maximilian and his son the archduke Philip, to Anne of Bretagne, Dec. 11. and Charles of France. Of these embassies the four first were chiefly meant for parade; to the orphan princess he made the offer of an English army; to the king of France he proposed a renewal of the truce, but with an additional clause, that each party might include his allies. Sensible that the proposal would be rejected, he insinuated to Charles, that if his people compelled him to aid the Bretons, his army should act entirely on the defensive (1).

Henry now summoned a parliament. The nation was anxious to A. D. 1489. rescue a young and unfortunate princess from the power of a vic- Jan. 13. torious enemy: but the cold-hearted king had determined to enrich himself from the generosity of the one, and the necessities of the other. From his subjects he demanded an aid of one hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of ten thousand archers during twelve months: but the amount was cut down to seventy-five thousand; and to raise that sum, the lords for themselves, the commons for themselves and their constituents, granted to the king a tenth of the yearly produce of their lands, fees, and pensions, with a tax on personal property of one penny in eight. To Anne he promised an Feb. 10. army of six thousand archers to serve for six months; but on conditions to which her necessities compelled her to subscribe, that she should surrender two fortresses as securities for the repayment of the expense, and should take an oath not to marry without his consent. In the spring sir Robert Willoughby de Brooke landed in Bretagne with the stipulated number of men: but as Charles knew that the English were forbidden to undertake offensive operations, he ordered his own forces to abstain from a general engagement. The consequence was that a few skirmishes kept up the appearance of hostilities; and the auxiliaries, as soon as the six months of their Nov. service were completed, returned to their own country (2).

But, if the war languished in Bretagne, it was distinguished by a most brilliant action in Flanders. The revolted Flemings with the aid of De Cordes had besieged Dixmude; and the lords Daubeney and Morley with two thousand archers and thrice that number of Germans, attacked them in their camp, though it was defended by a strong battery. The archers poured a volley of arrows into the trenches, fell on the ground till the guns had been discharged, rose on their feet, poured in a second volley, and rushed precipitately into the camp. The victory was complete: but it was stained with cruelty. Revenge for the death of "that gentill yong knight the lord "Morlay" so transported the victors, that they refused to give quarter, and eight thousand of the enemy are said to have been slain,

(1) Rym. xii. 347—355. Bacon, 37. Hall, v. 15. Com. Supplem. v.

(2) Bacon, 37. Rym. xii. 362. 372. Rot. Parl. vi. 420.

a carnage almost incredible, if we consider the small number of the combatants in each army (1).

The expedition to Bretagne had, however, been productive of some advantage. It had stopped the progress of the French arms. At the same time the levies of Ferdinand king of Spain had compelled Charles to detach a numerous force to Fontarabia, for the protection of that frontier. In these circumstances the defeat at Dixmude, and the surrender of St. Omer to the king of the Romans, induced the French monarch to listen to proposals for peace; and in a convention with Maximilian, he consented to restore to the princess all the towns which belonged to Francis at the time of his death, and promised that, as soon as the English forces should retire, and she should give security for her allegiance, St. Malo, Fougeres, Dinant, and St. Aubin should be sequestered, to remain in the hands of an indifferent person till the claim of Charles to the duchy could be satisfactorily determined.

We may now return to England, where of the sum voted in the last session of parliament only a small part had been raised. The commons of the northern counties had not only refused to pay their proportion, but had even murdered the king's lieutenant, the earl
Apr. 28. of Northumberland. But the insurrection was quickly suppressed by the earl of Surrey: John à Chambre, one of the ringleaders, suffered at York; and sir John Egremond, the other, escaped to the
A. D. 1490. duchess of Burgundy (2). In the next session, the deficiency of the
Feb. 27. tax, which instead of seventy-five had produced no more than twenty-five thousand pounds, was amply supplied by the grant of a tenth and fifteenth. Henry with great care deposited the money in his coffers. War was not his object. Instead of military preparations he consumed the whole of the present and a great part of the next year in forming and re-forming alliances with the kings of Spain and of the Romans. Never perhaps did three princes profess more, and feel less, affection for each other. For the common advantage of Christendom they agreed to set bounds to the ambition of France: but in reality each sought, by working on the apprehensions of Charles, to promote his individual interest. Maximilian hoped to recover the ancient patrimony of his family on the north of France, and with the duchess to obtain the duchy of Bretagne; Ferdinand expected to procure the restitution of Roussillon, which he had formerly mortgaged for a loan of three hundred thousand crowns; while Henry cared little for the fate of Bretagne, or the interest of his allies, provided he could extort from Anne security for

(1) Hall, 18. Bacon, 47. The herald has celebrated in his journal the resolution of an archer, called John Pearson, of Coventry, who, having lost a leg by a cannon shot, continued to discharge his arrows kneeling or sitting. "And "when the Frenchemen fledde, he cried to one of "his felowes, and saide, have thow these six arrowes that I have lefte, and folow thow the "chase, for I may not. The which John Pearson "died within few days after, on whose soulle "God have mercy." Lel. Coll. iv. 247.

(2) Hall, 16. Bacon, 41. Fab. 528. Lel. Coll. iv. 246.

the repayment of his expenses, and from Charles a valuable present in reward of his forbearance (1).

The king of the Romans, both by the promptitude with which he had formerly sent succours to Francis, and the attention which he had lately paid to the interests of Anne, had won the esteem of both the father and daughter; and when, during the cessation of hostilities, she signified her consent to his proposal of marriage, she did no more than comply with the wishes of her deceased parent. If Maximilian had improved the golden opportunity to visit Bretagne, he would have secured the object of his ambition; but his Flemish subjects were in rebellion; the journey by land or water would expose him to his enemies; and it was thought that the marriage by proxy would be equally certain, and less dangerous. With this view the prince of Orange, as the representative of the king of the Romans, married the duchess in his name in the month of April; and within a few weeks, the lord d'Albret, one of her suitors, to revenge the disappointment, betrayed to the French the important city of Nantes. War was now renewed; the king of the Romans thinking himself secure, neglected to succour his wife; Henry harassed her with demands of money for the repayment of his former expenses; and Charles formed the plan, suspected by neither of these powers, of compelling her to break her contract with Maximilian, and to marry himself (2).

A. D. 1491. Apr. May.

It was true that at an early age he had been contracted to Margaret of Austria, Maximilian's daughter, who had been educated in France as his consort, and only waited till she reached the age of puberty to ratify the marriage. But this circumstance, which might have deterred other princes, only supplied Charles with a cloak to conceal his real intention. By promises and bribes he bought the counsellors of the duchess: but when the proposal was made to her, she rejected it with disdain. Was not Charles her natural enemy? Was he not contracted to Margaret? Was not she herself married to Maximilian? They replied that she ought to sacrifice a feeling of dislike to the interest of her country; that the contract between Charles and Margaret was void, because that princess was under age; and that the marriage between herself and Maximilian had not been consummated, and might therefore be dissolved, because Bretagne was a fief of the French crown, and by law an heiress could not marry without the consent of her lord. These reasons made no impression on the mind of Anne; but they were supported by a French army, which appeared before the gates of Rennes. She was now told that her obstinacy had been punished. There remained no hope of escape. She must be either the wife or the cap-

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 438. Rym. xi. 387. 394—430. 437. 440. 443. (2) Hall, 20. Bacon, 48. Com. Supplem. vi.

tive of Charles. Subdued at last by importunity and terror, she consented to a treaty, of which the principal articles were that she should marry the French king; that the rights of each should be reciprocally communicated to the other; that the survivor should retain possession of the duchy; but that, in case she were the survivor, she should, if she remained single, bequeath her dominions to the reigning prince, or, if she chose to marry, marry no one but the actual possessor, or the presumptive heir,
Dec. 13. of the French crown. She was married to Charles at Langey in Tourraine, and crowned in the abbey church of St. Denis (1).

The reader may conceive the feelings of Maximilian at this double disappointment. By his own inactivity, and the arts of his enemy, he had lost for himself a wife and a principality, for his daughter a husband and a throne. His rage vented itself in threats and imprecations: but the exhaustion of his treasury, and the factious temper of his people, forbade him to seek revenge by open hostilities. Henry received the intelligence with the coolness of a philosopher; and, instead of irritating his mind by reflecting on what he had lost, sate himself down to calculate the chances of deriving pecuniary advantages from the event.
July 7. During the last year he had repeatedly assumed a warlike attitude: he had ordered troops to be levied, stores to be provided; he had even appointed commissioners to extort money in the different counties under the illegal and vexatious name of "be-
Oct. 17. "nevolence (2)." In October he acquainted the parliament with his resolution of chastising the perfidy of the French king, (though Charles had not then married the princess), and obtained from it a grant of two tenths, and two fifteenths (3). After Christmas he found both houses still more eager for war: an act was passed
A. D. 1492. Jan. 26. in favour of those who should accompany the king, enabling them to alienate their estates without the payment of fines, and to enfeoff lands, that their executors might have funds to fulfil their bequests; and laws were made, compelling the captains under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture to pay their men within six days after the money was issued from the treasury, and making it felony for any soldier to leave the army without the permission of his superior officer (4).

Still these laws and preparations were but a mask, under which the king sought to conceal his designs from his own subjects as well as the enemy. The former would pay the tenths and fifteenths; the latter might perhaps offer a valuable sum for the purchase of peace. With this view he continually invented reasons for delay. It would be dangerous to leave the kingdom exposed

(1) Hall, 29. Bacon, 55. Com. Supplem. vi. Daniel, anno 1489—1491.
(2) Rym, xii. 446. 455. 464.
(3) Rot. Parl. vi. 442.
(4) Stat. of Realm, ii. 549.

to the inroads of the Scots; four months were employed in negotiating a prolongation of the armistice between the two kingdoms (1). Two more were consumed in forming contracts for the levy of different descriptions of force; of men at arms each attended by his custrel and page, of lancers and archers on horseback, and of foot soldiers armed with bows, halberds, and bills (2). These troops were mustered and inspected in June and July; yet week passed after week, and the season for active operations was suffered to elapse before the king put himself at the head of the army. In the beginning of October he landed at Calais; a fortnight later he sate down before Boulogne, with sixteen hundred men at arms, and twenty-five thousand infantry. May 18. Oct. 2—18.

It was now believed that the war had begun: and the people of England flattered themselves with the anticipation of victory and conquest. Henry had other objects in view. As long back as the month of June he had commissioned the lord d'Aubigny, governor of Calais, to negotiate a peace and alliance with Charles; and, if we may judge from appearances, that peace was, in substance at least, already concluded. On the part of France no preparations were made to repel the invaders; and Henry, instead of acting with vigour, first published a letter from his envoy in the court of Maximilian, and then another from his ambassador with Ferdinand, that the army might know how little was to be expected from either of those princes. Soon afterwards he received from D'Aubigny the rough draft of a treaty, which was immediately submitted to the consideration of twenty-four of his principal officers. In their report to the king they advised him to sign it, alleging the lateness of the season, the sickness of the army, the inactivity of his allies, the strength of Boulogne, and the neighbouring fortresses, and the advantageous offers of his antagonist. Henry had asked their opinion merely to exonerate himself from the blame; and two treaties, the one public, the other private, were immediately concluded. By the former, peace, alliance, and confederacy, were established between the two crowns, to last during the lives of both kings, and for one year after the death of the survivor; by the latter Charles bound himself to pay to Henry by half-yearly instalments of twenty-five thousand francs, the aggregate sum of one hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds sterling; one hundred and twenty-four thousand of which should be received in lieu of all claims against Anne of Bretagne, and twenty-five thousand as the arrears of the annuity due to the late king Edward IV. Henry returned to Calais. His favourites, who had received bribes from the French king, applauded the wisdom and good fortune of their master; but the Oct. 27. Nov. 3.

(1) Rym. xii. 465. 473.

(2) Rym. xii. 478—480.

army loudly condemned the dissimulation and avarice of a prince, who, to replenish his own coffers, had not hesitated to disappoint the hopes of the nation, and to lead so many knights and noblemen into ruinous, and at the same time unnecessary expenses (1).

It is now time to introduce to the reader one of the most mysterious personages recorded in English history. About the time when Henry declared war against France, a merchant vessel from
May 5. Lisbon cast anchor in the cove of Cork. Among the passengers was a youth, whom no person knew, about twenty years of age, of handsome features and courtly deportment. It was soon rumoured that he was Richard duke of York, the second son of Edward IV.: but how his birth was ascertained, or in what manner he accounted for his escape from the Tower, when Edward V. was murdered (2), or where he had lived during the last seven years, though questions which must have been asked, are secrets, which have never been explained. To such inquiries, however, he gave answers which satisfied the credulity of his friends; and, as the English settlers were warmly attached to the house of York, O'Water, the late mayor of Cork, easily induced the citizens to declare in his favour. An attempt was even made to secure the assistance of the earl of Kildare, and of his kinsman the earl of Desmond, formerly the great supporters of the white rose. The latter declared in favour of Perkin: the former, who had lately been disgraced by Henry, returned an ambiguous but courteous answer. The adventurer had yet no apparent reason to be displeased with his reception; when he suddenly accepted an invitation from the ministers of Charles VIII., to visit France, and place himself under the protection of that monarch. He was received by the king as the real duke of York, and the rightful heir to the English throne. For his greater security a guard of honour was allotted to him under the command of the lord of Concressault (3): and the English exiles and outlaws, to the number of one hundred, offered him their services by their agent sir George
Nov. 3. Neville. Henry was perplexed and alarmed. He hastened to sign the peace with the French monarch; and Charles instantly ordered the adventurer to quit his dominions. This order betrays the real object of the countenance which had been given to his pretensions: perhaps it may explain why he made his appearance at that particular period (4).

Leaving France, he solicited the protection of Margaret, the

(1) Rym. xii. 490—508. Bacon, 63. Rot. Parl. vi. 507.

(2) Even those who assert that this adventurer was the real duke of York agree that Edward V. was dead, as he never appeared, nor did any one ever take his name.

(3) Of a Scotch family of the name of Monipeny. If I understand rightly a letter of Ramsey lord Bothwell, Concressault told him that he and the admiral of France had made many inquiries respecting the birth of the adventurer, but to no purpose. See the letter in Pinkerton's Scotland, ii. 438. Ellis, i. 28.

(4) Hall, 30, 31. Polyd. 582.

dowager duchess of Burgundy, who received him with joy, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and gave him the surname of "The white rose of England." Her conduct revived the alarm of the king, and the hopes of his enemies. Could the aunt, it was asked, be deceived as to the identity of her nephew? Or would so virtuous a princess countenance an impostor? Henry spared neither pains nor expense to unravel the mystery. His agents were distributed through the towns and villages of Flanders, and valuable rewards were offered for the slightest information. The Yorkists were equally active. Their secret agent sir Robert Clifford was permitted to see "the white rose," and to hear from the pretender and his aunt the history of his adventures. He assured his employers in England that the claim of the new duke of York was indisputable; while the royal emissaries reported that his real name was Perkin Warbeck; that he was born of respectable parents in the city of Tournay; that he had frequented the company of the English merchants in Flanders, and had some time before sailed from Middleburgh to Lisbon in the service of lady Brompton, the wife of one of the outlaws (1).

With this clue Henry was satisfied, and immediately despatched sir Edward Poynings, and Dr. Warham, as his ambassadors to the archduke Philip, the sovereign of Burgundy. Their ostensible object was to renew the treaties between England and the Netherlands; but their secret instructions commissioned them to demand the surrender, or, if that could not be obtained, the expulsion of Warbeck. The ministers of the archduke were divided, some maintaining the identity, others the imposture of the pretender. An answer was ultimately returned, that Philip, through friendship for the king, would abstain from affording aid to his enemy, but that he could not control the duchess, who was absolute mistress within the lands of her dower. Henry, to manifest his displeasure, withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp to Calais, and strictly prohibited all intercourse between the two countries (2). A. D. 1493. July 13.

Clifford, and Barley his associate, had gone to Flanders, as the envoys of the Yorkists: others, spies in the pay of Henry, repaired to Brussels under the pretence of testifying their attachment to the new duke of York. These, the moment they had wormed themselves into the confidence of the adventurer, betrayed to the king all his secrets, with the names of his partisans. The consequence was, that on the same day the lord Fitzwalter, sir Simon Mountford, sir Thomas Thwaites, Robert Ratcliffe, William Daubeney, Thomas Cressemer, Thomas Atwood, and several clergymen, were apprehended on the charge of high treason. Their correspondence A. D. 1494.

(1) Ibid. 31, 32.

(2) Rym. xii. 544. Hall, 33. Polyd. 584.

with the friends of the pretender in Flanders was considered a sufficient proof of their guilt; and all received judgment of death. Mountford, Thwaites, and Ratcliffe, suffered immediately; lord Fitzwalter was imprisoned at Calais, where three years later he forfeited his life by an unsuccessful attempt to escape. The rest were pardoned: but this act of vigour astonished and dismayed the unknown friends of the adventurer, many of whom, conscious of their guilt, and sensible that their associates had been betrayed, fled for security to the different sanctuaries (1).

A. D. 1495. Jan. 7. There remained, however, one, who, while he flattered himself that he possessed a high place in the royal favour, had been secretly marked out for destruction. After the festivities of Christmas, Henry repaired with his court to the Tower. Clifford, whose fidelity had been corrupted by promises and presents, arrived from Flanders, was introduced to the king in council, and on his knees obtained a full pardon. Being exhorted to prove his repentance by discovering what he knew of the conspiracy, he accused the lord chamberlain, sir William Stanley. The king started with affected horror, and refused to give credit to the charge. To sir William he was indebted both for his crown and his life. At the battle of Bosworth, when he was on the point of sinking under the pressure of the enemy, that nobleman had rescued him from danger, and had secured to him the victory. But Clifford repeated the accusation with greater boldness, and Henry, out of apparent tenderness to his friend, desired sir William to confine himself to his apartment in the square tower, and to reserve his defence till his examination on the following morning. Whether it arose from consciousness of guilt, or from confidence in his past services, the prisoner confessed the truth of the charge; on that confession he was arraigned and condemned at Westminster; and after a decent Feb. 15. interval suffered the punishment of decapitation. His death gave rise to contradictory reports. By some it was said that he had supplied the pretender with money; by others, that when he was solicited to declare for him, he had replied: "Were I sure that he "was the son of Edward, I would never fight against him (2)." This at least is probable, that unless he had been really entangled in the conspiracy, Henry would never have proceeded to the execution of a nobleman, to whom he was under so many obligations: but the king's ayarice provoked a suspicion that the enormous wealth of the prisoner was the chief obstacle to his pardon. By his death, plate and money to the value of forty thousand pounds, with lands to the amount of three thousand pounds a-year, devolved

(1) Rot. Parl. vi, 503, 504. Hall, 34.

(2) Polyd. Virg. 585. André says that he not only sent money to the pretender, but illum tutari et in regnum adducere promisserat. MS. Dom. A. xviii. The indictment charges him with having consented to the mission of Clifford, and promised to receive and aid such persons as Clifford should send to him with a private sign. Howell, State Trials, iii. 366.

to the crown. A reward of 500*l.* had already been given to Clifford; but he was never afterwards trusted by Henry (1).

In the mean time, as the natives of Ireland had long been warmly attached to the rival family, Henry had devoted a part of his attention to the pacification of the island. He nominally intrusted the government, with the title of Duke of York, to his second son Henry: but as the prince was only four years old, sir Edward Poynings was appointed his deputy, and took possession with a small army of one thousand men. Poynings was soon called into the field by the turbulence of O'Hanlon, an Irish chieftain: but the natives retired before him into their woods, and thence by sudden and repeated sallies inflicted severe injuries on their opponents. The deputy, attributing his bad success to the jealousy or perfidy of the earl of Kildare, arrested that nobleman, sent him to England, and summoned a parliament. In that assembly several statutes were enacted to free the lower classes of inhabitants from the grievous impositions of coyne and livery; to break the power of the great lords by the prohibition of maintenance; to preserve the English ascendency within the pale by the revival of the statutes of Kilkenny (2); and to provide for the good government of the English domains by giving to all statutes "*lately* made in England, and belonging to the public weal of the same," the force of law in Ireland. As the people had been harassed by frequent parliaments, in which ordinances were repeatedly made for the sole profit of the chief governor, or of the party which he espoused, it was enacted that for the future no parliament should be holden till the king had been informed, by the lieutenant and council, of the necessity of the same, and of the acts intended to be passed in it, and had previously given his license and approbation under the great seal (3). In these provisions the deputy appears to have had no other object than the welfare of the state: but he was thought to have been swayed by private considerations in the act of attainder which he procured against the earl of Kildare, his family, and adherents. Henry, however, whose object it was to strengthen his interest in the sister island, accepted the apology offered by Kildare, and reversed the attainder in the English parliament. The earl of Desmond, whose guilt was less ambiguous had previously submitted, had given one of his sons as a hostage for his fidelity, and had taken a second time the oath of allegiance. A free pardon was afterwards granted to the rest of the natives, with the exception of lord Fleury and O'Water, and tranquillity was fully restored in the island (4).

Dec. 1.

A. D. 1495 Oct. 14.

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 564. Pab. 530. Hall, 35. Bacon, 76—78. Speed, ex MS. Bern. Andreæ, 974. Excerp. Hist. 100.

(2) That forbidding the use of the Irish language was excepted; a proof that the English settlers had by this time generally adopted it.

(3) On Poyning's law, I have followed the opinion of Leland, ii. App. 512—516.

(4) Rot. Parl. vi. 492, Rym. xii. 558—562, 634. Stat. of Realm, ii. 642.

Three years had now elapsed since the pretender first set forth his claim; and yet, during that long interval, he had never made any attempt to establish it by legal proof, or to enforce it by an appeal to the sword. This protracted delay, the accounts which had been published of his country and parentage, the punishment of his friends in England, and the pacification of Ireland, made his cause appear desperate; and both the Flemish, whose commerce had been suspended on his account, and the archduke, whose treasury suffered from the deficiency of the customs, began to complain of the countenance which he had hitherto received from the duchess Margaret. In this emergency he sailed from the coast of Flanders with a few hundreds of adventurers attached to his fortunes, and while Henry was on a visit to his mother at Latham in
July 3. Lancashire, made a descent in the neighbourhood of Deal. But the inhabitants, either believing him an impostor, or urged by the fear of incurring the royal displeasure, attacked the invaders, made one hundred and sixty-nine prisoners, and drove the remainder into their boats. All the captives were hanged by the order of Henry, some in London, and others in different parts of the coast. Warbeck returned in despair to Flanders (1).

In autumn the parliament assembled, and at the king's request passed a bill of attainder against twenty-one gentlemen who had suffered, or had been condemned, for their adhesion to the pre-
Oct. 27. tender. The other acts of the session were to ratify the peace of Estaples, according to one of the articles of the treaty (2); and to enact the penalty of forfeiture against all persons holding fees, annuities, or offices from the crown, (and to these were afterwards added all possessing lands, hereditaments, and honours by letters patent (3), who should neglect to attend in person the king in his wars. But the nation had now grown weary of civil dissension. The extinction or beggary of so many noble and opulent families had proved a useful lesson to the existing generation; and men betrayed a reluctance to engage in contests in which they knew from experience that they must either gain the ascendency, or lose their lives or their fortunes. To obviate these disastrous consequences, a statute was made, declaring, that no one who should attend on the king and sovereign lord for the time being, to do him faithful service in the wars, should hereafter, on that account, whatever might be the fortune of battle, be attainted of treason, or incur the penalty of forfeiture. That this act might be set aside by the avarice or the resentment of a successful competitor was indeed evident: yet it was perhaps the best remedy that could be devised for the evil; and a hope was cherished both from the reasonableness of

(1) Fab. 530. Hall, 27. Stow, 479. Rot. Parl. vi. 504. Holyd. 589.
(2) Rot. Parl. vi. 503—508. Rym. xii. 710.
(3) Ibid. vi. 525.

the measure, and from the benefits which it promised to all parties, that in future contests it would be generally respected (1).

The repulse of Warbeck in his late expedition, and the complaint of the Flemish merchants, induced the archduke to solicit a reconciliation with Henry; and, after a few conferences between their respective envoys, the "great treaty of commerce between "England and the Netherlands" was signed. By it every facility was afforded to the trade of the two countries; but there was appended to it a provision which from this period Henry inserted in every treaty with foreign sovereigns, that each of the contracting parties should banish from his dominions the known enemies of the other: and to preclude the possibility of evasion in the present instance, it was expressly stipulated that Philip should not permit the duchess to aid or harbour the king's rebels, but should deprive her of her domains if she acted in opposition to this engagement (2). Warbeck could no longer remain in Flanders. He sailed to Cork; but the Irish refused to venture their lives in his service. From Cork he passed to Scotland, and exhibited, it is said, to the king, recommendatory letters from Charles VIII. and his friend the duchess of Burgundy. James received the adventurer with kindness, saying that whosoever he might be, he should not repent of his confidence in the king of Scotland. Afterwards by advice of his council he paid to him the honours due to the prince whose character he had assumed; and to evince the sincerity of his friendship, gave to him in marriage his near relation, the lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley (3). A. D. 1496. Feb. 24.

This sudden improvement in the fortune of the adventurer renewed the jealousy and apprehensions of the king, who had good reason to suspect the enmity of James. That prince, fifteen years of age, had been placed on the throne by the murderers of his father, a faction hostile to the interests of England; and Henry had in consequence entered into engagements with a party of the Scottish nobles, their opponents, who undertook to seize the person of the young sovereign, and to conduct him to London (4). Now, however, Fox, bishop of Durham, was commissioned to open a negotiation, and to tempt the fidelity of James with the offer of an English princess in marriage. But he listened rather to the suggestions of resentment or ambition, and demanded as the price of his forbearance terms to which the king refused his assent. Fox was followed by Concressault, as ambassador from the French monarch, who proposed that all subjects of dispute between the two kings should A. D. 1491. Apr. 16. Dec.

(1) Stat. of Realm, ii. 568.
(2) Rym. xii. 579—591.
(3) Polyd. 593. Hall, 38, 39. Stow, 469. Speed, 977.
(4) Rym. xii. 440. Pink. Scot. ii. App. 1. I see no reason to charge Henry on this occasion with hostile or dishonest intentions towards the young king of Scots. The person who applied to Henry for aid was John lord Bothwell, the favourite of the murdered monarch, and the negotiator of the intended marriages between the royal family of Scotland and the English queen dowager and her daughters.

be referred to the decision of his sovereign; and when that was refused, offered him one hundred thousand crowns for the person of the adventurer, to be sent a captive into France (1). The bribe was indignantly rejected by James, who coined his plate into money, obtained a small supply from the duchess of Burgundy, and engaged to place the pretender on the throne, on condition that he should receive as the reward of his services the town of Berwick, and the sum of fifty thousand marks in two years (2). Warbeck had mustered under his standard fourteen hundred men, outlaws from all nations; to these James added all the forces it was in his power to raise; and the combined army crossed the borders in the depth of winter, and when no preparation had been made to oppose them. They were preceded by a proclamation, in which the adventurer styled himself Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France, lord of Ireland, and prince of Wales. It narrated in general terms his escape from the Tower, his wanderings in foreign countries, the usurpation of "Henry Tydder," the attempts to debauch the fidelity of his confidants, the execution and attainder of his friends in England, and the protection which he had received from the king of Scots. He was now in England, accompanied by that monarch for the purpose of reclaiming his right; and James, whose only object was to assist him, had engaged to retire the moment that he should be joined by a competent number of natives. He therefore called on every true Englishman to arm in his cause; and promised to the man who should "take or distress Henry "Tydder" a reward proportioned to his condition "so as the "most low and simplest of degree should have for his labour one "thousand pounds in money, and lands to the yearly value of one "hundred marks to him and his heirs for ever (3)." But the proclamation had no effect. The novelty of the thing had worn away, and not a sword was unsheathed in favour of the white rose. The Scots, to console their disappointment, and to repay themselves for their trouble, pillaged the country without mercy and returned, laden with spoil, to their homes.

A. D. 1497. Feb. 13.

As soon as the intelligence of this invasion reached Henry, he ordered Daubeney, the lord chamberlain, to raise forces, summoned a great council, and afterwards a parliament, and obtained a grant of two tenths and two fifteenths (4). In most counties the tax was levied without opposition: in Cornwall the people, inflamed by the harangues of Flammock, an attorney, and of Joseph, a farrier, flew to arms; refused to pay their money for an object which, it was pretended, did not concern them but the natives of the northern

(1) Was it Charles, who wished to get possession of Warbeck, or Henry, who made the offer through Charles? It is certain that the ambassador was sent at the instance of Henry. Piak. Scot. ii, App. 1. ibid.

(2) All these particulars are taken from a letter of Lord Bothwell. Ibid. Ellis, i. 25. 32.

(3) This proclamation is printed in Henry, xii. App. i. p. 387. It is much altered by Bacon, 37.

(4) Rot Parl. vi. 513—518.

counties; and resolved, to the number of sixteen thousand men, to demand of the king the punishment of archbishop Morton, and sir Reginald Grey, the supposed authors of this unjustifiable impost. The misguided multitude commenced their march: at Wells they were joined by the lord Audley, who placed himself at their head, and conducted them through Salisbury and Winchester into Kent. Opposed by the gentlemen of the county, he turned towards London, and encamped on Blackheath in sight of the capital. But Henry June 22. had by this time been joined by most of the southern nobility, and by the troops that had been previously raised against the Scots. On a Saturday, (the king superstitiously believed that Saturday was his fortunate day,) the lord chamberlain marched to attack the insurgents; while the earl of Oxford made a circuit to fall on their rear; and Henry with the artillery waited in St. George's fields the event of the battle. The Cornish archers defended with obstinacy the bridge at Deptford strand: but the moment it was forced, the insurgents fled in despair. Two thousand were killed: fifteen hundred were taken. Lord Audley lost his head; Flammock and Joseph June 24. were hanged (1); the rest obtained a pardon from the king, and were allowed to compound for their liberty with their captors, on the best terms in their power. This lenity, so unusual in Henry, was attributed by some to policy, and a desire to attach to his cause the men of Cornwall; by others to gratitude for the life of the lord chamberlain, whom the insurgents had made prisoner at the commencement of the action, and had restored to liberty without ransom.

While the attention of the king was occupied by the Cornish insurgents, James again crossed the borders, and laid siege to the castle of Norham, while his light troops scoured the country as far as the Tees. But the earl of Surrey, with twenty thousand men, was now hastening towards the north. The plunderers cautiously retired as he advanced: James abandoned the siege; and Surrey retaliated on the Scottish borderers the injuries which they had inflicted on their English neighbours. The failure of this second expedition, with the news of the defeat of the Cornishmen, induced the king of Scots to listen to the suggestion of don Pedro Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, who laboured with earnestness to reconcile the two monarchs. Commissioners met at Aytoun, in Scotland: Fox, the chief of the English envoys, was ordered by his private instructions to insist on the delivery of Perkin, because, "though the delyverance, or the havyng of hym was of no prise or value, yet it "was necessary to save the honour of the English king: and if that "could not be obtained, that at least James should send to him an "embassy, and consent to meet him at Newcastle." To these de-

(1) Joseph said he cared not; for his name would be immortal. Polyd. 594.

mands the Scottish prince demurred: Ayala then came forward as mediator, and James, satisfied with his impartiality, intrusted the interests of his crown to the discretion of the Spaniard. A truce was concluded for seven years, and subsequently prolonged by Ayala to the termination of one year after the death of the survivor of the two monarchs. Still there remained some demands on the part of Henry, which James considered derogatory from his honour; but
Sept. 30. the difficulty was surmounted by the ingenuity of Ayala, who proposed that these questions should be referred to the impartial decision of the Spanish monarch (1).

The enthusiasm which had been excited by the first appearance of Warbeck in Scotland had long been on the decline; and about the time of the meeting of the commissioners, whether it were that he saw the current of public opinion setting against him, or hoped to profit by the troubles in Cornwall, or had received a hint from his royal protector (for all these reasons have been assigned), he departed from Scotland with four ships, and six score companions. He first touched at Cork, and solicited in vain the aid of the earl of Desmond. From Cork he directed his course across the channel to Whitsand bay; and proceeding by land to Bodmin, unfurled the standard of Richard IV. The men of Cornwall had not acquired wisdom from their recent defeat. Three thousand offered their services to the adventurer; and that number was doubled before he reached the city of Exeter. Here he formed his army into two divisions, with which he attempted to force his way by the only entrances into the city, the east and north gates. From one he was repulsed with considerable loss: the other he reduced to ashes; but the citizens fed the fire with fresh fuel till they had dug a deep trench behind it, between themselves and the enemy. On the next morning Warbeck returned to the assault; but the loss of two hundred men, and the arrival of aid to the besieged from the country, induced him to solicit a suspension of hostilities, during which he withdrew his followers. Many of these now abandoned him; but the Cornish men advised him not to despair; and he had reached Taunton, when he was apprised of the approach of the royal army under the lord chamberlain, and lord Brooke, the steward of the household.
Sept. 21. During the day the adventurer, with great composure of countenance, made preparations for battle; but his heart failed him at the sight of the royal standard; and at midnight, leaving his followers to their fate, he rode away, with a guard of sixty men to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in Hampshire. In the morning the insurgents
Oct. 7. submitted to the royal mercy. The ring-leaders were hanged: the crowd, on the arrival of Henry at Exeter, were led, bareheaded and with halters round their necks, into his presence, and dischar-

(1) Rym. xii. 671. 673—680. Transcripts for New Rym. 82. Polydore, 595. Hall, 45.

ged after a suitable admonition; and the inhabitants of the villages in which Warbeck had obtained either aid or refreshment were amerced in proportionate sums of money to the amount of ten thousand pounds. The pretender's wife, the lady Catherine Gordon, who had been left at Mount St. Michael, submitted at the first summons. When she was introduced to the king, she blushed and burst into tears (1): but he relieved her apprehensions, and sent her to the queen, with whom she afterwards lived as an attendant, still retaining, on account of her beauty, the appellation of "the "white rose," which she had originally derived from the pretensions of her husband (2).

In the sanctuary of Beaulieu the fugitive had leisure to reflect on his melancholy situation. He saw the abbey constantly surrounded with a guard; he was repeatedly tempted to leave it by promises of pardon; and, after a severe struggle, resolved to throw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. The king did not violate his word, Oct. 5. but refused to admit him into his presence. When he returned to London, Warbeck rode in his suite, surrounded by multitudes, who gazed with wonder at the man, whose claim and adventures had so long engaged their attention. He was conducted as a spectacle Nov. 27. through the principal streets of the city; ordered to confine himself within the precincts of the palace; and repeatedly examined before a board of commissioners, as to his parentage, his instructors, and his associates. Whatever disclosures he made, were kept secret: but he grew weary of his confinement in the palace, and at the end of six months contrived to elude the vigilance of his keepers. The alarm was instantly given: patroles watched every road to the coast; and the fugitive, in despair of success, surrendered himself A. D. 1498. June 8. to the prior of the monastery at Shene. The monk encouraged him with the hopes of pardon, and by his solicitations extorted from the king a promise to spare the life of the suppliant. But he was compelled to stand a whole day in the stocks at Westminster hall, and June 14—15. the next in Cheapside; and on both occasions to read to the people a confession which he had signed with his own hand. In this barren and unsatisfactory document he acknowledged that he was a native of Tournay, the son of John Osbeck and Catherine di Faro; gave the names and professions of his relations, and of the persons with whom he had lived at Antwerp, Middleburgh, and Lisbon; and stated that on his arrival at Cork he was taken first for Simnel, who had personated the earl of Warwick, then for an illegitimate son of Richard III., and lastly for the duke of York, the second son of Edward IV.; that he was invited into France by Charles VIII.; from

(1) Magno cum rubore et obortis lacrymis. André, MS. Domit. A. xviii. See Ellis, Letters, i. 34—7. Polyd. 597.

(2) Fab. 531. Hall, 46, 47. Bacon, 104. "The white rose" was afterwards married to sir Matthew Cradock, and was buried with him in the church of Swansea, in Wales, where their tomb and epitaph are still to be seen. Histor. Doubts, addition.

"France he went into Ireland, from Ireland into Scotland, and so "into England (1)." It is plain that this confession was composed from the disclosures which he had previously made. It describes with minuteness his parentage and original occupation, points which Henry wished to impress on the minds of the people, but was silent on subjects which it might have been unpleasant or impolitic to disclose, his transactions with foreign princes, and the assurances of support which he had received from native subjects. After suffering his punishment he was committed to the Tower (2).

This seems to have been the age of intrigue and imposture. From the capture of Simnel to the appearance of Warbeck, Henry had been kept in constant alarm by repeated attempts in favour of the earl of Warwick. About the close of 1498 a plan had been adopted to liberate that prince from prison: but it failed through the ignorance of the conspirators, who mistook the place of his confinement (3). The following year a new plot was contrived in the council of the king of France, who sought to divert Henry from the threatened invasion of his dominions. That monarch had expressed his regret that he had ever granted assistance to the usurper of the rights of the house of York, and offered to the friends of the earl of Warwick ships, money, and troops, to place him on the throne of his ancestors. Letters were written to the retainers of his father the late duke of Clarence; lady Warwick was solicited to favour the enterprise; and an invitation was sent to the most distinguished of the Yorkists to repair to France, and take the command (4). When this attempt also failed, Warbeck put forth his claim as the duke of York; and as long as he was able to prosecute it, the earl of Warwick seemed to be forgotten. Now that Warbeck was in prison, the rights of the earl were again brought forward; and a person of the name of Ralph Wulford undertook to personate the young prince. He was taught to act his part by Patrick, an Augustinian friar, and chose the county of Kent for the theatre on which he should make his first appearance. As a preparatory step a report was circulated of the death of Warwick; after a short interval the pretender whispered in the ears of a few confidants that he was the earl; and soon afterwards his instructor published to the world the important secret in a sermon. It is difficult to conceive on what they could ground their hope of success. Both were immediately apprehended. The friar was condemned to perpetual

(1) Hall, 49, 50. Grafton, 929. André, Domit. A. xviii. André was pensioned by Henry. Rym. xii. 643. His evidence (for he says the confession was printed by order of the king) proves its authenticity, which Mr. Laing has denied, because it is not mentioned by Fabyan or Polydore. Hen. xii. 444.

(2) Hall, ibid. Fab. 532. Stow, 481. From some imaginary improbabilities in the confession, it has been inferred that it was a mere fiction invented by Henry and his ministers. I should have thought that they might have invented a fiction of that description without crowding it with improbabilities.

(3) Rot. Parl. vi. 437.

(4) Rot. Parl. 456. The token by which the conspirators knew each other was a particular squeeze of the thumb. Ibid.

imprisonment: Wulford paid with his life the forfeit of his temerity (1). A. D. 1499. Mar.

The real earl of Warwick, and the pretended duke of York were now fellow-prisoners in the Tower. They soon contracted a mutual friendship, wept over their common misfortune, and, whether it originated with themselves or was suggested to them by others, adopted a plan for their escape. Four of the warders were gained Aug. 2. to murder the governor, and conduct the captives to a place of security, where, if we may believe the records of their trials, Warbeck was to be again proclaimed by the title of Richard IV., and Warwick was to summon the retainers of his father to the standard of the new king. Warbeck was indicted in Westminster hall, as a foreigner, guilty of acts of treason since his landing in England. He received sentence of death, and at the place of execu- Nov. 16. tion affirmed on the word of a dying man the truth of every particular contained in his original confession. With him suffered his first adherent O'Water; and both, expressing their regret for the imposture, asked forgiveness of the king. Before their punishment Nov. 21. the earl of Warwick was arraigned at the bar of the house of lords. Of his own accord he pleaded guilty; the earl of Oxford as lord steward pronounced judgment; and after a few days Henry signed the warrant for the execution of the last legitimate descendant of the Plantagenets, whose pretensions could excite the jealousy of the house of Tudor (2).

Warwick owed his death to the restless officiousness of his friends, who by repeated attempts had convinced Henry that the existence of the earl was incompatible with his own safety. Still it will be difficult to clear the king from the guilt of shedding innocent blood. This victim of royal suspicion had been confined from childhood for no other crime than his birth. Certainly he was justified in attempting recover his liberty. Had he even been guilty of the other part of the charge, his youth, his ignorance, his simplicity, and the peculiar circumstances of his situation, ought to have saved him from capital punishment (3). The whole nation lamented his fate; and to remove the odium from the king, a report, probably false, was circulated that Ferdinand of Spain had refused to bestow his daughter Catherine on the prince of Wales as long as so near a claimant of the house of York was alive. Catherine herself had been told of the report, and in the following reign was heard to observe that she could never expect much happiness from her union with the family of Tudor, if that union had been purchased at the price of royal and innocent blood (4).

From this period the ambition of Henry was no more alarmed by

(1) Hall, 50.
(2) Hall, 51. Bacon, 110, 111. Rot. Parl. vi. 535.
(3) I see nothing in the ancient authorities to prove that he was an "idiot."
(4) Hall, 51. Bacon, 112. See Note [C] at the end of the volume.

pretenders to the crown, nor his avarice distressed by the expense of foreign expeditions. The principal events of his reign during the ten years of tranquillity which preceded his death, may be comprised under the two heads, of his treaties with other powers, and his expedients to amass money.

I. 1. Henry was not less careful than the French monarchs to preserve the alliance between the two crowns. His object was to ensure the payment of the annual pension secured to him by the treaty of Estaples: theirs to afford him no pretext to oppose the
A. D. progress of their arms in the conquest of Italy. In 1494 Charles
1495. Feb. 22. had poured a numerous army over the Alps into the plains of Lombardy; the native princes yielded to the pressure of the torrent; and in a few months Naples was converted into a province of the French monarchy. But it was lost with the same rapidity with
Mar. 31. which it had been won. The pope, the king of the Romans, the king of Castile, the duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice entered into a league, by which they guaranteed to each other their respective dominions; and Charles was compelled to abandon his conquest, and to fight his way through his enemies, that he might return to his native kingdom. The next year Henry acceded to the general confederacy, a measure which might intimidate the French king, and by intimidating, cause him to be more punctual in the
A. D. discharge of his pecuniary obligations. In 1498 Charles died, and
1498. Apr. 7. was succeeded by Louis XII. That prince, who inherited the passion of his predecessor for the conquest of Naples, cheerfully ratified the treaty of Estaples, bound himself by the most solemn oaths to pay the remainder of the debt, and signed Henry's favourite stipulation, that if a traitor or rebel to either prince should seek refuge in the dominions of the other, he should be delivered up within twenty days at the requisition of the offended party (1).

2. The truces between England and Scotland, though frequently renewed and enforced with menaces and punishments, were but ill observed by the fierce and turbulent inhabitants of the borders. Soon after the last pacification, the garrison of Norham grew jealous of the repeated visits which they received from their Scottish neighbours. One day a serious affray was the consequence; and the strangers, after losing some of their fellows, fled for protection to the nearest post of their countrymen. The intelligence was received with indignation by James, who instantly despatched a herald to Henry, to announce that the truce was at an end; and a war must have ensued had not the English monarch been as
A. D. phlegmatic as the Scottish was irascible. Fox, bishop of Durham,
1495. Nov. 1496. Sept. 2. to whom the castle belonged, first wrote to James, and afterwards visited him at the abbey of Melrose; and so successful were the

(1) Rym. xii. 638—642. 681—695.

address and eloquence of that prelate, that the king was not only appeased, but offered, what he had formerly refused, to marry Margaret the eldest daughter of Henry (1). By the English prince the offer was most joyfully accepted; and when some of his council expressed a fear that then, in failure of the male line, England might hereafter become an appendage to the Scottish crown. "No," he replied, "Scotland will become an appendage to the "English; for the smaller must follow the larger kingdom." The event has verified the prediction; and the marriage has been productive of more substantial benefits than Henry could probably foresee. It has not only united the two crowns on one head; it has also contributed to unite the two kingdoms into one empire (2).

It would be tedious to narrate the repeated and protracted negotiations respecting this marriage. The parties were related within the prohibited degrees, and the princess was not of sufficient age to make a contract valid in law. Both these impediments were removed by a papal dispensation. Henry consented to give with his daughter the paltry sum of thirty thousand nobles, to be paid in three yearly instalments; and James settled on her lands to the annual value of two thousand pounds, in lieu of which she was to receive during his life five hundred marks yearly (3). The parties were now solemnly affianced to each other in the queen's chamber, the earl of Bothwell acting as proxy for James; tournaments were performed for two days in honour of the ceremony; and to exhilarate the populace twelve hogsheads of claret were tapped in the streets, and twelve bonfires kindled at night (4). At the same time was concluded, after one hundred and seventy years of war, or of truces little better than war, a treaty of perpetual peace between the two kingdoms, accompanied with the usual clause respecting the surrender of traitors, and a promise that neither prince would grant letters of protection to the subjects of the other without having previously obtained his permission. James, however, was careful that his new engagements should not interfere with the ancient alliance between Scotland and France. When he swore to observe the treaty, he had given to Henry the usual title of king of France; but he instantly arose, protested that he had done it inadvertently, and repeated the oath with the omission of that word; and when he was requested by his father-in-law not to renew the French league, he acquiesced for the time, but reserved to himself the power of renewing it, whenever he should be so advised (5).

A. D. 1502. Jan. 24.

Jan. 29.

A. D. 1502. Dec. 10.

(1) Hall, 48.

(2) Bacon, 119.

(3) Rym. xii. 787—793. As the noble was 6*s.* 8*d.* the whole portion amounted to no more than 10,000*l.*

(4) The form was as follows: "I Patricke earl "of Bothwel, procurator, etc., contract matri- "mony with thee Margaret, and take thee into "and for the wieffe and spous of my soveraigne "lord James king of Scotland, and all uthir for "thee, as procurator forsaid, forsake, induring "his and thine lives naturall, and thereto as pro- "curator forsaid, I plight, and gives thee his "faythe and truthe." Henry gave to the ambassadors at their departure presents to the value of several thousand pounds. Lel. Coll. iv. 258—264.

(5) Rym. xii. 793—804. xiii. 12. 43—47.

At the time of the contract the princess was but twelve years of age, and James had consented that she should remain twenty months longer under the roof of her royal parents. At length she departed
A. D. 1503. July 8. from her grandmother's palace at Collyweston, with a long train of ladies and gentlemen, who accompanied her a mile, kissed her, and returned to the court. The earl of Kent, with the lords Strange, Hastings, and Willoughby, escorted her as far as York. She rode on a palfrey attended by three footmen, and was followed by a magnificent litter drawn by two horses, in which she made her entry into the different towns. In her suit were a company of players and
July 17. another of minstrels. From York she proceeded under the care of the earls of Surrey and Northumberland to Lambertonkirk, where
Aug. 1—7—9 she was received by the Scottish nobility. James repeatedly visited her on her progress; and on her arrival in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, mounted her palfrey, and rode with her behind him into his capital. The marriage ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Glasgow, and "the Englishe lords and ladyes," says Hall, "returned into their countrey, gevyinge more prayse to the "manheode, than to the good maner, and nurture of Scotland (1)."

3. Henry had always cultivated with particular solicitude the alliance of Ferdinand king of Castile and Arragon; and the more strongly to cement their friendship had proposed a marriage between
A. D. 1496. Oct. 1. his eldest son, Arthur prince of Wales, and Catherine the fourth daughter of the Castilian monarch. A preliminary treaty on this subject was concluded as early as the year 1492: it was followed in 1496 by another, according to which Ferdinand promised to give the princess a portion of two hundred thousand crowns; and Henry engaged that his son should endow her with one-third of his income at present, and one-third of the income of the crown, if he should live to wear it (2). The marriage was postponed on account of the youth of Arthur: but when he had completed his twelfth year a
A. D. 1499. May 19. dispensation was obtained to enable him to make the contract; and the marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel of his manor of Bewdley, where Catherine was represented by her proxy the
A. D. 1501. Oct. 2. Spanish ambassador (3). At length the prince completed his four-
Nov. 6. teenth year, and the princess landed at Plymouth, after a wearisome and boisterous voyage. The king met her at Dogmersfield (4): she

(1) Lel. Coll. iv. 265—300. Hall, 56.

(2) Rym. xii. 658—666. The Spanish crown was worth 4s. 2d. English. Ibid. Transcripts for N. Rym. 80.

(3) Rym. xii. 754. As almost three years elapsed between the treaty of marriage and the contract, this delay has been urged as a proof that Ferdinand would not consent to it till he was assured that the life of the earl of Warwick, the real heir, would be taken by Henry. But the fact is, that this was the earliest period stipulated in the treaty (Rym. xii. 663), which provided that, as soon as Arthur had completed his twelfth year, the parents might, if they pleased, apply to the pope for a dispensation.

(4) An unexpected difficulty occurred on the road to Dogmersfield. The prothonotary of Spain met the king, and told him that the Spanish noblemen who had charge of the princess had been charged by their sovereign that "they should in "no manner of wise permit their lady to have "any meeting, ne to use any manner of commu-"nication, nither to receive any companye, un-"till the inception of the very daye of the solem-"nisation of the marriadge." But Henry declared that he would be master in his own kingdom; he entered her chamber, introduced his son to her, and caused them to renew the former contract. Lel. Coll. v. 352—355.

renewed to Arthur the contract which had been made by her proxy; the marriage ceremony was performed in St. Paul's; and at the door of the cathedral, and in the presence of the multitude, Arthur endowed her with one-third of his property (1). The king spared no expense to testify his joy by disguisings, tournaments, and banquets; and several of the nobility, to flatter the monarch, indulged in a magnificence which proved ruinous to their families (2). The abilities of Arthur, the sweetness of his temper, and his proficiency in learning (3), had gained him the affection of all who knew him; and his bride by her beauty, modesty, and accomplishments, became the object of general admiration. The castle of Ludlow in Shropshire was assigned for their residence; their court represented in miniature the court of their royal parent; and the prince amidst his vassals was instructed by his council in the rudiments of government. But the weakness of his constitution sank under the rigour of the winter; and the hopes of the nation were unexpectedly blighted by his premature death in the fourth month after his marriage (4). The intelligence of this event alarmed Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of the young widow. Anxious to preserve the friendship of England, as a counterpoise to the enmity of France, they hastened to propose a marriage between their daughter and her brother-in-law, Henry, now apparent heir to the throne. The English monarch affected to receive the communication with indifference; and suspended his assent, that he might ascertain whether a more profitable bargain might not be made with some other court; while, on the other hand, the Spaniard, to quicken the determination, sought to alarm the avarice of his ally, by requiring the immediate return of Catherine, with the restoration of the one hundred thousand crowns, the half of her marriage portion, which had already been paid. The nego-

Nov. 14.

A. D. 1502. Apr. 2.

(1) Rym. xii. 780.

(2) Those who are desirous of knowing what were the fashionable amusements of our ancestors may read the account of the festivities on this occasion added by Hearne to Leland's Collectanea, v. 356—373.

(3) Besides the most eminent grammarians, he had studied "in poetrie Homer, Virgil, Lucan, "Ovid, Silius, Plautus, and Terence: in oratorie, "Tullies offices, epistles, paradoxes, and Quinti- "lian: in historie, Thucydides, Livie, Cæsar's "Commentaries, Suetonius, Tacitus, Plinius, Va- "lerius Maximus, Salust, and Eusebius. Wherein "we have been particular, to signifie what au- "thors were then thought fit to be elementary "and rudimentall unto princes." Speed (p. 988), who quotes a manuscript of André, the preceptor of Arthur.

(4) The intelligence was first opened to the king by his confessor. He sent for the queen, who seeing him oppressed with sorrow "besought his "grace that he would first after God remember "the weale of his owne noble person, the comfort "of his realme and of her. She then saied, that "my ladie his mother had never no more chil- "dren but him onely, and that God by his grace "had ever preserved him, and brought him "where that he was. Over that, howe that God "had left him yet a fayre prince, two fayre prin- "cesses; and that God is where he was, and we "are both young ynoughe: and that the pru- "dence and wisdom of his grace sponge over all "christendome, so that it should please him to "take this according thereunto. Then the king "thanked her of her good comfort: after that she "was departed and come to her owne chamber, "natural and motherly remembrance of that "great losse smote her so sorrowfull to the hart, "that those that were about her were faine to "send for the king to comfort her. Then his grace "of true gentle and faithfull love in good hast "came and relieved her, and showed her how "wise counsell she had given him before: and "he for his parte would thanke God for his sonn, "and would she should doe in likewise." I have transcribed this account of Henry's conduct on so interesting an occasion, as it appears to me to do away the charge which has been brought against him of treating Elizabeth with indifference and neglect. I shall add, that I have not met with any good proof of Henry's dislike of Elizabeth, so often mentioned by later writers. In the MS. of André, and the journals of the herald, they appear as if they entertained a real affection for each other.

A. D. 1503. June 23. tiation at length was opened : but it proved as difficult to wring money from Ferdinand, as to satisfy the expectations of Henry ; and a year elapsed before it was finally agreed that the marriage should be contracted within two months after the arrival of a dispensation from the pope ; that it should be solemnised when the young prince had completed his fourteenth year ; and that Ferdinand should previously transmit to London another sum of one hundred thousand Dec. 26. crowns, the remaining half of the portion of Catherine. The dispensation was obtained : the parties were contracted to each other (1) ; but the Spanish monarch either could not or would not advance the A. D. 1505. June 28. money ; and his English brother cared little for the delay. The princess, a widow, and in his custody, was an hostage for the good will of her father ; and by retaining this hold on the hopes and fears of the Spaniard, he expected to extort from him concessions of still greater importance. On the day before the young Henry completed his fourteenth year, the canonical age of puberty, and the time fixed for the solemnization of the marriage, he was compelled to protest in due form, that he had neither done, nor meant to do any thing which could render the contract made during his nonage binding in law. It might be thought that this protestation was equivalent to a refusal : but the king assured Ferdinand that his only object was to free his son from all previous obligation ; he still wished to marry Catherine ; but was also free to marry any other woman (2). Thus while he awakened the fears, he was careful to nourish the hopes of the Spaniard ; an expedient by which he flattered himself that he should compel that monarch to submit to his pleasure in two other projects which he had now formed.

A. D. 1502. Feb. 11. Soon after the death of the English prince, his mother Elizabeth had been carried to the grave (3). Henry's mourning might be sincere ; but it was short, and he quickly consoled himself for his loss by calculating the pecuniary advantages, which he might derive from a second marriage. The late king of Naples had bequeathed an immense property to his widow ; her presumed riches offered irresistible attractions to the heart of the English monarch ; and three private gentlemen were commissioned to procure an introduction to the queen under the pretext of delivering to her a letter from the dowager princess of Wales. In their report to the king they praised her person, her disposition, and her acquirements, but added the unwelcome intelligence that the reigning king had refused to fulfil the testament of his predecessor. Henry's passion was instantly extinguished : he cast his eyes on another rich widow, Margaret, the duchess of Savoy, and from an accident which he attri-

(1) Rymer, xiii. 61. 83. 89. 114.

(2) El se tenia por libre para casarse con quien quisiese. Zurita, vi. 193. En Zaragoza, 1610. The contract is in Collier, ii. rec.

(3) The expense of her funeral amounted to 2832*l.* 7*s.* 3*d.* Excerp. Hist. 130.

buted to his good fortune, he derived a strong hope of succeeding in his suit.

On the death of Isabella queen of Castile, which crown she held in her own right, her husband Ferdinand surrendered the sceptre of Castile to his daughter Juana the wife of the archiduke Philip, but claimed the regency in virtue of the will of his late consort. The new king and queen in the beginning of 1506 left the Netherlands to take possession of the Castilian throne: but the weather was unfavourable; and, after struggling with adverse winds for more than a fortnight, they sought shelter in the harbour of Falmouth. It was in vain that their council objected. They went on shore in search of refreshment, and Henry grasped at the opportunity of deriving advantage from their indiscretion. In terms which admitted of no refusal, he invited them to his court; detained them during three months in splendid captivity, and extorted from them several valuable concessions as the price of their enlargement. 1°. Margaret of Savoy was the sister of Philip, and that prince was compelled to agree to a marriage between her and Henry, to fix the amount of her portion at the sum of three hundred thousand crowns; and to give bonds for the faithful payment of the money (1). 2°. Henry had formerly obtained the consent of Maximilian that Charles, the infant son of Philip, should marry Mary, the youngest daughter of the English king. To this the captive prince, though he had formerly refused, now gave his assent (2). 3°. A new treaty of commerce was negotiated between the subjects of the two kings, as prejudicial to the interests of the Flemish, as it was favourable to those of the English merchants. 4° The king lent to the archduke on certain securities the sum of 138,000*l.* towards the expense of his voyage to Spain. Lastly, Henry demanded the surrender of an individual whom he had long considered the most dangerous enemy of the house of Lancaster. This was Edmund, second son to the late duke of Suffolk. John earl of Lincoln, the eldest son, had fallen at the battle of Stoke, and had been attainted by parliament. When the duke himself died, Edmund claimed the honours and estate of his father: but Henry persisted in considering him as the heir of his attainted brother, maintained that he had no claim to the forfeited property, and compelled him to accept as a boon a small por-

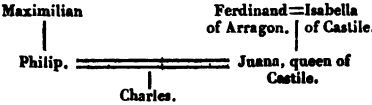
A. D. 1504. Nov. 26.

A. D. 1506. Jan. 10.

Mar. 20.

(1) Rymer, xiii. 126—157.

(2) Philip had previously engaged to marry Charles to Claude daughter of Louis XII. of France. After Philip's death (25th. Sep. 1506), Maximilian, fearing that Ferdinand might keep possession of Castile to the prejudice of his grandson, urged Henry to contract the young princes to each other, and then demand the regency of Castile, as guardian to his son-in-law. (Zurita. vi. 163.) He was deterred by his desire of marrying Juana; but afterwards, a few months before his death, in defiance of the objections of Ferdinand, proceeded to the contract with the approbation of Maximilian and Margaret, Dec. 15, 1508. Rym. xiii. 236. Perhaps the following table may prove of use to the reader:



tion of the patrimony of his fathers, and to be content with the inferior title of earl (1). It was impossible to ascribe the king's conduct to any other motive than a desire to humble a rival family; and the earl by his ungovernable passions soon involved himself in difficulties and danger. He had killed a man who had offended him, was arraigned as a murderer at the king's bench, and commanded to
A. D. 1499. July 1. plead the king's pardon. His pride could not brook this indignity; and the court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, received the fugitive. Henry, who, on what grounds I know not, is represented as desirous to inveigle him into greater indiscretions, prevailed on him to return. At the marriage of the prince of Wales, he vied in the splendour of his equipage, and his attentions to the royal family, with the most opulent and favoured of the nobility; and then, to the astonishment of the public, fled a second time, with his brother Richard, to the court of his aunt. Henry immediately foreA. D. 1502. Mar. May 6. boded an insurrection. Sir Robert Curson was despatched to act the part of a spy under the mask of friendship; and in a few weeks the earl's brother William de la Pole, the lord Courtenay, who had married one of the late queen's sisters, sir William Wyndham, and sir James Tyrrel, with a few others, were apprehended (2). To the two first no other crime could be objected than their relationship to the fugitive; the other two were condemned and executed for having favoured the escape of the king's enemy; and all were afterwards attainted by parliament (3). By this act of vigour the conspiracy, if any conspiracy existed, was suppressed in its birth; and Suffolk, left in extreme penury by the death of his aunt, after wandering for a time in Germany, had been permitted by the archduke Philip to reside in his dominions.

Henry now demanded of that prince the surrender of the fugitive. It was in vain that he pleaded his honour; he was given to know that he was himself a captive, and could only purchase his liberty by consenting to the captivity of the earl. Compelled to yield, he exacted from Henry a promise that he would respect the life of Suffolk, and on the surrender of the fugitive was permitted to proA. D. 1506. Mar. 16. secute his voyage. The earl was sent to the Tower. Though Henry thirsted for his blood, he feared to violate his engagement with Philip: but before his death he left an order for the execution of his victim as a legacy to the filial piety of his successor (4).

Philip was only one of the parties interested in the marriage of his sister Margaret. The consent of Maximilian and Ferdinand was

(1) Rot. Parl. vi. 474.

(2) It was on this occasion that Tyrrel confessed the murder of Edward V. and his brother in the Tower. More, 68.

(3) Rot. Parl. 545. The forfeiture was to take place from the 1st of July 1499. If then, as our writers say, Wyndham and Tyrrel were executed for aiding the flight of Suffolk, it must have been on the first, and not the second time that he fled to the continent. I may remark that the charge of treason against them is laid on the first of July, that against the earl of Warwick and Warbeck on the 2d of August of the same year. Ibid. Was there any connexion between the two?

(4) Hall, 54. 55. Speed, 990—994. Fab. 533.

also requisite: but while Henry was negotiating with these princes Philip died; and his widow Juana, in her own right queen of Castile, appeared to the imagination of the king a still more desirable bride. A. D. 1506. Sept. 23. There were indeed two obstacles to be surmounted, which would have deterred any other suitor. Juana laboured under a derangement of intellect, which rendered her incapable of giving her consent; and Ferdinand, her guardian, would naturally oppose any measure which might deprive him of the government of her dominions. But Henry was not discouraged. He relinquished the pursuit of Margaret; contended that the malady of Juana was only temporary, occasioned by the bad usage which she had received from her last husband, and trusted to his own ingenuity to remove the objections of her father. That prince, unwilling to irritate a prince whom it was his interest to flatter, had recourse to delay: he represented the present state of his daughter's mind; he promised that if, on the recovery of her reason, she could be induced to marry, the king of England should be her husband. But Henry was suspicious of the king's sincerity; he insisted that his ambassador Astill should speak to the queen in private, and receive an answer from her own mouth; and apprehensive that his son's attachment to Catherine might lead to a clandestine union, he forbad them to see each other, treated the princess with severity, and endeavoured to subdue the obstinacy of the father by punishing the innocence of his daughter (1). However, the malady of Juana experienced no abatement. Henry desisted from his hopeless pursuit, and, accepting the apologies of Ferdinand for his delay in the payment of the marriage portion, concluded with him a new treaty, by which the Spanish monarch was bound to transmit to London one hundred thousand crowns in four half-yearly instalments, and Henry to permit the solemnization of the marriage on the arrival of the last. Two were received by the king at the appointed time: he died before the arrival of the third (2). Perhaps I should apologise to the reader for this long and tedious detail: but the important controversy to which the marriage of Henry and Catherine gave birth, and the still more important consequences to which that controversy led, have imparted an interest to every circumstance which originally impeded or facilitated their union.

A. D. 1508. April. Sept.

II. While the king sought by foreign alliances to add to the se-

(1) Catherine, in her letters to her father, professed to have no great inclination for a second marriage in England, but requested that her sufferings and wishes might be kept out of view. No gustaba la princesa do casar segunda vez en Inglaterra. Asi le dio a entender al rey su padre: cuando le supplicaba en lo que tocaba a su casamiento no mirase su gusto ni comodidad, sino solo lo que a el y sus cosas conveniese bien. Mariana, Hist. l. xx. c. 17.

(2) The English historians seem entirely ignorant of the causes which for so many years delayed the marriage of Henry and Catherine. For the preceding narrative I have had recourse to the Spanish historians Zurita and Mariana, and have compared their statements with extracts from the original documents preserved among the records at Simanoas, which have been copied for me by a friend in Spain. The receipts for the money in 1508 are signed by both Henries, the father and the son. The third payment was made to the young king in May, and the last in September 1509.

curity of his family, he was equally solicitous to amass riches at the expense of his subjects. What they termed avarice, he denominated policy; observing that to deprive his adversaries of their wealth was to take from them the means of annoyance. But Henry's rapacity was not very scrupulous in its selection: it fed with equal appetite on his friends and his enemies. The men whom he employed as the agents of oppression were sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, both lawyers, of inventive heads, and unfeeling hearts; who despoiled the subject to fill the king's coffers, and despoiled the king to enrich themselves. The following are the chief of the numerous expedients by which they extorted money. 1. In the lapse of centuries the rigour of the feudal tenures had been gradually relaxed, and during the civil dissensions of the two roses many prestations had been suffered to sink into desuetude. But these ministers are said to have revived all the dormant claims of the crown; exacted with severity the payment of arrears; discovered and enforced forgotten causes of forfeiture; and extended the feudal services to estates holden by different tenures. 2. The ancient statutes had created a multitude of offences punishable by fine, imprisonment, and forfeiture, and had enacted the same penalties against officers who had failed in the execution of their duty. Under these two heads hosts of informers were employed to cull out fit subjects for prosecution; and when the real or supposed delinquent was brought before Empson or Dudley (they were barons of the exchequer), unless he consented to pay an exorbitant fine, he was committed to prison. New offers of composition were made to him, while he lingered in custody; on his refusal, judgment was passed against him, sometimes without any trial by jury (1), sometimes according to the verdict of a jury previously packed for the purpose. 3. Outlawry was the general consequence of non-appearance in personal actions; but was always reversed, on the payment by the party of a moderate fine. These harpies had the ingenuity to multiply such proceedings, and the cruelty to wring from their victims the full amount of a year's income. By these arts, and others of a similar description, every class of subjects was harassed and impoverished, while a constant stream of wealth passed through the hands of Empson and Dudley, of which a part only was suffered to reach the treasury; the remainder they diverted to their own coffers (2).

If we may credit a story related by Bacon, Henry was not less adroit, or less unfeeling than his two ministers. Of the partisans of the house of Lancaster, there was no one whose exertions or sacrifices had been greater than those of the earl of Oxford. That nobleman on one occasion had entertained the king at his castle of

(1) By a statute of 11th of this reign, c. 3, judges of assize and justices of peace had power in informations for the king before them to hear and determine all offences and contempts against any statute unrepealed. It was repealed in the 1st of Henry VIII. Stat. of Realm, iii. 3.

(2) Fabyan, 534—536. Hall, 57, 58. Bacon, 119—121.

Henningham : and when Henry was ready to depart, a number of servants and retainers in the earl's livery was drawn up in two lines, to do honour to the sovereign. "My lord," said the king, "I have "heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the "speech. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen that I see on "each side of me are surely your menial servants?" The earl replied with a smile. "That, may it please your grace, were not for "mine ease. They are most of them mine retainers, come to do me "service at a time like this, and chiefly to see your grace." Henry affected to start, and returned; "By my faith, my lord, I thank you "for your good cheer; but I may not endure to have my laws "broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you." He alluded to the statute against retainers, which had been passed in his first parliament; and the earl for his misplaced generosity was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds; an almost incredible sum, if we consider the relative value of money at that period (1).

The king had for years been visited with regular fits of the gout. His strength visibly wasted away, and every spring the most serious apprehensions were entertained for his life. Whatever might be the hopes with which he flattered himself, his preachers did not allow him to be ignorant of his danger. From the pulpit they admonished him of the extortion of his officers, and exhorted him to prepare for death by making reparation to the innocent sufferers. Henry does not appear to have been displeased with their freedom. He forgave all offences against the crown with the exception of felony and murder; satisfied the creditors of all persons confined for debts under the amount of forty shillings; and ordered strict justice to be done to all who had been injured by the tyranny of the ministers. The prosecutions, however, were soon revived: it was contended that no injustice could be committed where the conviction was procured by due process of law; and several of the most respectable citizens in London were heavily amerced, and in default of payment thrown into prison. Thus Empson and Dudley continued to pursue their iniquitous career till they were arrested by the death of the king, who in the spring of 1509 sunk under the violence of his disease. The anxiety of his mind is strongly depicted in the provisions of his will: but he might easily have foreseen that his injunctions for the reparation of injuries would be despised or eluded by a young and thoughtless successor (2). He left three children; a son Henry, who inherited his father's crown, and two daughters, Margaret, married to James king of Scots, and Mary, afterwards the wife of Louis XII. king of France. A. D. 1509. Apr. 21.

To Henry by his contemporaries was allotted the praise of political wisdom. He seems, indeed, to have been formed by nature for

(1) Bacon, 121.

(2) This singular will has been published by Mr. Astle.

the circumstances in which accident had placed him. With a mind dark and mistrustful, tenacious of its own secrets and adroit in divining the secrets of others, capable of employing the most unprincipled agents, and of descending to the meanest artifices, he was able to unravel the plots, to detect the impostures, and to defeat the projects of all his opponents. But there was nothing open in his friendship, or generous in his enmity. His suspicions kept him always on his guard: he watched with jealousy the conduct of his very ministers, and never unbosomed himself with freedom even to his consort or his mother. It was his delight to throw an air of mystery over the most ordinary transactions: nor would pride or policy allow him, even when it appeared essential to his interests, to explain away the doubts, or satisfy the curiosity of his subjects. The consequence was, that no one knew what to believe, or what to expect. "All things," says sir Thomas More, "were so covertly "demeaned, one thing pretended and another meant, that there "was nothing so plain and openly proved, but that yet, for the com-"mon custom of close and covert dealing, men had it ever in-"wardly suspect, as many well counterfeited jewels make the true "mistrusted (1)."

He appears to have been the first of our kings since the accession of Henry III. who confined his expenses within the limits of his income (2). But the civil wars had swept away those crowds of annuitants and creditors that formerly used to besiege the doors of the exchequer; and the revenue of the crown came to him free from incumbrances, and augmented by forfeitures. Hence he was enabled to reign without the assistance of parliament; and, if he occasionally summoned the two houses, it was only when a decent pretext for demanding a supply offered to his avarice a bait which it could not refuse (3). He had, however, little to apprehend from the freedom or the remonstrances of these assemblies. That spirit of resistance to oppression, that ardour to claim and establish their liberties, which characterised the parliaments of former times, had been extinguished in the bloody feuds between "the two roses." The temporal peers who had survived the storm were few in number, and without the power of their ancestors: they feared by alarming the suspicions of the monarch to replunge themselves into the dangers from which they had so lately emerged; and the commons readily adopted the humble tone, and submissive demeanour

(1) More, 67.

(2) In his first parliament funds were placed at his disposal for the discharge of the yearly expenses of his household, estimated at 14,000*l.*, and of his wardrobe, estimated at 2000*l.* Rot. Parl. vi. 329, also 497. By the treasurer's account of the last year delivered to Henry VIII. the expenses of the household amounted to 12,759*l.* 9*s.* 11*d.*, and of the wardrobe to 1,715*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* See Henry, xii. App. No. iv.

(3) During the last thirteen years of his reign he called but one parliament, in 1504. His object was to demand an equivalent in lieu of two reasonable aids due by the feudal customs for having made his eldest son a knight, and married his eldest daughter. It was, however, so contrived that he might have the merit of moderation, while he imposed the burden; and therefore when the parliament offered him 40,000*l.*, he accepted but 30,000*l.* Rot. Parl. vi. 532.

of the upper house. Henry, and the same may be observed of his two last predecessors, found them always the obsequious ministers of his pleasure (1).

But if the king was economical in his expenses, and eager in the acquisition of wealth, it should also be added, that he often rewarded with the generosity, and on occasions of ceremony displayed the magnificence, of a great monarch. His charities were many and profuse. Of his buildings, his three convents of friars fell in the next reign; his chapel at Westminster still exists, a monument of his opulence and taste. He is said to have occasionally advanced loans of money to merchants engaged in profitable branches of trade; and not only gave the royal license to the attempt of the Venetian navigator Cabot, but fitted out a ship at his own expense to join in the voyage. Cabot sailed from Bristol, discovered the island of Newfoundland, crept along the coast of Florida, and returned to England. It was the first European expedition that ever reached the American continent (2).

A. D. 1496. Mar. 5.

A. D. 1497. June 24.

(1) In the composition of these sheets, I have frequently been inclined to believe that we ascribe to the spirit of the commons in former times more than they really deserve. On many important occasions they appear to me to have been put forward and supported by the peers; on others to have been merely the instruments employed by the ruling party. If this be so, there can be no wonder that after the depression of the house of lords, they fell into a state of dependence on the crown.

(2) Rym. xii. 595. Hackluyt, iii. 4.

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY VIII.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.

Henry VIII. + 1547.	=	Catherine of Spain, repudiated, 1553.	=	Anne Boleyn, beheaded 1536.	=	Jane Seymour, +1537.	=	Anne of Cleves, repudiated. 1540.	=	Catherine Howard, beheaded 1541.	=	Catherine Parr, + 1548.
Mary + 1558.	=	Philip II. of Spain.		Elizabeth. + 1603.		Edward VI. + 1553.						

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Germany.	*Sov. of Scotland.*	*Kings of France.*	*Sover. of Spain.*
Maximilian..... 1519.	James IV. 1513.	Louis XII..... 1515.	{ Ferdinand. 1516.
Charles V.	James V..... 1542.	Francis I.	{ Isabella.
	Mary.		Charles V.

Popes.

Julius II. 1513. Leo X. 1521. Adrian VI. 1523. Clement VII. 1534. Paul III.

Accession and marriage of Henry VIII.—Punishment of Empson and Dudley—State of Europe—War with France—Inglorious Campaign in Spain—Invasion of France—Victory at Guinegate—Defeat of the Scots at Flodden—Peace—Rise, Power, and Character of Wolsey.

THE late king had forfeited, long before his death, the affections of his people; and the accession of his son, of the same name, was
A. D. 1509. hailed as the commencement of a new era. The young Henry had
Apr. 22. almost completed his eighteenth year. He was handsome in person, generous in disposition, and adroit in every martial and fashionable exercise. His subjects, dazzled by the fair but uncertain promise of his youth, gave him credit for more virtues than he really possessed (1): while his vices, though perhaps even then discernible to an experienced eye, were not sufficiently developed to excite their alarm or attract their attention. By the advice of his grandmother, the venerable countess of Richmond, he gave his confidence to those counsellors who had grown old in the service of the deceased monarch; and, that he might initiate himself in the art of reigning, made it a sacred duty to assist almost daily at their deliberations.

The reader is already aware, that if the new king was still un-

(1) Even according to cardinal Pole, his was indoles, ex qua præclara omnia sperari possent. Apologia Reg. Poli. p. 86. Brixiæ, 1744.

married, it had been owing to the capricious and interested policy of his father. Immediately after his accession, he assured Fuensalida, the Spanish ambassador, of his undiminished attachment to Catherine, and of his intention to bring the question of their marriage immediately before his council (1). By its advocates was alleged in its favour the advantage of securing the alliance of Spain against the hostility of France; and to the objection drawn from the affinity between the parties were opposed the force of the papal dispensation, and the solemn assertion of Catherine, which she was ready to confirm by her own oath, and by the attestation of several matrons, that her former nuptials with Arthur had never been consummated (2). With the unanimous assent of the council Henry was publicly married to the princess by the archbishop of Canterbury; their coronation followed; and these two events were celebrated with rejoicings, which occupied the court during the remaining part of the year. June 9—24.

The first public acts of the young monarch were calculated to win the affections of his people. Henry confirmed by proclamation the general pardon which had been granted by his father, offered redress to all persons who had been aggrieved by the late commission of forfeitures, and ordered the arrest of Empson and Dudley, the chief panders to the rapacity of the late king, and of their principal agents, known by the appellation of "promoters." The latter, having been exposed in the pillory to the derision of the people, or compelled to ride through the city with their faces to the tails of their horses, were condemned to different terms of imprisonment: Apr. 21. the former were brought before the council, and charged with having usurped the authority of the courts of law, extorted from heirs exorbitant compositions for the livery of their lands, refused to receive the answers of the accused until they had paid for that indulgence, and wrongfully maintained that lands, possessed on other tenures, were held in chief of the crown. The prisoners defended themselves with eloquence and with success. However harsh and iniquitous in itself their conduct might have been, it was justified by precedent, by the existing provisions of the law, and by the tenor of their commission; and therefore to hush the clamours of the people, it was deemed proper to accuse them of a new offence, a design to secure the person of the young king on the death of his

(1) Ipsam ille supra omnes mulieres appetebat, supra omnes amabat, et illi se conjungi appetebat.... antequam illi conjungeretur, hoc sæpe illum dixisse. Ibid. 83, 84.

(2) Polyd. 619. Henry acknowledged the truth of her assertion to her nephew the emperor, as is observed by cardinal Pole in his letter to the king, entitled, Pro unitatis ecclesiasticæ defensione. Tu ipse hoc fassus es, virginem te accepisse, et Cæsari fassus es, cui minime expediebat, si tum de divortio cogitares, hoc fateri, f. lxxvii. lxxviii. Romæ, apud Antonium Bladum Asulanum.—Peter Martyr, in a letter dated May 6th, 1509, before the marriage, tells us that the same was the belief in Spain. Est opinio sponsum primum intactam, quia invalidus erat ætate non matura, reliquisse. Pet. Mart, Ep. p. 207. On this account she was married with the ceremonies appropriated to the nuptials of maids. She was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose. Sanford, 480.

father, and to possess themselves of all the powers of government. The charge was too absurd to deserve credit: but it seems to have been admitted throughout the whole of this reign, that if the crown brought an individual to his trial, it mattered little by what device his conviction was procured. Witnesses were found to depose that the obnoxious ministers, during the illness of the late king, had summoned their friends to be in arms, and ready to accompany them to London on an hour's notice; and juries were induced, on this flimsy pretext, to pronounce them guilty of a conspiracy against
July 16. the safety of the state. Dudley was convicted at the Guildhall,
Oct. 1. Empson at Northampton: but their execution was respited at the
A. D. 1510. intercession, it was believed, of the young queen. When the parlia-
Jan. 21. ment met after Christmas, it passed an act of attainder against them for a crime, which they had not committed; and endeavoured to remedy the abuses, of which they had been really guilty. All persons, whom they had falsely pronounced tenants in capite, recovered their former rights; the qualifications and duties of escheators were accurately defined; and the term for bringing actions on penal statutes in favour of the crown was limited to the three years immediately following the alleged offence. It seems probable that the king, satisfied with their forfeitures, would have suffered them to linger out their lives in confinement; but, during his progress the next summer, he was so harassed with the complaints and remonstrances of the people, that he signed the warrant for their execution.
Aug. 18. They suffered on Tower-hill; and their blood not only silenced the clamour of their enemies, but supplied the officers of the treasury with an excuse for refusing to redress the wrongs, of which these unfortunate men had been the original authors (1).

Peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, allowed the young monarch to indulge his natural taste for amusements and pleasure. During two years his court presented an almost uninterrupted succession of balls and revels, devices and pageants, which, in the absence of more important transactions, have been minutely recorded by historians. He excelled in all the accomplishments of the age; but chiefly prided himself on his proficiency in the martial exercises. The queen and her ladies, the foreign ambassadors and native nobility, were repeatedly summoned to behold the king of England fighting at barriers with the two-handed sword, or the battle-axe; and on all these occasions, so active and adroit was the prince, or so politic were his adversaries, that he invariably obtained the prize (2). His vanity was quickly inflamed by the praises which he received: he longed to make trial of his prowess in real war; and cherished the hope of equalling the reputation of the most renowned

(1) Polydore, 620. Herbert, 5. 6. 12, 13. Rolls, xiv. Lords' Journals, i. 9. St. 1 Hen. VIII. 4. 8. 12—15. The heirs of both were restored in blood in 1512.

(2) See in particular Hall, 1—12.

among his ancestors, the third Edward, and the fifth Henry. It was not long before his wishes were gratified by the quarrel between Julius, the Roman pontiff, and Louis XII. king of France.

As this was the first occasion, on which England took a decided part in the politics of the continent, it will be necessary to direct the reader's attention to the state of Italy, and to the real objects of the adverse parties. 1°. In the north of Italy, Milan had been annexed to the French crown by Louis XII., who, pursuing the ambitious projects of his ancestors, had expelled the reigning duke Ludovico Sforza, and by successive aggrandisements awakened the fears of all his neighbours. 2°. In the south the crown of Naples had been wrested from Frederic, king of the Two Sicilies, by the combined armies of France and Spain. The allies divided their conquest: but dissensions followed; battles were fought to the disadvantage of the French; and the kingdom at last remained in the undisputed possession of Ferdinand. Both Ferdinand and Louis were, however, considered as foreign usurpers by the native powers, among which the most considerable were the republic of Venice, and the ecclesiastical state. 3°. The Venetians, enriched by commerce, and supported by armies of mercenaries, had gradually become the envy and terror of the Italian princes. If, on the one hand, they formed the strongest bulwark of christendom against the Turks; on the other they had usurped a considerable territory on the coast of the Adriatic, and by their pride and ambition given birth to the common belief, that they aspired to the entire dominion of Italy. 4°. The patrimony of the Roman see, though intersected by smaller states, reached from the borders of Naples to the late acquisitions of the Venetians. It was under the government of Julius II., who retained in the chill of age all the fire of youth, and seemed to have exchanged the duties of a christian bishop for the occupations of a statesman and a warrior. The great objects of his policy were to extend the limits of the papal dominions, and to free Italy from the yoke of the strangers. His own resources were, indeed, inadequate to these objects: but he supplied the deficiency by the skill with which he wielded his spiritual arms, and the success with which he sought the co-operation of the greater powers. At first he deemed it prudent to dissemble his jealousy of Louis and Ferdinand, and directed his whole attention to the more formidable encroachments of the Venetians. By severing from the church the northern part of Romagna, they had furnished him with a reasonable cause of hostility; and to ensure success to his project, he applied to their several enemies; to Maximilian, the emperor elect, who claimed from them Treviso, Padua, Verona, and the Friuli, as fiefs of the empire; to Louis, who demanded as part of his duchy of Milan, the territory which they possessed on the right bank of the Adda; and to Ferdinand, who was anxious to recover Trani, Monopoli, Brindisi, and

Otranto, sea-ports in Naples, which they held as securities for a loan of money.

A. D. 1508. Dec. 10. The ministers of the four powers met under different pretexts in the city of Cambray; and the result was a confederacy for the purpose of confining the republic within its ancient limits. It was in vain that the Venetians opposed a gallant resistance to so many adversaries. Broken by repeated defeats, they implored the pity of Julius, who, content to have humbled their pride, was unwilling that their dominions should fall into the hands of the barbarians, the term by which he designated his allies beyond the Alps. At the solicitation, as it was pretended, of the king of England, he consented to a peace with the republic; and to the loud complaints of the French minister replied, that he had reserved this power to himself by the treaty of Biagrassa; that the great object of the alliance at Cambray had been accomplished; and that, if Louis and Maximilian aimed at more extensive conquests, it was unreasonable to expect that he should aid, or sanction, their injustice. His real views, however, gradually unfolded themselves; and the papal army unexpectedly entered the territories of Alphonso, duke of Ferrara, a vassal of the holy see. The pretext for this invasion was supplied by one of those numerous but ill defined claims, which grew out of the feudal jurisprudence; but Louis, who knew that the pontiff had already concluded a secret alliance with the Venetians, judged that the real offence of Alphonso was his known attachment to France, and ordered his army in the Milanese to hasten to the support of his ally.

A. D. 1510. Feb. 14.

Oct. 19. At the approach of Chaumont, the French commander, Julius retired to Bologna, and to his inexpressible surprise found himself besieged in that city. Fatigue and vexation brought on a fever, which confined him to his bed; but his spirit was unbroken; and if, at the entreaty of the cardinals, he consented to open a negotiation, his only object was to gain time for the arrival of reinforcements. Colonna, at the head of a body of Spanish horse, was the first to offer his services; the papal troops followed; and Chaumont, who had insisted on the most mortifying concessions, found himself compelled to retire in disgrace to the Milanese, where he died of a broken heart. This transaction furnished the pontiff with a plausible ground of hostility against Louis; and every court in Europe resounded with his complaints of the overbearing insolence of the French, who, during a time of peace, had insulted the head of the church in one of his own cities, and had even endeavoured to make him their prisoner (1).

The next spring the French arms assumed a decided superiority. Bologna with its citadel was taken, and the pontiff sought an asylum

(1) See Guicciardini, p. 506. 608. Venezia, 1738. Pet. Mart. Ep. p. 235. Muratori, xiv. p. 73, 74.

within the walls of Ravenna; the Bentivoglio, his enemies, recovered their former influence and honours; and Louis, having obtained from his clergy a declaration in favour of the war, and from Maximilian a promise of co-operation, announced a general council A. D. 1511. to assemble at Pisa, "for the reformation of the church both in its Sept. 1. "head and its members." In this emergency Julius betrayed no symptom of alarm. He opposed council to council, summoned the bishops of christendom to meet him in synod at the Basilic of St. John Lateran, deposed and excommunicated the five cardinals, who formed the council at Pisa, and deprived their adherents of all rights, possessions, and honours. At the same time his ministers at the different courts inveighed against the schism, which had been created by the resentment of Louis, and against that ambition which, not content with the powerful kingdom of France, had seized on the duchy of Milan, and now sought to add to Milan the territories of the church. The last argument had considerable weight with those princes, who viewed with jealousy the progressive aggrandisement of the French crown, and believed that its possessors aspired to universal empire (1).

It was not long before an alliance defensive and offensive was Oct. 4. signed between Ferdinand, the pope, and the republic of Venice; and an invitation was given to all christian princes to accede to the "holy league," which had for its object the extinction of schism, and the defence of the Roman church (2). Maximilian affected to hesitate: at length he recalled his promise to Louis, and joined the allies: but the young king of England had instantly assented to the entreaties of the pontiff, and the advice of his father-in-law. His vanity was gratified with the title of "head of the Italian league:" Julius promised to reward his services with the appellation of "most christian king," which Louis had forfeited by his schismatical conduct; and his flatterers fed his ambition with the vain hope of recovering the French provinces, which had been wrested on former occasions from the possession of his ancestors. As a preparatory step, Young, the English ambassador, accompanied by the envoys of Scotland and Spain, exhorted Louis to consent to a recon- Apr. 23. ciliation with the pontiff on the following conditions: that Bologna should be restored to the church, the council at Pisa be dissolved, and the cause of Alphonso be referred to impartial judges. But the French cabinet was acquainted with the real intentions of its enemies: an evasive answer was returned; and immediately a new treaty was concluded between the kings of England and Spain, by Nov. 17. which it was stipulated that against the month of April Henry

(1) These sentiments are thus expressed by Peter Martyr in a letter written in the beginning of October. Puto regem nostrum pontificis causam suscepturum: tum quia pium, tum quia de communi omnium agitur libertate. Si enim pontificem Gallus straverit, sub pedibus se sperat universam Italiam habiturum, legesque daturum universis Christianæ religionis principibus, quales libuerit. p. 246.

(2) Rym. xiii. 306.

should have in readiness an army of six thousand five hundred, Ferdinand one of nine thousand men; that this combined force should invade the duchy of Guienne; and that for the safeguard of the sea, each power should furnish an armament of equal strength, composed of soldiers and mariners, to the amount of three thousand men (1). To make good these engagements, Henry obtained from parliament a supply of two tenths, and two fifteenths; Clarenceaux, king-at-arms, claimed of Louis in the name of his master the restoration of the ancient patrimony of the English crown in France: the refusal was followed by a denunciation of war; the marquess of Dorset sailed with the army in Spanish transports to the coast of Guipuscoa; and the fleet, under the command of sir Edward Howard, lord admiral, cruised during the summer between England and Spain (2).

A. D. 1512. June 3.

Jean d'Albret, who held the principality of Bearne as the vassal of the French crown, had succeeded in right of his wife, the infanta Catalina, to the throne of Navarre: but his claim was opposed by a dangerous competitor, Gaston de Foix, nephew of the French monarch. To preserve himself on the throne, he gladly acceded to the league: but within a few months Gaston fell in the battle of Ravenna, and the king, freed from his rival, concluded a secret treaty with Louis. By this defection, however, he forfeited the crown which he had been so anxious to retain. When the English general, in obedience to his instructions, prepared to march by Fontarabia against Bayonne, Ferdinand objected that it was previously necessary to secure the fidelity of the king of Navarre, who might at any moment during the siege cut off their communication with Spain, and destroy the combined army by famine. A joint embassy was sent to D'Albret: his promises of neutrality were distrusted, and the temporary occupation of his principal fortresses was demanded. During the negotiation Ferdinand obtained a copy of the alliance which the king had recently concluded with Louis, and immediately ordered the duke of Alva to lay siege to his capital. Its reduction was quickly followed by the submission of the rest of the kingdom; and Jean with his consort, leaving Bearne in the occupation of the French army, fled to the court of his ally. The marquess of Dorset, who lay inactive at Fontarabia, frequently protested against the invasion of Navarre, as an enterprise unconnected with the object of the expedition; and Ferdinand despatched a messenger to London, to complain of the obstinacy of the English general, and to request that he might be furnished with more ample instructions.

July 25.

(1) Rym. xiii. 311—319.

(2) Ibid. 327—329. The fleet consisted of eighteen ships. The largest of these, of 1000 tons burden, belonged to the king, and carried 700 soldiers, gunners, and mariners. The others were of different sizes, from 500 to 100 tons, and carried 17 captains, 1750 soldiers, and 1233 gunners and mariners. The admiral received 10 shillings per day: each captain one shilling and sixpence: all others 10 shillings per lunar month, one half for wages, the other half for provisions. Ibid.

The Spanish army had now reached St. Jean Pié de Port; the English were invited to join them at that town; and the invasion of Guienne was at length seriously proposed. But the marquess, whose mind had been soured by disappointment, refused to give credit to the assertions of the Spanish monarch, or to enter France by any other route than that which was laid down in his instructions. Six weeks were consumed in dispute and recrimination: disease and a spirit of mutiny began to spread in the English camp; Dorset required permission to return with his forces to his own country; and Ferdinand consented to furnish transports according to the treaty between the two crowns. When it was too late, Windsor herald arrived with orders for the army to remain, and to obey the commands of the Spanish king. Its departure was a severe mortification to Henry, who had flattered himself with the hope of recovering Guienne: but, though he received the general and principal officers with strong expressions of displeasure, he was at a later period induced to listen to their exculpation, and to entertain a suspicion that his father-in-law might have been more attentive to the interests of the Spanish, than to those of the English crown. Ferdinand, indeed, reaped the principal fruit of the campaign by the conquest of Navarre, which is still possessed by his successors. Louis, on the other hand, took possession of Bearne; and the unfortunate Jean D'Albret saw himself despoiled of all his dominions by the jealousy and ambition of his more powerful neighbours (1). Sept. 5. Oct. 31.

By sea the English arms were not more fortunate than by land. Sir Edward Howard, after repeated descents on the coast of Bretagne, fell in with the French fleet of twenty sail under the command of Primauget. Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk, who was nearest to the enemy, without waiting for orders, bore down on the Cordelier of Brest, a vessel of enormous bulk, and carrying a complement of sixteen hundred men. His ship was quickly dismasted by the superior fire of his adversary; and he reluctantly yielded his place to his rival sir Thomas Knyvet, a young knight of more courage than experience, who commanded the Regent, the largest vessel in the English navy. The combat continued for more than an hour: but, another ship coming to the aid of Knyvet, Primauget, to save the honour of his flag, set fire to the Cordelier: the flames communicated to the Regent, and both vessels were entirely consumed. The rest of the French fleet escaped into the harbour of Brest; and "sir Edward made his vow to God, "that he would never more see the king in the face, till he had "revenged the death of the noble and valiant knight sir Thomas May. June. Aug. 12.

(1) Polydore, 627, 628. Herbert, 20—24. Pet. Mart. Ep. p. 254. 256. 263, 264, 267, 268, 269. 271. Ellis, 2. Ser. i. 108—203. Wolsey, apud Fiddes, Collect. p. 8. It has been said that Ferdinand kept possession in virtue of a papal bull, deposing D'Albret for his adherence to schismatics: but the existence of such a bull is very doubtful. See Notices des MSS. du Roy, ii. 570.

"Knyvet (1)." To console himself for the loss of the Regent, Henry built a still more capacious and stately vessel, which he named the "Henry grace Dieu."

Though the king of England reaped neither glory nor advantage from these events, his efforts contributed materially to accomplish the chief object of the league. The French had opened the campaign in Italy with their accustomed impetuosity and success. They drove the papal and Spanish armies before them, forced the in-
Apr. 11. trenched camp under the walls of Ravenna, and made themselves masters of that city. But if it was a splendid, it was also a disastrous victory. Ten thousand of their men fell in the action, with the general Gaston de Foix, a young nobleman of distinguished intrepidity and talent; and La Palice, who succeeded to the command, led back the remnant of the conquerors to Milan, from which city he wrote the most urgent letters, soliciting supplies both of men and of money. But the resources of Louis were exhausted; and the necessity of equipping a fleet to preserve from insult his maritime provinces, and at the same time of collecting an army to repel the threatened irruption of the English and Spanish armies on the southern frontier, rendered him deaf to the prayers and remonstrances of La Palice. Compelled by the murderous hostility of the natives, and the rapid advance of a body of Swiss in the pay of the pontiff, the French abandoned Milan to Maximilian Sforza, the son of the late duke. On the left bank of the Ticino they turned in despair on their pursuers: but the loss of one fourth of their number taught them to precipitate their flight; and before Christmas Julius was able to boast, that he had fulfilled his promise, and "had chased the barbarians beyond the Alps (2)."

A. D. 1513. Feb. Experience had now convinced Louis that he was not equal to the task of opposing so many enemies; and the repose of winter was successfully employed in attempts to debauch the fidelity of some among the confederates. Julius, who had been the soul of the league, died in February; and the new pope, Leo X., though he did not recede from the engagements of his predecessor, gave but a feeble support to a cause which he had never cordially approved. While Julius lived, his authority had silenced the opposite claims of the emperor and the Venetians: but they now quarrelled about the partition of their late conquests, and the republic, listening to
Mar. 23. the offers of Louis, consented to unite her arms and fortune with
Apr. 1. those of France. Even Ferdinand suffered himself to be seduced by the proposal of an armistice, that he might have leisure to

(1) Polydore, 630. Wolsey's letters to Fox, apud Fiddes, Collect. p. 9. The loss of the Regent was considered of such importance, that it was concealed from the public. "My lorde, at the "reverens of God kepe thes tydyngs secret to "yowr sylf: for ther ys no lyvyng man knowyth "the same here but only the kyng and I." Ibid.

(2) Polydore, 625, 626. Guicciard. 707. Pet. Mart. P. 156. Muratori, xiv. 106. The latter observes of Julius, Risoluto, come egli sempre andava dicendo, di voler cacciare i barbari d'Italia, senza pensare se questo fosse un mestiere da sommo pastor della chiesa, p. 92.

establish his authority in the newly acquired kingdom of Navarre (1). But Henry was inexorable. He longed to wipe away the disgrace of the last year; and the feelings of the people harmonised with those of their sovereign. The clergy granted him two tenths, the laity a tenth, a fifteenth, and a capitation tax, towards the prosecution of the war (2). The future operations of the campaign were arranged by a treaty between the emperor, and the kings of England and Spain, by which each prince bound himself to declare war against Louis, and to invade within two months the kingdom of France (3). Maximilian and Henry faithfully complied with their engagements; but Ferdinand disavowed the act of his ambassador; nor were pretences wanting to so skilful a politician, in justification of that conduct, which it was now his interest to pursue. Apr. 5.

In April sir Edward Howard sailed to accomplish his vow, and fell a martyr to his favourite maxim, that temerity becomes a virtue at sea. He was blockading the harbour of Brest, when it was suggested to him to cut out a squadron of six gallies under Prejent, or Prior John, moored in the bay of Conquêt between rocks planted with cannon. Taking two gallies and four boats, he rowed up to the enemy, leaped on the deck of the largest vessel, and was followed by Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and sixteen Englishmen. Unfortunately his own galley, which had been ordered to grapple with her opponent, fell astern: the gallant sir Edward and his companions were borne overboard by a superior force; and the fleet, disconcerted by the loss of its commander, hastened back into port (4). Prejent seized the opportunity to insult the coast of Sussex: but the king ordered the lord Thomas Howard to take the place and revenge the death of his brother; and the new admiral, having chased the enemy into Brest, and captured several valuable prizes, returned, to cover with the fleet the passage of the army from Dover to Calais. Henry was now ready to reconquer the patrimony of his ancestors; and the people of France trembled at the Apr. 19. Apr. 25. May. 4.

(1) Rym. xiii. 350.

(2) This tax was fixed after the following rates (Rolls xxvi. xxvii.):

	L.	s.	d.
A duke	6	13	4
Marquess or earl	4	0	0
Wives of do.	4	0	0
Baron, baronet, and baroness	2	0	0
Other knights not lords of parliament	1	10	0
Proprietors of lands above 40*l.* yearly value	1	0	0
From 20*l.* to 40*l.*	0	10	0
10*l.* to 20*l.*	0	5	0
2*l.* to 10*l.*	0	2	0
Below 2*l.*	0	1	0
The possessors of personal property, value 800*l.*		13	4
From 400*l.* to 800*l.*	2	0	0
200*l.* to 400*l.*	1	6	8
100*l.* to 200*l.*	0	13	4
40*l.* to 100*l.*	0	6	8
20*l.* to 40*l.*	0	3	4
10*l.* to 20*l.*	0	1	8
2*l.* to 10*l.*	0	1	0
Labourers and servants with wages of 2*l.* yearly	0	1	0
From 1*l.* to 2*l.*	0	0	6
All other persons	0	0	4

From these rates it appears that the old distinction between greater and lesser barons was not yet abolished. They are called barons and baronets, and are considered equally as lords of parliament.

(3) Rym. xiii, 354—363.

(4) Herbert (p. 31), from a letter of sir Ed. Echingham.

May 15. exaggerated reports of his ambition and resources (1). Five-and-twenty thousand men sailed at different periods, in three divisions; two under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord May 30. Herbert, the last under that of the king himself; who before his June 30. departure appointed "his most dear consort queen Catherine regentrix and governor of the realm (2);" and left orders for the immediate execution of his prisoner the unfortunate earl of Suffolk. The reader will recollect that this nobleman had been attainted in the last reign, but had been rescued from the block by the prayers and importunity of the archduke Philip. His present fate was generally attributed to the advice which the young Henry had received from his father: it was more probably owing to the imprudence of Richard de la Pole, who had accepted a high command in the French army, and assumed the rival appellation of the "white rose." This at least is certain, that the ambassadors at foreign courts received instructions to justify his execution, by alleging the discovery of a traitorous correspondence between the two brothers (3).

June 22. Shrewsbury and Herbert had already formed the siege of Terouennê, while the young king loitered for weeks at Calais, spend-Aug. 4. ing his time in carousals and entertainments. At length he reached the camp, where he was joined by the emperor, at the head of four thousand horse (4). Maximilian, to flatter the vanity of his young ally, and to avoid any dispute about precedency, called himself the volunteer of the king of England, wore his badge of the red rose, put on the cross of St. George, and accepted one hundred crowns for his daily pay. Louis on the other hand determined to relieve Terouenne: he even advanced to the neighbouring city of Amiens: but his pride was humbled by the signal defeat of his army at Novara in Italy; his fears were excited by the news that three thousand German cavalry, and a numerous body of Swiss infantry in the pay of the emperor, had burst into Burgundy; and his council earnestly advised him to avoid the hazard of a battle, and to seek only to protract the siege. A small quantity of powder and provisions had been introduced by the intrepidity of Fonterailles, who, at the head of eight hundred Albanian horsemen, broke through the lines, ordered his followers to throw down their burdens at the gate, and wheeling round, reached a place of safety before the English could assemble in sufficient number to intercept his retreat. This success encouraged a second attempt on a larger scale. The French cavalry had been collected at Blangy; and, dividing into two bodies, advanced along the opposite banks of the Lis, under the dukes of Lon-Aug. 16. gueville and Alençon. Henry had the wisdom to consult the expe-

(1) Christianorum principum neminem magis verentur Galli. Pet. Mart. p. 248.
(2) Rym. xiii. 370. 372.
(3) Pet. Mart. p. 286.
(4) Articles of war were printed for the government of his host. See them in Mr. Kempe's Losely MSS. 110.

rience of his imperial volunteer, who was acquainted with the country, and had already obtained two victories on the very same spot. By his advice the army was immediately mustered; Maximilian hastened to meet the enemy with the German horse, and the English archers on horseback; and the king followed with the principal part of the infantry. To account for the result of the action would be a difficult task. The French gendarmes, formed in the Italian campaigns, had acquired the reputation of superior courage and discipline: yet on the first shock of the advanced guards they fled; the panic shot through the whole mass of the army; and ten thousand of the best cavalry in Europe were pursued almost four miles by three troops of German, and a few hundreds of English, horse. Their officers, in the attempt to rally the fugitives, were abandoned to the mercy of the enemy. La Palice and Imbrecourt, though taken, had the good fortune to make their escape: but the duke of Longueville, the marquess of Rotelin, the chevalier Bayard, Bussy d'Amboise, Clermont, and La Fayette, names distinguished in the military annals of France, were secured, and presented to Henry and Maximilian. During the action, which the French, with their characteristic humour, denominated the Battle of Spurs a sally was made from the walls, and the duke of Alençon attempted to break through the trenches: but the first was repulsed by the lord Herbert, the second by the earl of Shrewsbury; and Teligni the governor, despairing of relief, surrendered the city. It Aug. 22. had proved a formidable neighbour to the inhabitants of Aire and Aug. 27. St. Omer, who were allowed by Henry, at the solicitation of Maximilian, to raze its defences with the ground (1).

While the king was thus demolishing the chief monument of his victory, more splendid and lasting laurels had been won by his lieutenant, the earl of Surrey, in the memorable field of Flodden. The reader has noticed in a former volume that James IV. of Scotland had married Margaret, the sister of Henry. This new connexion did not, however, extinguish the hereditary partiality of the Scottish prince for the ancient alliance with France; and his jealousy of his English brother was repeatedly irritated by a succession of real or supposed injuries. 1°. James had frequently claimed, but claimed in vain, from the equity of Henry the valuable jewels, which the late king had bequeathed as a legacy to his daughter the Scottish queen. 2°. In the last reign he had complained of the murder of sir Robert Ker, the warden of the Scottish marches, and had pointed out the bastard Heron of Ford as the assassin; and yet neither Heron, nor his chief accomplices, had been brought to trial. 3°. Lastly, he demanded justice for the death of Andrew Barton. As long ago as 1476 a ship belonging to John Barton

(1) Hall, xxxii. xxxiii. Giovio, l. xi. f. 100, 101. Lutetiæ, 1558. Pet. Mart. p. 288. Du Bellay, 3—7. Paris, 1588.

had been plundered by a Portuguese squadron; and in 1506, just thirty years afterwards, James granted to Andrew, Robert, and John, the three sons of Barton, letters of reprisal, authorising them to capture the goods of Portuguese merchants, till they should have indemnified themselves to the amount of twelve thousand ducats. But the adventurers found their new profession too lucrative to be quickly abandoned: they continued to make seizures for several years; nor did they confine themselves to vessels sailing under the Portuguese flag, but captured English merchantmen, on the pretence that they carried Portuguese property. Wearied out by the clamour of the sufferers, Henry pronounced the Bartons pirates, and the lord Thomas and sir Edward Howard, with the king's permission, boarded and captured two of their vessels in the downs.

A. D. 1511. Aug. 11. In the action Andrew Barton received a wound, which proved fatal: the survivors were sent by land into Scotland. James considered the loss of Barton, the bravest and most experienced of his naval commanders, as a national calamity; he declared it a breach of the peace between the two crowns; and in the most peremptory tone demanded full and immediate satisfaction. Henry scornfully replied, that the fate of a pirate was unworthy the notice of kings, and that the dispute, if the matter admitted of dispute, might be settled by the commissioners of both nations at their next meeting on the borders (1).

While James was brooding over these causes of discontent, Henry had joined in the league against Louis; and from that moment the Scottish court became the scene of the most active negotiations, the French ambassadors claiming the aid of Scotland, the English insisting on its neutrality. The former appealed to the poverty and the chivalry of the king. Louis made him repeated and valuable presents of money; Anne, the French queen, named him her knight, and sent him a ring from her own finger. He cheer-

A. D. 1512. July 10. fully renewed the ancient alliance between Scotland and France, with an additional clause reciprocally binding each prince to aid his ally against all men whomsoever. Henry could not be ignorant that this provision was aimed against himself; but he had no reason to complain; for in the last treaty of peace, the kings of England and Scotland had reserved to themselves the power of sending military aid to any of their friends, provided that aid were confined to defensive operations.

It now became the object of the English envoys to bind James to the observance of peace during the absence of Henry. Much

A. D. 1513. diplomatic finesse was displayed by each party. To every project presented by the English the Scottish cabinet assented, but with this perplexing proviso, that in the interval no incursion should

(1) It is extraordinary that after this, in 1540, another demand for compensation to the Bartons was made on the king of Portugal, (Lesley, 336, Rome, 1578), and that the letters of reprisal were suffered to remain in force till 1563, that is 87 years after the commission of the offence. See Mr. Pinkerton, ii. 61, note.

be made beyond the French frontier. Each negotiated and armed at the same time. It had been agreed that, to redress all grievances, an extraordinary meeting of commissioners should be held on the borders during the month of June. Though in this arrangement June. both parties acted with equal insincerity, the English gave the advantage to their opponents, by demanding an adjournment to the middle of October. Their object could not be concealed. Henry was already in France; and James, having summoned his subjects to meet him on Burrow moor, despatched his fleet with a body of July 26. three thousand men to the assistance of Louis. At the same time a Scottish herald sailed to France, the bearer of a letter from James to Henry, complaining of the murder of Barton, of the detention of Scottish ships and artillery, of the protection given to the bastard Heron, and of the refusal to pay the legacy left by Henry VII. to his daughter the Scottish queen; requiring the retreat of the English army out of France, and stating that he had granted letters of marque to his subjects, and would take part with Louis his friend and ally. The herald found Henry in his camp before Terouenne, Aug. 11. and received from him an answer equally scornful and passionate. But James had already begun hostilities; he did not live to receive the report of his messenger (1).

The first signal of war was given by the lord Home, chamberlain to the king of Scotland, who on the same day on which the herald Aug. 13. left Terouenne with the reply of Henry, crossed the English borders, and plundered the defenceless inhabitants. He was intercepted in his return by sir William Bulmer, and lost, together with the booty, five hundred of his men slain on the spot, and four hundred made prisoners. For this check James consoled himself with the hope of speedy revenge; and left Burrow moor at the head, it is said, of one hundred thousand men. The numbers who crowded to his standard prove that little credit is due to those Scottish writers, who represent the enterprise as disapproved by the nation, and have invented the most marvellous tales, to make the king alone responsible for the calamity which followed. If we may believe them, James determined to make war in despite of the advice of both earthly and unearthly counsellors. His obstinacy could not be subdued by the tears or entreaties of his queen, nor by the remonstrances of the most able among his nobility and ministers, nor by the admonition of the patron saint of Scotland, who in the guise of an old man, announced to him in the church of Linlithgow the fate of the expedition, nor by the warnings of a preternatural voice which was heard in the dead of the night from the cross of Edinburgh, summoning the principal lords to appear before an infernal tribunal. Followed by one of the most numerous armies

(1) The particulars of these negotiations have been collected by the industry of Mr Pinkerton, ii. 69—91. See Calig. b. vi. f. 50. Holins. 135.

Aug. 22. that had ever been raised in Scotland, he passed the Tweed at its confluence with the Till, and turning to the north, laid siege to the strong castle of Norham. The governor deceived the expectations both of his friends and foes. By the improvident expenditure of his ammunition he was unable to protract the defence, and having
Aug. 29. repulsed three assaults, on the sixth day surrendered his trust. Wark, Etall, and Ford, border fortresses of inferior account, followed the example of Norham.

When James crossed the Tweed, the earl of Surrey lay in the castle of Pontefract. Having summoned the gentlemen of the nor-
Sept. 3. thern counties to join the royal standard at Newcastle, he hastened forward to Alnwick; from which town he despatched on Sunday Rouge Croix, the pursuivant at arms, to the king of Scotland with two messages. The one from himself offered battle to the enemy on the following Friday; the other from his son, the lord Thomas Howard, stated that, since James at the border sessions had repeatedly charged him with the murder of Barton, he was come to justify the death of that pirate, and that, as he did not expect to receive, so neither did he mean to give, quarter. To Surrey the king courteously replied, that he accepted the challenge with pleasure; to the son he did not condescend to return an answer.

Having demolished the castle of Ford (1), James led his army across the river, and encamped on the hill of Flodden, the last of
Sept. 6. the Cheviot mountains, which border on the vale of Tweed. The same day the earl mustered his forces at Bolton in Glendale. They amounted to twenty-six thousand men, chiefly the tenants of the gentlemen in the northern counties, and the men of the borders,
Sept. 7. accustomed to Scottish warfare. From Bolton he advanced to Wooler haugh, within five miles of the enemy; whence he viewed with surprise the strength of their position, accessible only in one quarter, and that fortified with batteries of cannon. Rouge Croix was again despatched to James, with a message, requiring him to descend into the large plain of Milfield between the two armies, and to engage his adversary on equal terms. The king laconically replied, that he should wait for the English according to their promise till Friday at noon (2).

(1) It is probable that James demolished Ford to revenge the death of his favourite, sir Robert Ker: not that William Heron, the owner of the castle, had been the assassin; for he was at that moment a prisoner in Scotland (Hall. xxxix.): but that the murder had been committed by his bastard brother, John Heron, who, though pronounced an outlaw by Henry, was permitted to go at large, and actually fought, and was wounded in the battle which followed (Hall. xlii. Giovio, 103). Elizabeth, the wife of William Heron, in the absence of her husband, petitioned the king to spare the castle, and had obtained, on that condition, from Surrey the liberty of the lord Johnstone, and of Alexander Home. (See the earl's message, Hall, xxxix.) But James refused the exchange, and rejected the petition of the lady. I suspect that this is the only foundation of the tale which is sometimes told, that James was captivated by the charms of Mrs Ford, who revealed his secrets to Surrey, and that he spent in dalliance with her that time, which ought to have been employed in penetrating into England. But it should be recollected that the whole time allotted for the capture of Ford, Etall and Wark, is comprised within a short space, between the 29th of August, when Norham surrendered, and the 3rd of September, when Surrey reached Alnwick. The King therefore appears to have lost but little of his time.

(2) Ellis, i. 86.

Surrey was disconcerted by this answer. To decline the battle was to break his word; to fight the Scots in their present position was to invite defeat. He was rescued from the dilemma by the bold counsel of his son, who advised him to march towards Scotland, and then return, and assail the enemy on the rear. The next morning the army formed in two grand divisions, each of which Sept. 8. was subdivided into a battle and two wings. The first, distinguished by the name of the vanguard, obeyed the lord-admiral; the second, called the rearguard, was led by the earl himself. In this manner the English crossed the Till, and keeping out of the reach of the cannon, advanced along the right bank till the evening. At sunrise Sept. 9. the following day they again crossed the river by the bridge of Twissel, and returning by the left bank approached the Scottish camp. James now discovered the object of this movement, which at first had appeared unaccountable. He ordered his men to set fire to their huts, and hastened to take possession of an eminence more to the north, called the hill of Brankston. The smoke, which rose from the flames, was rolled by the wind into the valley, and entirely intercepted the view of the two armies, and their respective movements; so that when it cleared up, the admiral found himself at the foot of the hill, and beheld the enemy on its summit at the distance of a quarter of a mile, disposed in five large masses, some of which had taken the form of squares, and others that of wedges. Alarmed at their appearance and numbers, he halted his division: it was soon joined on its left by the rearguard under his father; and both advanced in one line. At the same time the Scots began to descend the hill, in perfect order and profound silence (1).

As the battle, from the disposition of the Scottish forces, consisted of several distinct actions, it will be most convenient for the reader to travel along the English line, and notice the result of each conflict in succession. The right wing of the vanguard under sir Edmund Howard, could not support the overwhelming charge of a large body of spearmen, commanded by the lord Home. The English were broken, and their commander was unhorsed; but while he lay on the ground expecting to be taken or slain, the battle was unexpectedly restored by the timely arrival of the bastard Heron, with a numerous band of outlaws. The fugitives rallied at his call; and a doubtful contest was fiercely maintained, till the lord Dacre, with the reserve of fifteen hundred horse, charged the spearmen, and put them to a precipitate flight. The next was the lord admiral with the major part of the vanguard, opposed to the earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, who commanded a dense mass of seven thousand Scots. In this part of the field the contest was obstinate and bloody. At length Errol and Crawford perished;

(1) En bon ordre, en la manière que marchent les Allemands, sans parler ne faire aucun bruit. Official account apud Pink. ii. App. 456.

and their followers, discouraged by the death of the leaders, began to waver, fell into confusion, and shortly afterwards fled in every direction. Surrey with the rearguard was attacked by the king himself. James fought on foot, surrounded by some thousands of chosen warriors, who were cased in armour, and on that account less exposed to the destructive aim of the English archers. Animated by the presence and the example of their monarch, they advanced steadily, and fought with a resolution which, if it did not win, at least deserved, the victory. Though Surrey made every effort, he could not arrest their progress; they had penetrated within a few yards of the royal standard; and James, ignorant of the result in other parts of the field, flattered himself with the prospect of victory. But in the mean while sir Edward Stanley, who commanded the left wing, had defeated the earls of Argyle and Lennox. The ranks of the Scots, as they descended the hill, were disordered by the murderous discharges of the archers; the moment they came into close combat, the confusion was completed by a sudden charge in flank from three companies of men-at-arms. They began to retreat: Stanley chased them over the summit of the hill; and, wheeling to the right, led his followers against the rear of the mass commanded by James in person. In a few minutes that gallant monarch was slain by an unknown hand, and fell about a spear's length from the feet of Surrey. The battle had begun between four and five in the afternoon, and was decided in something more than an hour. The pursuit continued about four miles: but the approach of night, and the want of cavalry on the part of the victors, favoured the escape of the fugitives. In the official account published by the lord admiral, the Scots are said to have amounted to eighty thousand men; a multitude from which we may fairly deduct perhaps one half, as mere followers of the camp, collected more for the purpose of plunder than battle. Ten thousand were slain: among whom were the king of Scots, his illegitimate son, the archbishop of St. Andrew's, two other bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, five eldest sons of barons, and fifty gentlemen of distinction (1). Six thousand horses were taken, with the park of artillery, amounting to seventeen pieces (2). Lord Dacre recognised among the slain the body of the Scottish king, and conveyed it to Berwick; whence it was afterwards carried to London, that it might be interred with suitable honours (3).

(1) We have four contemporary and detailed accounts of this battle. One by Hall, xlii., another equally minute but much more elegant in the Italian historian Giovio, l. xxi. f. 102; a third by the lord Thomas Howard, which is preserved in the herald's office, and has been published by Mr. Pinkerton, ii. App. 456; and a fourth printed by Mr. Galt, in the appendix to his life of Wolsey, p. 1. See also a letter from the queen on this victory, in Hearne's Tit. Liv. p. 106.

(2) Lesquelles, says the lord admiral, sont les plus cleres, et les plus nectes, et les mieux façonnées, et avec les moyndres pertuis à la touche, et les plus belles de leur grandeur et longuer, que j'ai viz oneques. Ibid. 458.

(3) The common people would not believe that

When the news of this important victory reached the king of England, he was no longer at Terouenne. Having demolished that city at the request of the emperor, by the advice of the same prince he now invested Tournay. Tournay contained a population of eighty thousand souls, and though situate within the territory of another power, had long been distinguished by its attachment to the French crown. To the summons sent by Henry the inhabitants returned a bold and chivalrous defiance: but their resolution evaporated amid the fatigues and dangers of a siege; and on the eighth day they submitted to receive an English garrison, to swear fealty to the king, and to pay, towards the expenses of the war fifty thousand livres tournois in one sum, and forty thousand more by instalments, in the course of ten years (1). The campaign ended with the fall of Tournay; and Henry, indulging his taste for ostentation and pleasure, spent several days in the company of his queen's nephew, Charles prince of Spain, and of the aunt of Charles, the archduchess Margaret. But while the principals seemed intent on nothing but parties of pleasure, their ministers were busily employed in framing a new treaty, by which it was stipulated that Maximilian, in consideration of a subsidy of two hundred thousand crowns, should guard the frontiers with an army of ten thousand men during the next half year; that both powers should be ready to renew the war by the first of June; and that Charles, before the expiration of seven months, should marry Henry's sister Mary at Calais, in the presence of the emperor, the king, and the archduchess (2).

Sept. 22. Sept. 29. Oct. 11. Oct. 15.

From Flanders the king returned to England, proud of the unimportant conquests which he had made, and eager to pursue his good fortune in the following campaign. The winter was spent in the necessary preparations. Troops were levied, and trained to military discipline; an aid of one hundred and sixty thousand pounds was voted by parliament; and rewards and honours were deservedly bestowed on the officers, who had distinguished themselves during the last year. The earl of Surrey recovered the title of his father, and was created duke of Norfolk; his son the lord Thomas, earl of Surrey; Brandon viscount Lisle, duke of Suffolk; lord Herbert, earl of Somerset; and sir Edward Stanley, lord Mounteagle. But at the same time Louis, humbled by a long series of disasters, had recourse to every artifice to obtain a general pacification. He appealed to the individual interests of the confederates, infused into them suspicions of each other's sincerity, and successively detached

Oct. 21. A. D. 1514. Jan. 24. Feb. 1.

their king had been slain by the English. When, however, he did not appear, some said that he had been murdered by traitors, others that he was gone a pilgrim to Jerusalem. Henry, on the contrary, to blazon his death, obtained from pope Leo permission to bury the body in consecrated ground; because he died under the sentence of excommunication, to which he had subjected himself if he broke the treaty (Rym. xiii. 385). Stow (495) tells us, that he saw it wrapped in lead, and lying in a lumber-room at Shene, after the dissolution of that monastery.

(1) Herbert, 40, 41. Rym. xiii. 377. Du Bellay, 8.

(2) Hall, xiv. Rym. 379—381.

them, one by one, from the league. 1°. In Leo X. he found a pontiff of corresponding disposition; and the moment he consented to abandon the Bentivogli and his other partisans in Italy, and dispersed the schismatical council, which had been transferred from Pisa to Lyons, the pope by circular letters exhorted the confederates to sheathe the sword, and revoked all the censures which had been published against the king or kingdom of France. 2°. In the estimation of Ferdinand the permanent possession of Navarre was paramount to every other object; and, though he refused to make peace without the concurrence of the king of England, he cheerfully consented to a prolongation of the armistice for twelve months (1). Henry viewed the defection of the pope and of Ferdinand with pain, but without surprise. Of the fidelity of Maximilian after the late treaty he entertained no doubt. 3°. Yet the virtue of Maximilian could not refuse the bait, which French policy held out to his ambition, in the proposal of a marriage between his grandson Charles, and Renée the daughter of Louis, with a transfer of the claim of the French crown to the duchy of Milan, as the portion of the princess.

The moment it was ascertained that the emperor had accepted the offer, the intelligence was artfully communicated to the king of England, through the duke of Longueville, a prisoner of war. Henry at first affect to doubt: but the perfidy of his ally was proved by the evasive answer returned by the council of regency in Flanders, when the king summoned them to celebrate the stipulated marriage between Charles and Mary. From that moment he lent a more willing ear to the suggestions of Longueville; and Louis, encouraged by his success, sought not only the restoration of peace, but a matrimonial connexion between the two crowns. The death of his queen, Anne of Bretagne, had made him a widower; and he offered his hand to the princess Mary, the destined consort, a little while before, of Charles. Mary was but sixteen, Louis fifty-three years of age: and she had already fixed her affections on the duke of Suffolk, the most accomplished nobleman in the English court: yet, whether it was the splendour of a crown that dazzled, or the command of her brother that compelled her, after a short struggle she signified her assent. The king, however, dissembled: his honour, he observed, was at stake; nor would his people allow him to renounce his inheritance in France without an equivalent (2).

Aug. 7. The French cabinet understood the hint, and cheerfully signified its acquiescence. Three treaties were concluded at the same time. The first was a treaty of alliance between the two kings, to continue in force during the term of their joint lives and one year

(1) Peter Martyr says that he began to grow jealous of the power of Henry, p. 294, 295.— Le Grand adds, that Henry in consequence behaved so ill to Catherine, that she miscarried, i. 39.

(2) Henry's letter to Wolsey, apud Rym. xiii. 403.

longer. It bound each to furnish an auxiliary army at the requisition of the other: but distinguished between offensive and defensive war, limiting the aid in the first case to five thousand men by land, and two thousand five hundred by sea, and extending it in the other to double that number. The second treaty provided for the marriage of Louis with the princess Mary. Henry agreed to defray the expense of his sister's journey, to furnish her with jewels, and to pay with her a dower of two hundred thousand crowns; and Louis engaged to secure to her the same jointure, which had been granted to his late queen the heiress of Bretagne, with a promise that, if she survived him, she should be at liberty to reside, at her own option, either in England or France. By the third the same monarch, in consideration of arrears due to the English crown, on account of monies formerly owing to Henry VII. from Charles VIII., and to Margaret duchess of Somerset, from Charles duke of Orleans, bound himself and his successors to pay to Henry and his heirs one million of crowns by thirty-eight half-yearly instalments (1).

Mary had already by a public instrument renounced the contract made with Charles of Spain in her nonage (2): she was now solemnly married to Louis at Greenwich, where the duke of Longueville personated his sovereign, and soon afterwards at Paris, where the earl of Worcester appeared as her proxy (3). When the necessary preparations were completed, the duke of Norfolk conducted her to Louis at Abbeville; and the parties in person renewed the matrimonial contract in the cathedral. But the next day, to the surprise and disappointment of the new queen, the lady Guilford, whom she called her mother, and her English attendants, with the exception of Anne Boleyn and two others, were ordered to return home. It was in vain that Mary complained of the unfeeling conduct of her husband, and of the timid acquiescence of the duke. When the earl of Worcester remonstrated, Louis replied that his wife was of age to take care of herself, and wanted not a governess: and Mary in a short time declared that she was perfectly satisfied with her situation, and the conduct of her French servants (4). Louis conducted her to St. Denis, where she was crowned; and to Paris where she was received with processions and rejoicings. Though the king had married through policy, he doted on the beauty of his youthful bride. But his constitution had been enfeebled by hardships and indulgence; his physicians long before his marriage had warned him of his danger; and within three months the amorous monarch sunk into the grave (5). The widow,

July 30. Aug. 13. Sept. 14. Oct. 9. Nov. 5. Nov. 6.

(1) Rym. xiii. 413—422, 423—426. 428—432.
(2) Ibid. 409—411.
(3) Ibid. 432—435. 444—446.
(4) See the letters in Ellis, i. 116, and 2. Ser. i. 244-7. As a recompense to the lady Guilford, Henry granted her an annuity of 20*l.* for life. Rym. xiii. 470.
(5) Le bon roi, a cause de sa femme, avoit changé de tout sa manière de vivre: car ou il souloit diner à huit heures, il convenoit qu'il

A. D. 1515 Jan. 1. Mar. 31. instead of mourning her loss, sought and obtained a second husband, her former lover, the duke of Suffolk, whom Henry had sent to France, to offer his condolence, and to bring back his sister to her native country.

As Louis died without male issue, Francis, count of Angouleme, Feb. 3. the next heir, had ascended the throne. At the first audience which he gave to the ambassador, he told Suffolk in private that he was no stranger to the queen's sentiments in his favour; advised him to marry her at Paris; and undertook that his presumption should go unpunished. It is not difficult to discover why Francis should wish Mary to be married immediately, and to a subject. She might perhaps bear a child to dispute his right to the succession; or she might give her hand hereafter to the archduke Charles, and thus add to the power of a prince, who already threatened to become a most formidable rival (1). Suffolk wrote to Wolsey, and sought through that favourite to sound the real disposition, or secure the consent of his sovereign: Mary informed her brother in plain terms, that she had married once to please him, and would either marry now to please herself, or take the religious vows in a convent. With the king's answer we are not acquainted: but she fixed a Mar. 31. short term, within which Suffolk was assured that he must either take her, or abandon her for ever: on the last day he consented, and privately celebrated the marriage; and the event was communicated to Henry by Francis, who pleaded warmly in favour of the lovers, and by Mary, who, to exonerate her husband, took the whole blame upon herself. To obtain their pardon was not in reality a difficult task. It is certain that Wolsey, and therefore probable that Henry, was in the secret from the beginning (2): but it had been deemed less reprehensible in the king to forgive afterwards, than to consent beforehand. For some time he kept the Apr. 16. lovers in suspense: after a decent interval, affecting to acquiesce May 16. through necessity in that which he could not prevent, he sealed their pardon, and ordered them to be publicly married before him Apr. 5. at Greenwich (3). In the mean while Francis had renewed all the engagements of his predecessor to the satisfaction of the English cabinet; and both kings publicly boasted that they had concluded a peace and alliance which would endure for ever: as if, amid the clashing interests of states, and the vicissitude of unforeseen events,

dinât à midi; et ou il souloit se coucher a six heures du soir, souvent se couchoit à minuit. Hist. de Bayard apud Henault, 423.

(1) Peter Martyr gives this reason. Ne si ad potentiorem aliquando principem devineret, forinidolosum aliquid pariat, p. 301. It was known in Rome by the middle of February that both Maximilian and Ferdinand had determined to make every sacrifice to procure her for the archduke. Cesare, et il Catolico faranno ogni cosa, perche sia moglie dell' archiduca. Cosi viene scritto da i nuntii nostri d'Alemagna et di Spagna. Lett. de' Principi, i. 14. See also Polydore, 615.

(2) This was also reported in Rome on good authority, but was thought incredible. C' è di Francia, che Inghilterra ha qualche fantasia di dar la sua vedova sorella al duca di Suffolk, e che elia non ne è aliena. Tal cosa non si crede molto, e pur l'aviso vien da loco assai autentico. Lett. de' Principi, i. 14.

(3) On this singular subject, see extracts from the original letters in Fiddes, 83—85. 88. Ellis, 119—125. Galt, App. xii—xiv.

it were possible to ensure duration to the amities of neighbouring and powerful sovereigns. In the course of a few pages, the reader will learn how egregiously they deluded themselves.

When Henry ascended the throne, the leading ministers in the cabinet were Howard, earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, and Fox, bishop of Winchester, lord privy seal. But among the inferior dependants of the court had already appeared one, whose aspiring views and superior talents rapidly enabled him to supplant every competitor.

Thomas Wolsey, a native of Ipswich (1), and a clergyman, had, by the interest of sir John Nanfan, been appointed in the last reign one of the royal chaplains. After the death of his patron, he attached himself to the service of the bishop of Winchester, at whose recommendation he was intrusted with a secret and delicate negotiation at the imperial court; and the expedition and address with which he executed his commission, not only justified the discernment of his friend, but also raised him in the estimation of his sovereign. Before the death of Henry VII. he had been collated to the deanery of Lincoln, one of the most considerable preferments in the English church: soon after the commencement of the present reign, we find him exercising the office of almoner to the king, and thus possessing every facility of access to the presence of the young monarch. Henry was captivated with the elegance of his manners, and the gaiety of his disposition: he frequently resorted with his favourite companions to the house of his almoner; and Wolsey, on these occasions, if we may believe the sarcastic pen of an adversary (2), threw off the decencies of his station, and sang, and danced, and caroused, with all the levity and impetuosity of the most youthful among his guests. It was soon discovered that the most sure and expeditious way to the royal favour was through the recommendation of the almoner; and foreigners as well as natives eagerly solicited, and frequently purchased, his patronage. Still he behaved with becoming humility to his former protector, the aged bishop of Winchester; and even united with that prelate in condemning the prodigality, with which the lord treasurer supplied money for the expensive pleasures and thoughtless extravagance of the king (3).

A. D. 1506.

A. D. 1508. Feb. 2.

During the war Wolsey accompanied Henry to France; was charged with the care of the department for victualling the army, and after the reduction of Tournay, on the refusal of the bishop elect to swear fealty, received from the king, with the consent of the pope, the administration of that diocese (4). Preferments now

(1) There is a tradition that he was the son of a butcher: but it is hardly reconcilable with the will of his father, whose bequests show him to have been a burgess of considerable opulence, possessed of lands and tenements in Ipswich, and free and bond lands in Stoke. Singer's Cavendish, 502. Fiddes, Collect. 1.

(2) Polydore Virgil (663), the pope's subcollector in England, who by the order of Wolsey had been imprisoned for more than six months. Rym. xiii. 515, 516.

(3) See Fiddes, Collect. p. 7.

(4) Ibid. p. 43. Rym. xiii. 584.

A. D. 1514. Mar. 4. Aug. 5. poured in upon him. He was made dean of York, then bishop of Lincoln; and, on the death of cardinal Bambridge, succeeded that prelate in the archiepiscopal see of York. His preponderating influence in the council induced foreign princes to flatter him with compliments, and to seek his friendship with presents; and during fifteen years he governed the kingdom with more absolute sway than had fallen to the lot of any former minister. We are not, however, obliged to believe the tale so often repeated, that he owed his elevation to the address with which he insinuated himself into the royal favour, by promising to take all the labour on himself, that his master might have more leisure to indulge in pleasure and dissipation. The multitude of letters still extant, all written by Henry or to Henry, demonstratively show, that the king himself devoted a considerable portion of his time and attention to the cares of government (1). But Wolsey possessed the art of guiding his sovereign, while he appeared to be guided by him; and, if ever he urged a measure of policy contrary to the royal inclinations, he had the prudence to desist before he had given offence, and entered into the opposite views of the king with as much industry and zeal, as if the new project had originated from himself (2).

It seemed necessary to introduce this short account of the rise and character of a minister, who was destined to bear for several years a very prominent part in the most important transactions not only in this but in all the neighbouring kingdoms: we may now revert to the affairs of Scotland, which after the death of its king and the destruction of its nobility in the field of Flodden, presented for some time a melancholy scene of confusion and terror. Fortunately the victorious army had been hastily collected: the want of provisions and of military supplies, compelled Surrey to disband his forces; and though Henry, by repeated messages, urged the wardens of the marches to prosecute the war, their efforts were confined to short though destructive incursions. By degrees the Scottish spirit recovered from its depression; the call for revenge was echoed throughout the nation; several chieftains gathered their retainers; and the devastation of one inroad was repaid by the devastation of another. The queen had been permitted, in conformity with the will of her husband, to assume the regency as guardian to her son James V., an infant not a year and a half old: but when it was discovered that her relationship to the king of England did not restrain the hostility of that monarch, the partisans of France pro-

(1) See Rym. xiii. 404. Fiddes, Collect. p. 15, and the collection of letters in the Cotton library, Cal. B. i.—viii.

(2) We are also told, on the authority of Polydore (p. 646), that bishop Fox, unable to brook the ascendency of Surrey, recommended Wolsey to the king, and left the court. This is probably a fiction, as the bishop retained his office, and negotiated treaties till the year 1516. Rym. xiii. 553. No more credit is due to the tale, that the arrogance of Wolsey drove the same peer, when he was duke of Norfolk, from the cabinet. That nobleman retained his office of treasurer till a short time before his death, and then resigned it to his son, the earl of Surrey, in 1522. Rym. xiii. 777.

posed to intrust the reins of government to the hands of John, duke of Albany, the son of that Alexander who had been banished by his brother James III. Six months had not elapsed from the death of her husband, when Margaret was safely delivered of a second son, Alexander, duke of Ross: but in less than three months afterwards, Apr. 30. she displeased both the nation and her brother, by marrying the young earl of Angus, a nobleman who might indeed boast of a handsome person, but who possessed neither knowledge nor experience, and united with an insatiate ambition the most headstrong passions. This hasty and unequal union deprived her of her most powerful adherents; and a national deputation invited the duke of Albany to assume the government of the kingdom. That prince was a foreigner, as well by affection as birth: the whole of his property lay in the kingdom of France; and he stood high in the confidence of the French monarch. His appointment naturally alarmed the king of England, whose interest it was to sever, if it were possible, the ancient connexion between Scotland and France. With this view he exacted both from Louis, who was at the time employed in soliciting the treaty of alliance, and afterwards from his successor, when he renewed it, a solemn promise that Albany should never be permitted to leave the shores of France. Each of these monarchs complied; and yet the Scots had no sooner accepted the article by which they were comprehended in the treaty, than Albany appeared among them, took on himself the supreme authority, and openly A. D. avowed his determined hostility to the queen and her partisans. 1515. May 18. Henry had already tampered with that princess to bring her children to England, and intrust them to the care of their uncle: but Albany besieged the castle of Stirling, compelled the queen to surrender the two princes, and placed them under the custody of three lords appointed by parliament (1).

These events had already taught the king of England to view with jealousy the conduct of his "good brother and perpetual ally," the French monarch. Orders were sent to the English ambassador to complain that the commerce of the king's subjects was interrupted by the French mariners, under colour of letters of marque issued by the late king of Scots; that Albany had been permitted to leave France, and assume the government of Scotland in violation of the royal promise; and that in consequence of his arrival, the queen, the sister of Henry, had been deprived of her right to the regency of the kingdom, and the guardianship of her children (2). Francis, whose youth and accomplishments made him the idol of his people, had already formed the most gigantic projects of conquest and aggrandisement, from which he did not suffer himself to be

(1) These events are very incorrectly given in most of our historians. The industry of Mr. Pinkerton has collected them from the original letters. See his history, vol. ii. book xii.

(2) Fiddes, 91, 92.

diverted by the remonstrances of Henry. Having endeavoured to pacify that monarch by apologies, denials, and promises, he put in motion the numerous army which he had collected with the avowed purpose of chastising the hostility of the Helvetic cantons: but, instead of following the direct road either into Switzerland or Italy, he passed unexpectedly between the maritime and Cottian Alps, and poured his cavalry into the extensive plains of Lombardy. His real object was now manifest. The Italian princes, whose jealousy had guarded to no purpose the accustomed roads over the
Sept. 7. Alps, were filled with consternation; in a consistory at Rome, it was proposed to solicit the aid of Henry; and a few days later Leo,
Sept. 11. to secure the mediation of Wolsey, named that minister cardinal priest of St. Cicely beyond the Tiber (1).

Francis, who still affected to be thought the friend of the English monarch, received the first intelligence of this promotion; and though he was aware of its object, despatched a messenger to offer
Sept. 13. his congratulations to Wolsey. But neither that prelate nor his sovereign could view with satisfaction the progress of the young conqueror; who, by the bloody but decisive victory of Marignano, and the subsequent reduction of Milan, had repaired the losses of his predecessor, and restored the ascendency of the French power in Italy. Was the former league to be renewed, or was Francis to be permitted to pursue his conquests? After much deliberation in the English cabinet, it was resolved to follow a middle course between peace and war; to avoid actual hostilities with France, but to animate its enemies with hopes, and to aid them with subsidies. Some money was advanced, more was promised both to the emperor and the cantons of Switzerland; an army of fifteen thousand Germans, and of an equal number of Swiss, was collected; and the emperor Maximilian at its head forced his way to the very gates of Milan. But here his resources failed; and a mutiny of his troops, who demanded their pay, compelled him to retrace his steps to the city of Trent. There he sent for Wyngfield the English agent, and
A. D. 1516. May 17. made to him the following most singular proposal. It was evident, he said, that the other powers would never permit either himself or Francis to retain permanent possession of Milan. Would then the king of England accept the investiture of the duchy? In that case he was ready to adopt Henry for his son, and to resign in his favour the imperial dignity; but on these conditions, that the king should declare war against France, should cross the sea with an army, and should march by Tournay to the city of Treves, where Maximilian would meet him, and make the resignation with all the formalities required by law. Thence the two princes, leaving the bulk of the English forces to invade France in conjunction with

(1) Raynald, xx. 192.

an army of Germans, might proceed together towards Italy, pass the Alps at Coire, take possession of Milan, and continue their journey to Rome, where Henry should receive the imperial crown from the hands of the sovereign pontiff (1).

There was much in this dazzling and romantic scheme to captivate the youthful imagination of the king, but he had the good sense to listen to the advice of his council, contented himself with accepting the offer of adoption, and directed his attention to a matter which more nearly concerned his own interests, the conduct of the duke of Albany in Scotland. Against the regency of that prince he had remonstrated in strong and threatening terms. The Scottish parliament returned a firm, though respectful answer (2) : but Francis, who still dreaded the hostility of the king of England, advised the Scots to conclude a perpetual peace with Henry, refused to ratify the renewal of the ancient alliance between the two kingdoms, though it had been signed by his envoy at Edinburgh, and even required the regent, in quality of his subject, to return to France. Albany, whether he disliked the task of governing a turbulent people, of whose very language he was ignorant, or was intimidated by the threats of Henry, and the displeasure of his own sovereign, willingly obeyed the command; and, under the pretence of some urgent business, obtained permission from the Scottish parliament to revisit his family and estates. But before his departure provision was made for the return of Margaret, who had sought an asylum in England; and a temporary council was appointed, in which the numbers of the two parties were nearly balanced, and under the nominal government of which Scotland passed four years of dissension and anarchy (3).

July 4.

Nov. 8.

Francis having won the duchy of Milan, determined to secure his conquest by disarming the hostility of his neighbours. With large sums of money he purchased the consent of the Helvetic states to a perpetual peace : Charles of Austria, who had succeeded Ferdinand on the throne of Spain, was persuaded to accept the hand of the princess Louisa, an infant of one year, with the rights of the house of Anjou to the crown of Naples as her dower; and Maximilian himself, by the lure of pecuniary advantages, was induced to accede to the treaty between France and Spain (4). But, though Francis was now at peace will all the powers of Europe, he felt alarmed at the unfriendly conduct of the king of England, who had not only aided his enemies with money, but had lately concluded a secret treaty against him with Maximilian and Charles (5). It chanced that at this period, Selim, emperor of the Turks, having conquered Egypt and Syria, had collected a numerous army, and

A. D. 1516. Aug. 13.

Dec. 4.

Oct. 29.

(1) Fiddes, p. 114.
(2) Rym. xiii. 550.
(3) Pinkerton, ii. 157—166.
(4) Dumont, iv. par. i. 199. 256.
(5) Rym. xiii. 556—566.

publicly threatened the extirpation of the christian name. The princes on the borders of Turkey trembled for their existence; A. D. 1517. Maximilian, in a letter to the pontiff, offered to devote his remaining years to the common service of christendom, in opposing the enemies of the cross; and Leo, having by his own authority proclaimed a general truce of five years, despatched legates to the different A. D. 1518. May 7. powers, exhorting them to compose their private quarrels, and to Oct. 2. unite their forces in their common defence. His advice was followed; the pope, the emperor, and the kings of England, France, and Spain, entered into a confederacy, by which they were bound to aid and protect each other, and in every case of invasion of territory, whether the invader were one of the confederates or not, to unite their arms in defence of the party aggrieved, and to obtain justice for him from the aggressor (1). At the same time, to cement the union between England and France, the dauphin, an infant just Oct. 4. born, was affianced to Mary, the daughter of Henry a child not four years old: and that every probable occasion of dispute might be done away, Tournay with its dependencies was restored to France for the sum of six hundred thousand crowns (2). Thus after ten years of war and negotiation, of bloodshed and perfidy, were all the powers re-established in the same situation, in which they had stood previously to the league of Cambray, with the exception of the unfortunate, and perhaps unoffending king of Navarre, whose territories on the south of the Pyrenees could not be recovered from the unrelenting grasp of Spain.

Wolsey still retained the first place in the royal favour, and continued to rise in power and opulence. Archbishop Warham had often solicited permission to retire from the chancery to the exercise of his episcopal functions; and the king, having at last accepted his resignation, tendered the seals to the cardinal. Whether it was through an affectation of modesty, or that he thought this office incompatible with his other duties, Wolsey declined the offer: nor was A. D. 1515. Dec. 22. it till after repeated solicitations that he acquiesced in the wish of his sovereign (3). He had, however, no objection to the dignity of papal legate, with which he was invested by Leo X. The commis- A. D. 1518. July 27. sion was originally limited to two years: but Wolsey procured successive prorogations from different popes, and, not content with the

(1) A similar treaty had been concluded the year before by the emperor, and the kings of England and Spain. See Chron.: catalogue of materials for the Fœdera, p. 125.

(2) Rym. xiii. 578. 603. 606. 610—700. As the parties were children, the king and queen of France made the contract in the name of their son, and the king and queen of England, by their proxy, the earl of Somerset, in the name of their daughter.

(3) Rym. xiii. 530. Some writers have ascribed the resignation of Warham to compulsion, arising from the desire of Wolsey to occupy his place. It will be difficult to reconcile this supposition with the contemporary testimony of sir Thomas More and Ammonius. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis officio cancellarii, cujus onus jam aliquot, ut scis, annos mirum quam laborabat excutere, tandem exsolutus est. Ep. Mori Erasmo ann. 1516. Apud Erasm. tom. iii. p. 234. Tuus Cantuariensis cum bona regis venia magistratu se abdicavit: quem Eboracensis impendio rogatus suscepit. Ammon. Erasmo. Feb. 17, ann. 1517, p. 221. More, in his letter to Warham himself, notices the same—Magistratum deponere (quod tua paternitas magno labore impetravit ut liceret facere), etc. Apud Stapleton, Vit. Mori, p. 236.

ordinary jurisdiction of the office, repeatedly solicited additional powers, till at length he possessed and exercised within the realm almost all the prerogatives of the sovereign pontiff (1). Nor was his ambition yet satisfied. We shall afterwards behold him, at the death of each pope, labouring, but in vain, to seat himself in the chair of St. Peter.

His love of wealth was subordinate only to his love of power. As chancellor and legate he derived considerable emoluments from the courts in which he presided. He was also archbishop of York; A. D. 1514. he farmed the revenues of Hereford and Worcester, sees which had been granted to foreigners; he held in commendam the abbey A. D. 1518. of St. Alban's, with the bishopric of Bath; and afterwards as they A. D. 1523. became vacant, he exchanged Bath for the rich bishopric of Durham, A. D. 1528. and Durham for the administration of the still richer church of Winchester (2). To these sources of wealth should be added the presents and pensions which he received from foreign princes. Francis settled on him an annuity of twelve thousand livres, as A. D. 1518. a compensation for the bishopric of Tournay, and Charles and July 21. Leo granted him a yearly pension of seven thousand five hundred A. D. 1520. ducats from the revenues of the bishoprics of Toledo and Pa- Mar. 29. lencia in Spain (3). In justice to his memory it should, however, be observed, that if he grasped at wealth, it was to spend, not to hoard it. His establishment was on the most princely scale, comprising no fewer than five, perhaps eight, hundred individuals. The chief offices were filled by barons and knights; and among his retainers he numbered the sons of many distinguished families, who aspired under his patronage to civil or military preferment. On occasions of ceremony he appeared with a pomp which, though it might be unbecoming in a clergyman, showed him to be the representative of the king of England, and of the sovereign pontiff. The ensigns of his several dignities, as chancellor and legate, were borne before him: he was surrounded by noblemen and prelates; and was followed by a long train of mules bearing coffers on their backs covered with pieces of crimson cloth. He spared no expense in his buildings; and, as soon as he had finished the palace of Hampton court, and furnished it to his taste, he gave the whole to Henry; perhaps the most magnificent present that a subject ever made to his sovereign. The character of Wolsey has been portrayed by the pencil of Erasmus, who had tasted of his bounty (4), and by that of Polydore, whom his justice or policy had thrown into confinement. Neglecting the venal praise of the one, and the venomous slander of the other, we may pro-

(1) Rym. xiii. 734. xiv. 18.
(2) Rym. xiii. 620. 763. 783. xiv. 268.
(3) Ibid. xiii. 610. 713.
(4) Erasmus praises him highly in some of his epistles (see p. 262. 269; also 321. 414. 463), and yet had the meanness to dispraise him as soon as he heard of his fall. Metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur a paucis, ne dicam a nemine. Ann. 1530. p. 1347.

nounce him a minister of consummate address and commanding abilities; greedy of wealth, and power, and glory; anxious to exalt the throne on which his own greatness was built, and the church of which he was so distinguished a member; but capable, in the pursuit of these different objects, of stooping to expedients, which sincerity and justice would disavow, and of adopting, through indulgence to the caprice and passions of the king, measures, which often involved him in contradictions and difficulties, and ultimately occasioned his ruin. As legate, he is said to have exercised without delicacy his new superiority over the archbishop of Canterbury, and to have drawn to his court the cognisance of causes which belonged to that primate: but the question of right between them admitted of much dispute, and it is acknowledged on the other hand, that he reformed many abuses in the church, and compelled the secular and regular clergy to live according to the canons. His office of chancellor afforded him the opportunity of displaying the versatility and superiority of his talents. He was not, indeed, acquainted with the subtleties and minutiæ of legal proceedings, and on that account was careful to avail himself of the knowledge and experience of others; but he always decided according to the dictates of his own judgment; and the equity of his decrees was universally admitted and applauded (1). To appease domestic quarrels, and reconcile families at variance with each other, he was accustomed to offer himself as a friendly arbitrator between the parties; that the poor might pursue their claims with facility and without expense, he established courts of requests; in the ordinary administration of justice he introduced improvements which were received with gratitude by the country (2); and he made it his peculiar care to punish with severity those offenders, who had defrauded the revenue, or oppressed the people. But his reputation, and the ease with which he admitted suits, crowded the chancery with petitioners; he soon found himself overwhelmed with a multiplicity of business; and the king, to relieve him, established four subordinate courts, of which that under the presidency of the master of the rolls is still preserved.

Literature found in the cardinal a constant and bountiful patron. On native scholars he heaped preferment, and the most eminent foreigners were invited by him to teach in the universities. Both of these celebrated academies were the objects of his care: but Oxford chiefly experienced his munificence in the endowment of

(1) Priaceps Cantuariensi suffecit Eboracensem, qui ita se gerit ut spem quoque omnium, quanquam pro reliquis ejus virtutibus maximam, longe tamen exsuperet; et, quod est difficillimum, post optimum prædecessorem valde probetur et placeat. Morus Erasmo, p. 234. Quem Magistratum Eboracensis pulcherrime gerit. Ammon. Erasmo, p. 221.

(2) Alia porro constituit judicia ubi pauperum querimoniæ exaudirentur: multaque ordinavit in rebus civilibus popularibus grata, ac nobis in hunc usque diem usurpata, quibus virum se ostendit sapientissimum nec non reipublicæ amantem. Godwin. 14. I wish he had particularised these institutions.

seven lectureships, and the foundation of Christ Church, which, A. D. 1525. though he lived not to complete it, still exists a splendid monu- July 13. ment to his memory. As a nursery for this establishment he erected another college at Ipswich, the place of his nativity.

But these occupations at home did not divert his eyes from the shifting scenes of politics abroad. He was constantly informed of the secret history of the continental courts; and his dispatches, of which many are still extant, show that he was accustomed to pursue every event through all its probable consequences; to consider each measure in its several bearings; and to furnish his agents with instructions beforehand for almost every contingency. His great object was to preserve the balance of power between the rival houses of France and Austria (1); and to this we should refer the mutable politics of the English cabinet, which first deserted Francis to support the cause of Charles, and, when Charles had obtained the ascendency, abandoned him to repair the broken fortunes of Francis. The consequence was, that as long as Wolsey presided in the council, the minister was feared and courted by princes and pontiffs, the king held the distinguished station of arbiter of Europe.

(1) Raynald. viii. 459. More's Works, p. 1436.

NOTES.

Note A. p. 282.

In perusing the petition presented to the protector at Baynard's castle, the attention of the reader will probably have been drawn to the alleged precontract of marriage between Edward and Eleanor Boteler. I shall make a few observations on the subject in the present note.

1. It was now eighteen years since the marriage of the king with Elizabeth Grey. The validity of that marriage had never yet been disputed. The children by it had been considered as legitimate by the parliament, the nation, and foreign sovereigns. They were acknowledged heirs to their father, and several of them had been contracted to princes of the first houses in Europe.

2. If any marriage had previously taken place, which would have annulled the succeeding marriage, would it not have been discovered and objected by those who opposed the union of the king with Elizabeth Grey; by the numerous and violent enemies of that princess and her family; and by Clarence and Warwick during their rebellion, when no one had any reason to fear the resentment of Edward? If *they* had heard of it, and yet did not allege it, the very circumstance is a proof that they knew the report to be groundless.

3. The time when it was at last brought forward furnishes a strong presumption against it. It was not till both the parties concerned were laid in their graves, almost twenty years after it was supposed to have taken place, and for the avowed purpose of enabling an uncle to disinherit his nephews.

4. There is no proof that witnesses were ever examined, or that any documents were produced to show the existence of the precontract in question, though it so much concerned Richard for his own security to place it beyond the reach of doubt. The only authority on which it rests is the assertion in the petition presented to the protector at Baynard's castle, an authority which will have little weight with the impartial reader. That petition was said to have been composed and forwarded to London by the gentlemen in the north: but every one knew that it was written in that city by Dr. Stillington, bishop of Bath, and president of Richard's council (Cont. Croyl. 567). Le Evesque de B. fist le bill. (Year-book, Hilary term, 1 Hen. VII. Rym. xii. 189.) If it be said that it was approved by Richard's parliament in 1484 (Rot. Parl. vi. 240), it may be replied that the next year it was condemned by another parliament "for the false and "seditious imaginations and untruths thereof," (ibid. 289) and pronounced by the judges false, slanderous, and shameful. (Year-book, ibid.) The only contemporary, by whom it is mentioned, treats it with little ceremony as seditious and infamous. Cont. Croyl. 567.

5. Though no ancient historian has written in favour of the alleged precontract it has been warmly maintained by two modern writers, Walpole in his Historic Doubts, and Laing in a dissertation at the close of Henry's History of England. I shall briefly notice the four arguments which they have adduced.

6. More informs us that after Edward "had between them twain ensured "Elizabeth," he communicated the matter to his council; that his mother, to prevent the marriage, objected that he "was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy, and "her husband before God;" that Lucy was sent for and examined upon oath; and that, "albeit she was by the king's mother and many other put in good "comfort to affirm that she was ensured unto the king, yet when she was so-

"lemnly sworn to say the truth, she confessed that they were never ensured: "howbeit his grace spoke so loving words unto her, that she verily hoped he "would have married her." More, 59, 60. It is difficult to reconcile this story, as it is told by More, with the account of Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Grey, as it is given by all other writers. According to them it was clandestine, according to him it was publicly solemnised. But what is there in it to favour the precontract of marriage with Eleanor Boteler? Laing supposes that More has wilfully substituted Elizabeth Lucy for Eleanor Boteler, that the objection of the king's mother was good, and that the lady was compelled by Edward to give false evidence as to the contract between them. But if such suppositions are to be admitted, merely because they are convenient for the purpose of the writer, there is an end to all faith in history.

7. We are then led to the testimony of Comines, who informs us that Stillington had been formerly in favour with Edward, had incurred his displeasure, been imprisoned and paid a large sum for his liberty. This prelate, if we may believe him, declared to Richard that Edward had formerly contracted marriage with a certain lady in his presence, that the contract was meant only to deceive her, and that he had concealed its existence for twenty years. He adds, that to reward him, Richard promised to give the princess Elizabeth, now considered as a bastard, to an illegitimate son of the bishop; but the young man was cast on the coast of Normandy, carried to the châtelet at Paris, and by some mistake starved to death. Com. lvi. c. ix. Those who have perused the foreign writers of these ages know how little they are to be credited, when they write of English affairs: but admitting the whole of this account, it will go but a short way towards the proof of the marriage. We knew before that Stillington composed the petition; we now know that he also suggested its contents. Whether those contents were true or false, Comines does not hazard a conjecture. Laing supposes that Edward imprisoned the bishop, to extort from him the contract, or to punish him for disclosing the secret. But neither hypothesis can stand. The historian assures us that Stillington kept the secret till Edward's death: and the idea of extorting from him the contract, arises from a mistake as to the meaning of the words, "avoit faits la promesse entre les mains du dit évesque;" which allude to the manner in which such verbal promises were received, not to any written contract deposited in the hands of the bishop, as Laing translates it. The true reason of Stillington's disgrace (we have no knowledge of his imprisonment) may be found in Rymer, xii. 66. Soon after the attainder of Clarence, he was accused of having violated his oath of allegiance, probably by having associated with Clarence. He repaired to a great council of lords and prelates, proved his innocence to their satisfaction, was declared a loyal subject, and afterwards employed in several offices of great trust and importance.

8. Sir Thomas More's history terminates abruptly in the midst of a conversation between the duke of Buckingham and the bishop of Ely. Hall continues that conversation, without informing us where he obtained it; and makes the duke say, "Richard brought in" (to the lords forming his private council) "instru-"ments, authentic doctors, proctors, notaries of the law, with depositions of "divers witnesses, testifying Edward's children to be bastards; which depositions I then thought to be as true as now I know them to be false and feigned, "and testified by witnesses with rewards untruly suborned." Hall, f. 33. Hence Laing argues that proof of the precontract was produced to the council. But it may be replied, that these depositions were never judicially examined; that they are pronounced false, and purchased with money by the very authority here cited; and lastly, that the whole speech is a mere fiction. For the duke is made to say, that Richard refused to restore to him the Hereford estate of which he had been deprived by Edward, though the truth is that Richard actually restored it to him (Dugd. Bar. i. 168, 169. ii. 248); and if we may believe More himself, did not uncourteously refuse any one of his petitions. More, 70.

9. When Henry VII. had married Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward, the act which bastardised the children of that prince was repealed. It had been customary on such occasions to rehearse the whole of the act, or to particularise its object, both of which were now by the advice of the judges omitted, and in their place the first words were inserted as sufficient to point out what individual act was repealed. A motion at the same time was made to call Stillington before the parliament, but was opposed by the king. Hence Laing infers that Henry was satisfied the legitimacy of his wife would not bear investigation. But a complete answer may be given. The judges declared that their object was to prevent so false and shameful a calumny from appearing on the rolls of parliament (Year-book, Hilary term, 1 Henry VII.); and the king replied, that as he had already granted a pardon to Stillington, he could not prosecute him for the offence. More, 73.

10. On the whole, it appears to me evident that Elizabeth was the real wife of Edward, and that the precontract was a fiction invented to justify Richard's usurpation.

Note B. p. 296.

I purpose in this note to examine the arguments which have been employed to clear the memory of Richard from the imputation of having murdered his nephews.

1. It would be difficult to name a writer more deserving of credit than the Croyland historian, who composed his narrative in the month of April following the death of Richard. He tells us that a widely extended confederacy had been formed to liberate the two princes from the Tower, and that the rising was on the point of taking place, when it was made public that both of them had perished. (Cont. Croyl. 568.) It has been said that this was a mere report raised by the conspirators themselves, and that the writer gives no opinion as to its truth. But, 1°. It could not have been raised by the conspirators, because it compelled them to defer their intended insurrection, and to look out for some other chief. (Ibid.) And, 2°. The writer proceeds with his narrative as if he believed the princes to be dead, and makes use of expressions which he would not have used if he had entertained any doubt of their murder. He says that it is not known by what particular kind of *violent* death they perished (quo genere violenti interitus ignoratur, ibid.); that their cause had been avenged in the battle of Bosworth field (quorum causa hoc bello potissime vindicata est, p. 575); and that Richard, not content with obtaining the treasures of Edward, destroyed his children. Amplo divitiarum Edwardi cumulo non contentus, oppressit proles. (Ibid.) I conceive that after the use of such expressions there can remain no doubt of the opinion entertained by that writer.

2. The same conviction appears to have been common to all those persons who were the most interested in ascertaining the truth. 1. The duke of Buckingham and the gentlemen of the southern counties, after the publication of the death of the princes, saw that there was no safety for themselves, unless they could raise up a new competitor for the throne, and therefore offered it to the earl of Richmond, on condition he would marry the princess Elizabeth, the next heir of the family of York. (Cont. Croyl. 568.) Can we believe that they would have acted in this manner on the credit of a mere report, the truth of which at that moment they would naturally suspect? Must they not have inquired into the matter; and have been convinced that the young Edward and his brother were dead, before they would offer the crown to an illegitimate branch of a rival family?—2. Richard, to defeat the plan, made the strongest efforts to prevail on

Elizabeth, the widow of Edward, to quit the sanctuary with her daughters: but he did not succeed till he had sworn before the peers and prelates, mayor and aldermen, that the lives of these daughters should be in no danger. Why did Elizabeth require such an oath? Undoubtedly she believed that the king had already destroyed her sons, and feared a similar fate for her daughters. Buck. p. 528.—3. Richard, even before his wife died, proposed to marry the princess Elizabeth. And the reason was, because he saw that he could not otherwise secure the throne to himself, or cut off the hopes of his rival. (Non aliter videbat regnum sibi confirmari, neque spem competitoris sui auferri posse.) Cont.Croyl. 572. This could only be true in case that the princes were dead, and that Elizabeth was the heir to the crown.

3. Rouse, who died in 1491, openly asserts that the princes were slain, but so privately that few knew in what manner. Edwardum cum amplexibus et osculis recepit, et infra circiter duo menses vel parum ultra cum fratre suo interfecit——ita quod ex post paucissimus notum fuit qua morte martyrizati sunt. Ross, 214, 215.

4. André, the contemporary historiographer of Henry VII., says that Richard ordered the princes to be put to the sword. Ferro feriri jussit. M.S. Domit. A. XVIII.

5. Sir Thomas More, who wrote soon after, in 1513, not only asserts that they were murdered, but gives the particulars of the murder, from the confession of the assassins themselves. The reader has seen his account in the preceding pages.

6. In July 1674, in consequence of an order to clear the White Tower from all contiguous buildings, as the workmen were "digging down the stairs which "led from the king's lodgings to the chapel in the said tower, about ten feet in "the ground, were found the bones of two striplings in (as it seemed) a wooden "chest, which upon the survey were found proportionable to the ages of the two "brothers, viz. about 13 and 11 years." On inquiry it was concluded that they were the bones of the murdered princes, and in consequence, after they had been sifted from the rubbish, they were honorably interred in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster. (Sandford, 427. 429.) This has been considered as a strong confirmation of the murder; since we know of no other two boys who perished in the Tower; and are informed by More that a priest removed their bodies from the place where they had been deposited by the assassins to another spot; and that, as he died soon afterwards, his secret perished with him. (More, 68.) From the words of More it may be inferred, that ineffectual attempts had been made to discover it.

7. It furnishes a strong presumption in favour of More's narrative, that all the persons mentioned by him as concerned in the murder became objects of the king's bounty. To Greene the messenger, was given the office of receiver of the lordships of the Isle of Wight and of Porchester castle; and the numerous grants of money and lands, and lucrative offices to Tyrrell and Brackenbury may be seen in the notes by Strype to Buck's history in Kennet, i. 551, 552. Nor were the more obscure agents, the actual murderers, Dighton and Forrest, neglected by the gratitude of their patron. The first was made bailiff for life of the manor of Aiton in Staffordshire (ibid.): and, as Forrest lived but a few months in possession of the office given to him in Barnard castle, an annuity of five marks was settled on his widow and his son. (Turner, iii. 491.) This coincidence must appear very extraordinary, if we suppose More's account to be fabulous.

8. In opposition to this evidence it has been observed, that even in the days of Henry VIII. it was considered doubtful whether the princes had been murdered or not. I will therefore transcribe the words of More, whence it will appear that such doubts were not very common, nor built on any good foundation, "Whose death hath nevertheless so far come in question, that some remain yet

" in doubt, whether they were in his days destroyed or not. Net for that only, " that Perkin Warbeck, by many folks' malice, and more folk's folly, so long " space abusing the world, was, as well with princes as the poorer people, re- " puted and taken for the younger of these two, but for that also that all things " were in later days so covertly demeaned, one thing pretended and another " meant, that there was nothing so plain and openly proved, but that yet for " the common custom of close and covert dealing men had it ever inwardly sus- " pect, as many well counterfeited jewels make the true mistrusted.... But I " shall rehearse you the dolorous end of those babes, not after every way that I " have heard, but after that way I have so heard by such men and by such " means as methinketh it were hard but it should be true." He then gives the account, and concludes: " Thus as I have learned of them that much " knew and little cause had to lie, were these two noble princes privily slain." Pp. 67, 68.

9. It is however contended that More's narrative cannot be true. " A singu- " lar," says Laing, " and for Richard's memory, a providential concurrence of " circumstances enables us to ascertain the duration, and to trace the particular " stages of that progress, in the course of which the supposed destruction of his " nephews was planned and accomplished. He was at Westminster on Sunday " the 31st of August, where he ratified the league with the king of Castile, and " at York the 7th of September, the day preceding his second coronation." (Laing, 420.) The writer then tells us that Richard was on Monday at Windsor, on Tuesday at Oxford, on Wednesday at Gloucester, on Thursday at Warwick, on Friday at Nottingham, on Saturday at Pontefract, and on Sunday at York. Now he contends that if More's account be true, Greene the messenger, sent to tamper with Brakenbury, the governor of the Tower, must have left the king on his journey on the Monday or Tuesday, and have returned to Richard at Warwick on Thursday with the account of his failure, and that Tyrrel must have left Warwick on Friday, have committed the murder in the Tower on Friday night or Saturday night, and have reached the king previous to his arrival at York on Sunday: an expedition which it is impossible to believe. Hence it follows that the whole narrative is false. Laing, 420—423.

Now it must be acknowledged that, if the limits assigned to the progress of Richard by his advocates be correct, it is impossible to crowd within so short a space all the facts mentioned by More. But are those limits correct? It is certain that he was crowned with his queen at York, on Sunday the 8th of September (Drake's Eborac. 117. Rouse, 217.), after having created his son prince of Wales, in a full assembly of the nobility, the same day. (Rym. xii. 200.) Hence he must have arrived at York the day before, and if he left London only on the first, must have performed his long and circuitous journey in seven days. But is it then certain that he was at Westminster on the 31st of August? for on the accuracy of that date depends all the reasoning of the king's advocates. The only proof of it is, that two instruments are to be found in Rymer, dated August 31, teste rege apud Westmonasterium. (Rym. xii. 198, 199.) But such instruments prove nothing more than that the chancellor was at Westminster. The king might have been at the distance of 300 miles. They were said to be issued teste rege, because they were issued from his high court of chancery. Thus we know that at the death of Edward IV. on the 9th of April 1483, his son Edward V. was at Ludlow, and did not reach London before the 4th of May following. And yet on the 23d of April, eleven days before he came near Westminster, thirty-three writs were published in his name, dated at Westminster teste rege. (Rym. xii. 79)(1). Hence it is evident that the writs in question, on which Carte,

(1) In former editions I referred to another instance from the reign of Richard II. But Mr. Duffus Hardy (Introduc. to Close Rolls, xv.) has shown that Rymer, on whose authority I relied, had mistaken the real date.

Walpole, and Laing, rest their principal argument, prove nothing as to the presence or absence of Richard on the day on which they are dated.

It is, however, easy to show that he was on that day in the neighbourhood of York, and that his progress instead of six days occupied a whole month. The ancient writers mention that he set out shortly after his coronation on the 6th of July. (Cont. Croyl. 567. Fab. 516.) He went from London to Windsor, from Windsor to Oxford. The day of his arrival is not specified: but he received from the university a petition in favour of the bishop of Ely, dated the 4th of August (apud Speed, p. 932), whence it is not improbable that he was there at that time. His next stage was Woodstock, where the people of the country complained to him that his brother had unjustly annexed a large tract of land to the forest of Wichwood; and on inquiry he granted to them a charter of disafforestation. Thence he proceeded to Gloucester; and to honour a city from which he took his title of duke, he appointed there a mayor and sheriffs. The two next stages were Worcester and Warwick. Here he was joined by the queen and the Spanish ambassadors, who came direct from Windsor, and kept his court for a whole week (1), having with him five bishops, the duke of Albany, four earls, five barons, the chief justice of the king's bench, and other lords and knights, and a great number of noble ladies attending on the queen. He next proceeded to Coventry, then to Leicester, and from Leicester to Nottingham, where he was on the 23d of August. For we have a letter written there on that day by his private secretary, announcing to the citizens of York his approach to their city, and telling them that "the king's lords and judges were with him, sitting and "determining the complaints of poor folks, with due punition of offenders "against his laws." (Drake, 116.) He afterwards stopped at Pontefract, where he appointed a mayor, and thence proceeded to York. (See this progress in Rouse, 216, 217.) From York, on the 31st of August, he despatched an order to Piers Courties, keeper of the wardrobe, to send to that city his spurs, banners, coats of arms, etc. which might be wanted against his coronation. (Drake's Eborac, 119. Buck, 527.) It is evident, then, that instead of leaving London on Sept. 1st, to be crowned in York Sept. 8th, he was the whole month of August on his journey, and reached York before the day on which he has been supposed to be still in London.—It may also be observed that this account agrees with that of More. He despatched Greene when he was on his way to Gloucester, and received Greene's report on his arrival at Warwick. Thence he sent Tyrrel to the Tower, and the murder was committed soon after, probably during the week that he remained at Warwick, which, from the date of his residence at Nottingham, must have been about the middle of August; the time assigned by Rouse, who says, the young king was murdered something more than three months after he had been received and caressed by his uncle, which was on the last day of April. (Rouse, 215.)

10. Walpole (pp. 70, 71) transcribes a passage from the roll of parliament of 1484, to prove that Edward V. was alive when that parliament was sitting, and consequently could not have been put to death during Richard's progress to York. But if he had paid more attention to the roll, he would have found that he was copying from the petition presented to the protector at Baynard's castle, and that the passage in question proved only that Edward was alive at the time when his uncle usurped the throne. See Rot. Parl. vi. 241.

11. Mr. Bailey, in his history of the Tower (p. 343), notices certain warrants for the delivery of clothing, and the payment of provisions for the use of "the "lord Bastard, given under our signet at Westminster the ix day of March, an- "no secundo:" whence he infers that one of the royal brothers, under the name of the lord bastard, was living a year and a half after the time of their

(1) Of this circumstance, so important in the present inquiry, Rouse could not be ignorant, as he lived at the same time at Guy's cliff, only four miles from Warwick.

supposed death. But there can be no doubt that the lord bastard, mentioned in the warrants, was Richard's own son, John of Gloucester, whom he made two days later governor of Calais for life, reserving to himself the exercise of the office till the boy should come of age. Rym. xii. 265.

12. The last argument I shall mention is taken from Bacon's History of Henry VII., p. 71. He tells us, that soon after the appearance of Perkin, Tyrrel and Dighton (Forrest, the other murderer, was dead) were committed to the Tower, and, as the king gave out, both agreed in the same tale: that nevertheless Henry made no use of their confessions: that Tyrrel was soon afterwards beheaded for other matters of treason, but Dighton, who it seems spake best for the king, was set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Now, if it were true that Henry examined these persons at the time of Perkin's appearance, and yet did not use their evidence to prove that he was not the duke of York, the omission would certainly justify a suspicion that they did not acknowledge the murder. The real fact is, that they were examined only a short time before the execution of Tyrrel, as Bacon himself says; but that execution did not take place, as he supposes, soon after the appearance of Perkin, but at the distance of ten years, in 1502, for having favoured the escape of the earl of Suffolk. (Rot. Parl. vi. 545.) Of course Henry could not employ their confession in any of his declarations against Perkin, which were published long before. This is also plain from sir Thomas More's history, who wrote a few years afterwards. "Very truth it is, and well known, that at such time as sir James Tyr-"rel was in the Tower for treason committed against king Henry VII., both "Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murder in manner above "written." More, 68.

Note C. p. 329.

The pretensions of Warbeck offer a problem which has been thought of difficult solution. Was he an impostor, or was he the real duke of York? Our ancient historians have unanimously adopted the former opinion: but their authority has been set aside by some modern writers, who contend that under the dynasty of the Tudors no man would venture to express even a doubt injurious to the cause of the reigning family. If credit be due to Carte, and Walpole, and Laing, Warbeck was the real son of Edward IV., and the rightful heir to the throne.

The arguments most favourable to the claim of this adventurer are drawn from two sources, its admission by foreign princes, and the inability of Henry to discover his real origin as an imposter. 1. He was acknowledged as duke of York by Charles of France, by James of Scotland, and by Margaret of Burgundy. If it be said that the object of Charles was to distress Henry, James at least ought to have been convinced of the real character of Warbeck before he would give to him his kinswoman in marriage; and the conduct of Margaret, who was less liable to be deceived, must prove that he was really her nephew, or that she knowingly promoted an imposture. But in the latter supposition what could be her object? Her niece was queen of England, the children of that niece were presumptive heirs to the crown. Would she attempt to disinherit her own family, in favour of an obscure and unknown adventurer?

2. Henry with all his arts and intrigues could never form a plausible account of the origin and adventures of Warbeck. The stories circulated with his connivance bear evident marks of uncertainty and falsehood. There were two methods by which he might have successfully detected the imposture. He might have ascertained the death of the princes in the Tower by the apprehension and examination of the reputed assassins; or after the surrender of Warbeck,

he might have confronted him with his own queen and her sisters. Their testimony would have decided the question. If then he adopted neither of these measures it is an argument that he dared not. He must have known that both of the brothers were not put to death by their uncle, and that the younger had escaped, and now claimed the crown. Such are, in short, the arguments of those who maintain the cause of the adventurer.

To me, however, the arguments against the identity of Warbeck with Richard duke of York, appear greatly to preponderate. 1. From the preceding pages it has been seen that the death of the two princes was believed by all those who were most interested to know the truth, by their mother Elizabeth and their uncle Richard, by the partisans of the house of Lancaster, and those of the house of York, and even by Henry himself, as late at least as the summer of 1487, when he offered to marry their mother to the king of Scots, and their two sisters to his two sons. Four years later a young man appears in Ireland, and professes to be the younger of the two princes who were believed to be dead. Was it not incumbent on him to prove his pretensions, to show how he had escaped from the murderers, to what place he had been conveyed, and where and how he had spent the eight years which had elapsed since his supposed death? Yet all this was kept a profound secret. Even in his proclamation at the head of the Scottish army, when it was so much for his interest that the English should be convinced of his claim, he contents himself with asserting, "that "in his tender age he had escaped by God's great might out of the Tower of "London, had been secretly conveyed over sea to other divers countries, and "had remained there certain years as unknown." Does not this meagre account, in circumstances when the clearest proofs were required, betray a secret consciousness that his history would not bear investigation?

2. His assertions seem to have been generally disbelieved by the nation. The persons who adhered to him in France, were most, if not all, of them outlaws; and the gentlemen who were attainted on his account in England, seem to have suffered, not so much for having admitted his pretensions, as for their attempts to ascertain who he was, which Henry ascribed to a treasonable disaffection towards himself. After that period no person of note attached himself to the pretender. When he landed on the coast of Kent, he was immediately repulsed; when he entered England successively at the head of a Scottish army, and was in a condition to protect his friends, not an individual repaired to his standard; and when he afterwards assumed the command of the Cornish insurgents, he did not debauch a single gentleman from his allegiance to Henry. It is not credible that the numerous partisans of the House of York would have remained quiet on all these occasions, unless they had reason to believe him an impostor.

3. This is strongly corroborated by the conduct of Henry. Would his jealousy have spared the real duke of York when he had him once in his power? Would he have exhibited him to the gaze of the populace on the road, or of the citizens in London, of whom many could have recognised his features? Would he have suffered him to roam at liberty through the palace at Westminster for six months, exposed to the daily view of the queen, her sisters, and the principal nobility? After his flight and recapture, would not the king have gladly employed that plausible pretext to free himself from so dangerous a competitor? Whoever compares his conduct to the earl of Warwick with his conduct to Warbeck, will be convinced that as he knew the former to be a real Plantagenet, so he believed the latter to be no other than an impostor.

4. But how are we to account for the acknowledgment of his claim by foreign powers? It may be observed that, if the union of the two roses by the marriage of Henry and Elizabeth had satisfied many of the Yorkists, there still existed a party, which through enmity to the house of Lancaster, sought to raise to the throne the young earl of Warwick. At its head was the duchess of Burgundy.

She first patronised the imposture of Simnel, afterwards that of Warbeck. If either had succeeded, there would have been little difficulty in removing the phantom to make place for the reality. The conduct of Charles VIII. proves nothing more than his wish to distress and intimidate Henry. He had previously attempted to raise the friends of Warwick; when that failed, Warbeck, probably at his instigation, solicited the aid of the Yorkists in Ireland: and on their refusal was invited to the French court as heir to the English crown. But the event proved that this invitation had no other object than to induce Henry to sign the treaty. From the moment that was accomplished, Perkin received no countenance from the king of France. With respect to the king of Scotland, there seems to have been much also of policy in the reception which he gave to the adventurer. It was argued that if Perkin were successful, he could refuse nothing to the prince who had placed him on the throne; that if he were not, Henry would still make advantageous offers to James, to detach him from the cause of his rival. On this account, says Polidore, the king, whether it were through error and pity, or only through dissimulation, began to show him great honour, etc. p. 590.

The consideration of these circumstances has left no doubt on my mind that Warbeck was an impostor. He was probably brought forward to screen the young earl of Warwick from the jealousy of Henry. If he fell in the attempt, Warwick was still safe; if he succeeded, the disclosure of the secret would raise that young prince to the throne. This at least is certain, that as long as Warwick lived, pretenders to the crown rapidly succeeded each other; after his execution, Henry was permitted to reign without molestation.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

